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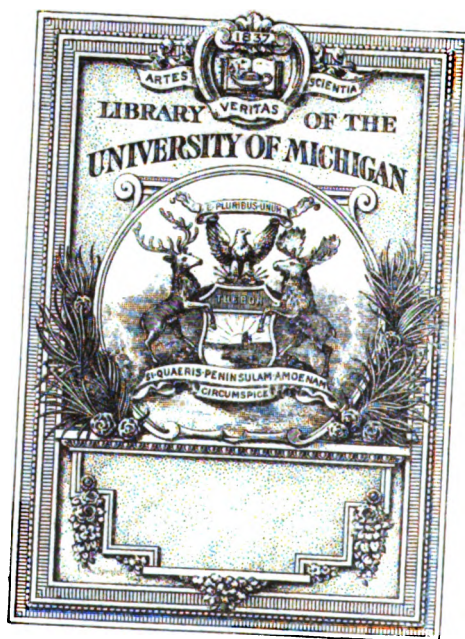
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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

VOL. II.

No. 5.

I.—VERRIUS FLACCUS.

II.

In the following essay I wish to consider some points connected with the fortunes of the *De Verborum Significatu* in the first five centuries of the Christian era. The main question which I would raise is whether the philological writers of those centuries have preserved fragments of Verrius other than those which have survived in the epitomes of Festus and Paulus.

I observed in my preceding essay that the work of Verrius was the first great encyclopaedia, alphabetically arranged, that was known in Roman literature. That it should be largely consulted by the scholars and antiquarians of the first and second centuries is only what we should expect, and there is evidence enough that this was the fact. Let us first take two celebrated scholars of the first century, Quintilian and Pliny the Elder. Quintilian was not a professed philologist, but he sometimes has occasion to touch lightly on questions of etymology and antique expression. In his first book (4, § 13) he alludes to such archaisms as *Valesii*, *Fusii*, for *Valerii* and *Furii*, *mertare* for *mersare*, *faedos* for *haedos*, *duellum* for *bellum*, *stlocus* for *locus*. Now it can hardly be an accident that every one of these words is to be found in Festus or Paulus. *Val-esius* and *Fusius* are discussed in Paulus p. 33, *mertare* pp. 81 and 124, *faedos* p. 84, *duellum* p. 66, *stlocus* p. 313. A little further on, in § 25, Quintilian touches on the origin of some of the most

familiar among the Roman *cognomina*, such as *Rufus*, *Sulla*, *Burrus*, *Galba*. Without wearying my readers by quoting the list in full, I may mention that out of eighteen names, seven, *Rufus*, *Burrus*, *Plautus*, *Opiter*, *Cordus*, *Postumus*, *Marcipor*, are to be found explained in the epitomes of Paulus and Festus, while two others, *Agrippa* and *Vopiscus*, are mentioned in Pliny (H. N. 7, 47), and in the last book of Nonius, whose work *De Compendiosa Doctrina* was, in its more strictly lexicographical portions, largely drawn, directly or indirectly, from Verrius Flaccus, as I shall hope to show further on.¹

But we have not yet done with Quintilian. In the sixth chapter of his first book he protests against the use of certain archaisms, to wit, *topper*, *antigerio*, *exanclare*, and *prosapia*. These words are all to be found in Festus, and so again are some others mentioned by Quintilian in the same chapter, *pacunt*, *lupus femina*, and the names *Italia*, *Beneventum*, and *Quirinalis*. In the fifth chapter (§§ 8, 13) Quintilian mentions a word *ploxenum*, which he says Catullus picked up somewhere in the neighborhood of the Po. Now Festus p. 230 has a gloss on this word which he illustrates by a line of Catullus, "gingivas vero ploxeni habet veteris." The inference readily suggests itself, when the other passages to which I have alluded are considered, that Quintilian took his remark from Verrius Flaccus, or possibly from some book of extracts from him.

I pass on now to a passage in the eighth book of Quintilian (3, § 25) where the same phenomenon recurs. Quintilian is here noticing some antiquarian expressions used by Vergil, *olli*, *quianam* and *porricere* (if this be the true reading). On these words again we find notes in Festus and Paulus; "*ollic*, *illic*," p. 196; *quianam*, p. 257; *porricere* p. 218. Besides these Quintilian has something to say of some other words, *quaeso*, *oppido*, and *autumo*. Notes on *quaeso* and *oppido* will be found in Festus (p. 259 and 184); upon *autumo* I must be allowed to pause for a moment. "*Autumo*," says Quintilian, "tragicum est." Now it so happens that in Festus and Paulus there is no note on this word. But Nonius p. 237 has one in which he illustrates it by a quotation from Lucilius, another from Plautus, and three from Pacuvius. Now Pacuvius was the writer who was above all others the representative of the old Roman tragedy. I think it therefore highly probable that Quintilian had before him some handbook in which *autumo* was

¹ Lists of *cognomina* may have been taken from the book of Cornelius Epicadus *De Cognominibus*; Charisius p. 110 Keil.

illustrated from Pacuvius, as it is in Nonius; and if I succeed in rendering it probable that Nonius borrowed largely from Verrius Flaccus, it may perhaps be allowable to conjecture that Verrius had some note of the kind. In the same chapter § 31 Quintilian remarks on the word *expectoro*, which is quoted by Paulus p. 80.

Let us now turn to the elder Pliny, who in his Natural History several times quotes Verrius Flaccus as an authority upon remarkable phenomena of nature. Pliny is here probably using, not the *De Verborum Significatu*, but the work of Verrius entitled *rerum memoria dignarum*. But Pliny also wrote a grammatical treatise *de dubio sermone*, of which portions are quoted by Julius Romanus, a scholar who (if we may trust the evidence collected by Keil in his preface to Charisius and Diomedes) seems to have flourished about the beginning of the second century A. D. Verrius Flaccus did not write a special treatise upon grammar; but I have endeavored to show in the preceding essay that there was a great deal of grammatical matter in the *De Verborum Significatu*. That Pliny actually consulted this work can be shown by express quotations preserved by Julius Romanus,¹ and there are other indications of the same fact. The note on *ancipes*, for instance, in Charisius p. 120 (Keil) reminds the reader very much of the note in Paulus on *anceps* p. 19; that on *aeribus* from *aes* on the same page is illustrated by a passage of Cato, and it is remarkable that on the twenty-seventh page of Festus there is also a note on the same word illustrated from Cato.

There is another point on which I wish to remark in connection with the quotations from Julius Romanus which Charisius has preserved. It is that in some cases they are arranged on the principle which we have already observed as underlying the order of words in Verrius Flaccus. Words from the same authors are quoted in separate series. This is notably the case with the alphabetical list of adverbs cited from Julius Romanus by Charisius p. 194-224; a fact which suggests the inference that it was taken from some work of a lexicographical character already arranged upon this plan. So it is with the catalogue of interjections, likewise from Julius Romanus, given by Charisius p. 239, only that this is not alphabetical. It may further be observed that the range of authors

¹ Charis. p. 126, "Verrius Flaccus"; inquit Plinius, "eorum nominum quae -us finiuntur casu nominativo ablativus in e dirigendus est." p. 141 "*panium* Caesar de analogia libro II dici debere ait. Sed Verrius contra." This note, like the one preceding and following it, probably comes from Pliny.

quoted corresponds in the main with that of the *De Verborum Significatu*.

The name of Pliny occurs frequently in the remarks of Julius Romanus upon anomaly in declension (Charisius p. 120 foll.). In these too, as in his catalogue of conjunctions, Romanus several times mentions Flavius Caper, a scholar of the age of Trajan. Whether he himself consulted authorities older than Caper or Pliny cannot be ascertained with certainty; but it may be taken as almost certain that Pliny, at any rate, drew largely on the stores of information collected by Verrius Flaccus.

Verrius Flaccus is again often quoted by Velius Longus, another scholar of the age of Trajan. But it may be that Velius Longus, writing as he did on orthography merely, is quoting not the *De Verborum Significatu*, but the *De Orthographia* of Verrius.

An encyclopaedic work containing a collection of miscellaneous information partly on natural philosophy, partly on the history, antiquities, and public and private life of the Romans, was compiled by Suetonius. Of Suetonius' *Pratum* (for thus it was entitled by its author) there is good reason for supposing that much has been preserved by Isidore. The scope of the work was different from that of the *De Verborum Significatu* of Verrius, though there were many points where the two would coincide; and it would be rash to assert that Suetonius made any very extensive use of the work of Verrius, when he might have easily taken his materials directly from Varro. But later in the second century, if I am not mistaken, Aulus Gellius studied Verrius Flaccus a great deal; indeed he has, as I remarked in my previous paper, preserved parts of the *De Verborum Significatu* which have disappeared from our epitomes.

If it be true that Festus lived in the age of the Antonines, this fact alone would show that a great deal of attention was paid to Verrius Flaccus at that epoch. The need for an abridgment of the *De Verborum Significatu* would not otherwise have arisen. The revived interest in old Latin, which reached its highest pitch in the age of the Antonines, would make the study of Verrius indispensable to literary men. And so, although the name of Verrius is not by any means always mentioned, we find a great many traces of his learning in Gellius. I have at present noticed the following, and there may be many more. Gellius 1, 16, 1 has a note on the phrase *mille hominum*, which he illustrates from Claudius Quadrigarius, Lucilius, Varro, Cato, and Cicero. Festus p. 153

preserves the words "*mille singulariter dicebant*"; comp. also p. 158. Gellius 2, 6, 5 says "*taxare pressius crebriusque est quam tangere*." There is a note on *taxare* in Festus p. 356. In the same chapter of Gellius (§ 21) we may compare the remarks on *squalere* with those in Festus p. 328. Gellius 2, 10 has a long note on the word *favisae*, which I suspect is drawn from one abridged on the 88th page of Paulus. In Gellius 2, 21, 6 there are some observations on the word *triones* which remind us of the note in Festus p. 339. Gellius 3, 18, 1 *pedarii senatores* = Festus p. 210. Gellius 4, 3, 3 *agnus femina* = Festus p. 286. In Gellius 5, 6 there is a discussion of the different kinds of crowns awarded by the Romans, which contains a great deal of matter taken from Verrius Flaccus: see Festus pp. 367, 191, 42, 195, 144. So it is with the note on *Veiovis*, *vesculus*, and their cognates in Gellius 5, 12, 1: compare Festus p. 379. The note on *dies atri* and *nefasti* in Gellius 5, 17 is avowedly taken from the fourth book of Verrius' work, although it has not survived in our epitomes; and the case is precisely the same with the observations on *historia* and *annales* in the next chapter. In chapter 21 of the same book we find the word *compluriens* defended by the authority of Cato; and it is illustrated from Cato in Paulus p. 59. In Gellius 10, 15 the interpretation of *classis procincta* reminds us of the similar words in Paulus p. 56, and the quotation from Varro at the end of the chapter recalls the note on *albus galerus* in Paulus p. 10. In the note on *temetum* Gellius 10, 23, 1 = Festus p. 364: on *ovis* masculine Gellius 11, 1, 4 = Festus p. 286; on *bovinator* Gellius 11, 7, 7 = Paulus p. 30; on *per lancem liciumque* Gellius 11, 18, 9 = Festus p. 117; on *lictor* Gellius 12, 3 = Festus p. 115; on *intra*, *citra*, and *ultra* Gellius 12, 13, 7 = Paulus pp. 42, 379; on *suculae* Gellius 12, 9 = Festus p. 301; on *bellaria* Gellius 13, 11, 7 may perhaps correspond with Paulus p. 35; on *frons* masculine. Gellius 15, 9 = Festus p. 286. The definition of *atrium* given by Gellius 16, 5, 2 is the same as that in Festus p. 13, and the note on *vescus* in the same chapter is illustrated by the same passage from Lucretius in Paulus p. 368. Traces of the note given by Gellius 16, 6 on *bidens* are to be found in Paulus pp. 33 and 35. Three of the words explained in the next chapter, *botulus*, *arillator*, and *cutis*, are explained also in Paulus pp. 35, 20, and 51. The notes on *adsiduus*, *sanates*, *vas*, *talio*, *proletarius* given in Gellius 16, 10 are in Paulus pp. 9, 321, 348, 377, 363, 226, 117. Those on *alucinari* and *generator* in Gellius 16, 12 = Paulus pp. 24, 100, 75,

86, 94. Gellius' comment on *municipes* (16, 13, 6) is part of a fuller one preserved by Festus p. 127. The next note, on *festinare*, is avowedly from Verrius Flaccus, and part of it still remains in Festus p. 234. Gellius 16, 17 on *Vaticanus* = Festus p. 379; 17, 6 on *servus recepticius* = Festus p. 282, the source being here acknowledged. The remarks on *inseco* in Gellius 18, 9, 2 stand in close relation to those in Festus pp. 111 and 337; Gellius 19, 13 on *nonus* = Festus p. 176; and the list might doubtless be lengthened by other instances.

It may be, of course, that Gellius in these instances is only quoting independently from the same sources as Verrius Flaccus. But I cannot help suspecting that, at least in the majority of instances, he borrowed a great deal at second hand either from Verrius himself or from writers who had made extracts from him, as Probus in his "*Silva Observationum sermonis antiqui*" and Caesellius Vindex in his "*Lectiones Antiquae*" must undoubtedly have done. One must be careful, in dealing with a writer like Gellius, not to take too seriously his professions of independent research. His statements must be tested by the evidence of other facts; and there are, I think, in this case other facts which point to the conclusion that his debt, direct or indirect, to Verrius Flaccus is, to say the least, much more considerable than he himself acknowledges. Some indications of the nature of his proceedings will, I hope, be afforded by an examination of the relation of Nonius to Verrius Flaccus. I shall endeavor to show that the numerous coincidences between Gellius and Nonius are due to the fact of both writers having independently used the same authorities; that Nonius in the lexicographical parts of his work constantly copies Verrius; and that the points of agreement between Nonius and Gellius may often be explained by supposing that Gellius copies him likewise.

Carlyle has said that there must be somewhere, if only we could discover him, a greatest fool in the world. In the world of scholars Nonius has generally been regarded as playing this entertaining part. Let us deal kindly with one who was willing to make so great a sacrifice. It is not necessary to go again over the long catalogue of Nonius' transgressions against the rules of sense and sound learning. Nor am I sure that a fair judgment would pronounce the work of Nonius to fall much below the standard which an African of the third century A. D. might be expected to attain. Even Julius Romanus, in the second century, was, if we may judge

by his lists of conjunctions and interjections preserved by Charisius, fully as ignorant and careless as Nonius. The productions of such writers are valuable only for what they preserve of the work of older authors. It is a matter of the utmost importance to ascertain, if possible, what were the sources from which Nonius drew the materials for his lucubrations.

The theory which finds most favor among recent scholars (Hertz, Schmidt, Schottmüller, and Riese) is that Nonius copied largely from Gellius, and that the remaining or non-Gellian part of his book is patchwork made up out of commentaries on the writers whom he quotes. The arguments for this position are mainly two; first, that there are many remarkable, nay, almost verbal, coincidences between Gellius and Nonius, and even that the order of those passages in Nonius follows the order of the books in Gellius; secondly, that Nonius throughout all his work observes the method of quotation by series of authors, as we have seen was the case with Verrius Flaccus. This fact, it is contended, points obviously to the conclusion that where Nonius is not borrowing from Gellius, he must have made extracts from single commentaries in succession.

I would observe, first, that whether Nonius studied commentaries independently or not, there can be little doubt that in those parts of his work which can be classed as lexicographical or antiquarian, his debt, direct or indirect, to Verrius Flaccus¹ is considerable. The lexicographical parts of the *De Compensiosa Doctrina* are Books I (De Verborum Proprietate), II (De Honestis et nove Veterum Dictis), IV (De Varia Significatione Sermonum), V (De Differentia Similium Significationum), VI (De Impropriis), and much of XII (De Doctorum Indagine). In the first book I have ascertained that about a third of the glosses are identical, or nearly so, with glosses in Paulus or Festus. In the second book the proportion is much smaller, but in this some 140 notes may in like manner be traced to Verrius Flaccus. In the fourth, fifth, and sixth books the number of coincidences with Paulus or Festus dwindles very much; in the twelfth book the proportion is larger. By the antiquarian portions of Nonius I mean Books XIII (De genere Navigiorum), XIV (De genere Vestimentorum), XV (De genere vasorum vel poculorum), XVI, now lost, (De genere calciamentorum), XVII (De colore vestimentorum), XVIII (De genere

¹ That the works of Verrius Flaccus were known in some form in Africa at the end of the third century A. D. is shown by Arnobius i, 59, "quamvis Caesellios, Epicados (?), Verrios teneatis omnes et Nisos."

ciborum et potuum), XIX (De genere armorum), XX (De Propinquitate). In the eighteenth book a third, in the nineteenth half of the glosses may be traced to Verrius Flaccus. In the rest of these books and in the grammatical portions of the work (Books III, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, and part of XII) the proportion of these coincidences is much smaller; but I think I am justified in saying that about one-seventh of all the notes in Nonius stands in close relation to glosses in Paulus or Festus.

I am not sure that this fact has been noticed as it deserves by the scholars who have recently discussed the question. Passing over for the moment any inferences which it suggests as to the sources of Nonius' work, I may observe that it is of immense importance as enabling us, in many cases, to reconstruct, at least in part, the mutilated glosses of Verrius Flaccus. Let me offer a few instances in illustration of my meaning. Paulus p. 18 has the following note: "*atroces* appellantur ex Graeco, quia illi ἄτρωκτα vocant quae cruda sunt." Nonius p. 76 says "*atrox*, crudum: Naevius Belli Punici lib. III, simul atrocia porricerent extra ministratores." Here it would appear that we have two fragments of the same gloss, one giving an etymology of *atrox* from ἄτρωκτος, the other illustrating the word from Naevius. Paulus p. 118 "*latrones* eos antiqui dicebant qui conducti militabant, ἀπὸ τῆς λατρείας." Nonius p. 134 "*latrocinari*, militare mercede." He illustrates from Plautus and Ennius, the words of the latter being "fortunaeque suas coepere *latrones* Inter se memorare." Again we have two fragments of one gloss, which originally included instances both of *latrones* and of *latrocinari*. Paulus p. 369 "*velitatio* dicta est ultro citroque proborum obiectatio, ab exemplo velitaris pugnae. Plautus; Nescio quid *velitati* estis inter vos." Nonius p. 3 "*velitatio* dicitur levis contentio, dicta ex congressione velitum." Nonius illustrates by two passages from Plautus, one of which is the same as that quoted in Paulus, as well as from Turpilius, Afranius, and Caecilius. Festus p. 364 "*temetum* vinum. Plautus in Aulularia: Cererine, Strobile, has [sunt] facturi nuptias? Qui? Quia temeti nil adlatum intellego." *Temetum* and *temulentus* are then illustrated from Novius and Afranius. Nonius p. 5, "*temulenta* est ebriosa, dicta a *temeto*, quod est vinum, quod attentet." He illustrates the word by the same passage from the Aulularia, another from the Truculentus, and more from Cicero and Varro.

My contention is that in these instances, and numbers of others

which I could quote did space permit, a comparison between Nonius and Paulus enables us to recover large parts of the original glosses of Verrius Flaccus. But besides coincidences in detail, there are two general points of resemblance between the works of Nonius and of Verrius Flaccus which should not be overlooked. One is (and this is very important) that the range of authors quoted by these two writers is in the main the same, though Nonius lived some two hundred and fifty years after Verrius. Verrius naturally stops at the Augustan age, and so, with a very few exceptions, does Nonius. The exceptions too are such as almost to prove the rule. One of them is a citation from Apuleius, and the others are from Septimius Serenus, both Africans, and both almost pedantic students of antiquity. None of the other citations in Nonius are from authors later than the Augustan age. Whatever, therefore, may have been the sources of his work, the writers whom he quotes are in the main the same as those from whom Verrius draws his illustrations.

Another point of correspondence between Nonius and Verrius is their method of quotation by series of authors. On this I have perhaps said enough already; but I would observe here that the fact may be used quite as easily to show that Nonius drew upon Verrius, or upon extracts from his book, as that he used isolated commentaries. And what if it can be shown that the very series in Nonius and Verrius sometimes coincide? Paulus p. 61 has a note in a Plautine series on *capulum*, and so Nonius p. 4. In Paulus p. 96 *gestio* is apparently quoted in a series of words from Terence; it is illustrated from Terence in Nonius p. 32. Nonius pp. 85 and 86 comments on the words *coquitar* and *agnus curio*, heading both his lists of instances with a quotation from Plautus; now these words occur also in a Plautine series in Paulus pp. 60 and 61. So with the very first word on which Nonius has a note, *senium*, which is illustrated from Caecilius both by Nonius and by Festus p. 339, a page on which there are distinct traces of a series of words illustrated from Caecilius.

Supposing Nonius, then, to have been making extracts from series of authors, he might as easily, indeed more easily, have taken them from Verrius or from some abridgment of Verrius, in which he would find them manufactured ready to his hand, as from individual commentators.

But indeed the more one studies Nonius, the more clearly will it, I think, appear that his work *De Compendiosa Doctrina* is a series

of extracts not from commentaries, but from works of reference. Much of the lexicographical part comes, as we have seen, from Verrius Flaccus; much of the grammatical part can, by a comparison of parallel passages in Charisius, Diomedes, and Priscian, be shown to be derived from Pliny and Probus; and I suspect that much of the antiquarian part is from the same sources as the corresponding portions of Isidore, the *Pratum* of Suetonius being, not improbably, one of the most important of them. These conclusions, to which I have been led by an independent study of the evidence, I hope one day to substantiate in detail in a separate essay.

But, it will be said, "It may be conceded that Nonius took large parts of his work not from original commentaries, but from abridgments of lexicons and books on grammar; are you however prepared to deny that he borrowed largely from Aulus Gellius?" That he did so has been argued at length in an elaborate treatise by Martin Hertz (Jahrb. 85, pp. 706-726; 779-797), whose theory, so far as I know, has been accepted by recent scholars as one of the bases of all further investigation. And yet I hope to make it probable that Nonius did not borrow from Gellius at all; nay, that there is nothing to show that he had ever read Gellius.

(1) I have made a list, partly with the valuable aid of Hertz's dissertation, of passages common to Nonius and Gellius. Now it cannot be denied that the coincidences of all kinds are very striking; and that very often appearances are in favor of supposing that Nonius is, in a blundering way, abridging Gellius. But it not seldom happens that Nonius gives illustrations which are not to be found in Gellius. This is the case with the notes on *putus*, Gellius 7, 5, Nonius p. 27; *privus* Gellius 10, 20, 4, Nonius p. 35; *fur* Gellius 1, 18, 4, Nonius p. 50; *venti* Gellius 2, 22, Nonius p. 50; *laevus* Gellius 5, 12, 13, Nonius p. 51; *vestibulum* Gellius 16, 5, Nonius p. 53; *recepticius servus* Gellius 17, 6, Nonius p. 54; *arcera* Gellius 20, 1, 29, Nonius p. 55; *proletarii* Gellius 16, 10, Nonius p. 67; *copiari* Gellius 17, 2, 9, Nonius p. 87; *compluriens* Gellius 5, 21, 17, Nonius p. 87; *cis* Gellius 12, 13, 7, Nonius p. 92; *duodevicesimo* Gellius 5, 4, 4, Nonius p. 100; *fruniscor* Gellius 17, 2, 5, Nonius p. 113; *priores* Gellius 10, 20, 4, Nonius p. 159; *profligo* Gellius 15, 5, Nonius p. 160, and I could quote others. This fact alone constitutes a very strong argument in favor of the independence of the two writers, for what likelihood is there that a book-maker of the stamp of Nonius would add anything from his own resources?

(2) But there is a negative argument of almost equal weight. While, on the one hand, Nonius often adds instances to those in Gellius, or gives different ones, he often, on the other hand, shows a neglect or ignorance of Gellius which is quite extraordinary supposing him to have paid any serious attention to the *Noctes Atticae*. In many cases where the two writers are treating of the same words Nonius totally disregards what Gellius has said, though nothing would have been more natural than that he should have abridged it, had the work of Gellius been before him. Sometimes again he omits words which must certainly have suggested themselves to him, had he been consulting Gellius to any considerable extent.

(3) As Hertz himself observes, Nonius only appears to have used Gellius to any great extent in his first two books. Now supposing him really to have borrowed directly from Gellius, this fact is very remarkable; for there is no reason, in the nature of the case, why he should not have borrowed from him in his later books as well as in the first two. There are, it is true, nineteen if not twenty books of Nonius, each with a different title; but the contents of many of them are so similar that the whole work might as well have been divided into half the number. The phenomenon noticed by Hertz is however completely explained when we remember two facts: first, that it is in the first two books of Nonius that we find most of the coincidences between him and Verrius Flaccus; secondly, that a number of glosses common to Nonius and Gellius are also common to both writers and to Verrius Flaccus. We should be justified, from the combined similarity and dissimilarity between the Nonian and Gellian glosses, in inferring that the two writers drew upon common sources. But we can go further, and point out in a great number of cases what the common source was.

(4) There is another argument adduced in favor of the dependence of Nonius upon Gellius which I must notice before leaving this part of the subject. It is urged that the order of the notes which Nonius borrowed from Gellius follows, in Nonius, the order of the books of Gellius. This is undoubtedly true in the main, but not without exceptions. Sometimes we have a reverse order; in the second book, for instance, under the letter *P*, Nonius goes back from the sixteenth to the fifteenth book of Gellius, under the letter *S* from the ninth to the fourth, from the fourth to the third, and from the eighteenth to the ninth. And even though Nonius does on the whole follow the order of the books of Gellius, he

leaves such large gaps in doing so that not much can fairly be made of the fact; in his first book, for example, he goes from Gellius II to IV, V to IX, X to XII, XIII to XVI, XVII to XX; in his second from XI to XVI, VI to XII and XVII, V to XVII, XVII to XIX, X to XV, XV to XVIII; II to IX, IX to XVII; VI to IX, IX to XVII, XVII to XIX; IX to XVIII; VI to IX, IX to XVI; III to IX, IX to XVIII; X to XII, XII to XVI. It may be added that six books of Gellius, the first, seventh, eighth, eleventh, thirteenth, and twentieth, are not quoted at all in the first two books of Nonius.

I have now, I hope, succeeded in making it probable that there is no relation of dependence between Nonius and Gellius, and that a community of source or sources is at the bottom of their coincidences. But before leaving Nonius a word or two must be said on the relation between his work and parts of the grammatical treatise of Julius Romanus preserved by Charisius. It should be observed that the list of adverbs quoted from Romanus by Charisius p. 195 foll. stands in the same relation to Nonius as that in which we have seen that Gellius does. The note on *ampliter* occurs in Nonius p. 54 in a much fuller form. With that on *confidenter* compare Nonius p. 262 s. v. *confidentia*; on *duriter* Nonius p. 512 is much fuller than Julius Romanus, whose instances he gives with others; on *efflictim* Nonius p. 104 is again fuller, and gives different instances; *firmiter* is mentioned without examples by Julius Romanus, but by Nonius p. 512 illustrated from Lucilius, Afranius, and Cicero. With the notes on *inimiciter* compare Nonius p. 514, where the word is illustrated from Accius; with that on *impendia* Nonius p. 128; on *longe* Nonius p. 339; on *luci* Nonius p. 210; on *longum* Nonius p. 338; on *longiter* Nonius p. 515, where the same passage from Lucretius is cited; on *mordicus* Nonius p. 139; on *modice* Nonius p. 342; on *protinus* Nonius p. 376, where the note is given in a much fuller form, and is illustrated by the same passage from Vergil; on *perplexim* Nonius p. 515, where the same line of Plautus is quoted; on *publicitus* Nonius p. 513; on *pedetemptim* Nonius p. 29; on *posterius* Nonius p. 375; on *primo pedatu* Nonius p. 64; on *rarenter* Nonius pp. 164, 515; on *statim* Nonius p. 393; on *tuatim* Nonius p. 179; on *tractim* Nonius p. 178; on *testatim* Nonius p. 178; on *vespera* Nonius p. 231; on *viritim* Nonius p. 43.

I cannot but think that these coincidences are due to the fact that Nonius and Julius Romanus were drawing upon the same source

or sources. And there is an obvious general similarity between the two writers. Each quotes both in alphabetical order and also by series of authors; each has repetitions of the same word merely because it is illustrated from different writers; each makes his extracts in a shambling and helpless manner. Finally, there are indications that, like Nonius, Julius Romanus is in several instances indebted, directly or indirectly, to Verrius Flaccus. This is the case with his notes on *edius fidius*, *examussim*, *fabre*, *in mundo*, *ilico*, *ibidem*, *nauci*, *noctu*, *nudius tertius*, *neutiquam*, *oppido*, *subinde*, *secus*, *sarte*, *viritim*; and some of these are common also to Nonius and Festus. I have therefore little doubt that there was much of Verrius' work embedded in the writings from which Romanus and Nonius made their extracts.

Let us now proceed to consider for a moment the collection of glosses which bears the name of Lutatius Placidus, a writer whose *floruit* is generally assigned to the fifth century A. D. The character of this compilation bears a marked resemblance to that of Nonius; Placidus is Nonius in miniature. His work is an extremely meagre compendium of grammar, lexicography, and antiquities, intended to cover much the same ground as the *De Compendiosa Doctrina*. The glosses of Placidus are usually spoken of as intended only for Plautus, and their title confirms this idea. The fact, however, is far otherwise, it being clear that though there are many notes in Placidus which refer exclusively to Plautine words, there are many which are meant for other authors.

It has been supposed that Placidus, like Nonius, took his notes from commentaries. This theory is, I venture to think, as erroneous in the one case as in the other. If the glosses of Placidus be compared with corresponding notes in Festus, Gellius, Nonius, Servius, Macrobius, and Isidore, a large mass of material is brought to light common to all these writers, which it is nearly impossible to suppose they can have derived from commentaries, and not rather from handbooks of lexicography and grammar. Confining ourselves on the present occasion to a comparison between Placidus and Festus or Paulus, we find that a large proportion of the glosses in Placidus must have come, directly or indirectly, from Verrius Flaccus. Some of these have escaped the eye of Deuerling, the most recent editor of Placidus. If I am not wrong in my reckoning, more than a third of the glosses in Placidus correspond closely with notes in Paulus or Festus. The general resemblance between the glosses of Placidus and those in Paulus is, indeed, so great, that

Müller imagined that Placidus borrowed from a version of Festus fuller than the abridgment by Paulus. In rejecting this hypothesis, as they are probably right in doing, Deuerling and Loewe seem to me to go too far when they refuse to admit an organic connection of some kind between Placidus and Verrius Flaccus. There may be no relation of dependence traceable between Placidus and Festus, but this does not prove that a great number of the lexicographical notes in Placidus may not have been derived from a handbook or handbooks compiled from the *De Verborum Significatu*. Of the glosses in Placidus which cannot be paralleled in Paulus or Festus, there are many to be found in Nonius, Macrobius, Servius, and Isidore, but in such a form as to preclude the idea of any one of these writers having copied from any other, Macrobius or Servius from Nonius, or Isidore from either; a fact which surely shows that the sources from which all these writers drew were ultimately the same as the authorities followed by Nonius, in all probability that is, the scholars of the first and the first half of the second centuries A. D.

The value of the glosses of Placidus is not in any way diminished because their origin may in many cases be conjectured. On the contrary, it is clear that being quite independent of Festus, they often preserve remains of notes and sometimes even of passages from ancient authors which have disappeared from the existing epitomes of Verrius.

I now come to the question which originally led me to undertake this tedious investigation. It may, I think, be shown by a minute comparison of parallel passages that several of the notes on Vergil in Macrobius are ultimately derived from Verrius Flaccus. If I am right, an interesting fact will have been clearly elicited which has hitherto been only imperfectly recognized, that Verrius, by embodying Vergilian instances in his articles, was one of the earliest scholars who contributed anything to the interpretation of Vergil.

Readers of Macrobius do not need to be reminded that he shows, or at least professes, an acquaintance both with Verrius Flaccus and his epitomator Festus, and that there is therefore no antecedent improbability that he may have been indebted to Verrius even where he does not name him. To come, however, to details. Let us examine some of the passages in the third book of Macrobius, where he is dealing with Vergil's use of words relating to religious ceremonies. The first that I will take is *porriciam* (III, 2). In illustration of this word Macrobius quotes the antiquarian Fabius

Pictor. Verrius Flaccus commented on this word and illustrated it from Plautus (Festus p. 318 and 319). In support of his remarks on the word *religiosus* Macrobius distinctly appeals to Festus. Passing on to his note on *delubrum* we are met by a curious circumstance. Macrobius (III, 4, 3) has one note, Paulus p. 73 has another on this word. But the substance of both notes is combined by Servius on Aen. 2, 225. Paulus says "*delubrum* dicebant fustem delibratum, hoc est decorticatum, quem venerabantur pro deo." Servius not only gives this explanation, but also those quoted in Macrobius from Varro's *Rerum Divinarum*; and much the same comment recurs, with an addition, in Servius on Aen. 4, 56. The impression left is that both Macrobius and Servius were copying from an article in Verrius Flaccus, of which only a short extract has survived in the epitome of Paulus.

In the fourth chapter of Macrobius' sixth book are discussed some instances in which Vergil revived an antique use of Latin words. The first note which I propose to consider is that on *daedala Circe*, § 20. Macrobius says that Vergil, in using the expression *daedala Circe*, was copying the expression of Lucretius *daedala tellus*. Compare now a note in Paulus p. 68, "*daedalam* a varietate rerum artificiorumque dictam esse *apud Lucretium terram*, *apud Ennium Minervam*, *apud Vergilium Circen*, facile est intellegere." Here it is clear that the original note of Verrius Flaccus included the instances of the word given by Macrobius, as well as another or others taken from Ennius.

The word *reboare* is noticed by Macrobius (§ 21) as a Greek word, and Vergil is again justified by the example of Lucretius. Let us endeavor to trace backwards the history of this note, taking first what Servius says on Georgic 3, 323, "*reboant silvaeque et longus Olympus*." "*Est autem Graecum verbum. Nam apud Latinos nullum verbum est quod ante o finalem o habeat excepto inchoo*; quod tamen maiores aliter scribebant, aspiratum interponentes duabus vocalibus, et dicebant *inchoo*." Both these notes can be traced back to Verrius Flaccus. On *boare* Paulus p. 30 says "*boare*, id est *clamare*, a Graeco descendit"; under *inchoo* only a fragment of the original note is left. Verrius (Paulus p. 107) is now made to say that *inchoare* is a Greek word derived from *chaos*, the beginning of things; but we know from another source this was not Verrius' real opinion. For Diomedes p. 365 (Keil) assures us that Verrius derived the word from the Latin word *cohū*=*mundus*, and that it was Julius Modestus (the con-

temporary of Verrius) who defended the Graecizing etymology. In this case the original note of Verrius, or at least the gist of it, seems to be preserved by Servius.

In § 23 Macrobius has another gloss, the fortunes of which we are happily able to follow. He remarks that the word *camurus*, which Vergil uses in the third Georgic, ("camuris hirtae sub cornibus aures") is a foreign word, and goes on to say that perhaps the word *camera* is derived from it. The substance of this note is to be found in Servius' comment on the passage, in Nonius p. 30, who quotes the same line of Vergil, and finally in Paulus p. 43, "*camera* et *camuri* boves, a curvatione, ex Graeco κάμπη descendit."

One more instance, and I have done. Macrobius comments on Vergil's phrase *auritos lepores*, which he illustrates by a quotation from Afranius, "aurito parente" = "asino." Paulus p. 8 says that *auritus* is derived "a magnis auribus, ut sunt asinorum aut leporum." One is tempted to infer that Verrius had a note in which he quoted both the passage from Afranius about a donkey, and that from Vergil about hares.

There are other facts to be noticed with regard to these notes in Macrobius. There are traces in them of alphabetical series; thus, *additus agmen crepito horret tremulus umbraculum; defluo discludo deductus proiectus tempestivus: aethra daedalus reboant; camurus Mulciber petulcus: auritus turicremus velivolus vitisator; arcitenens silvicola; noctivagus nubigenus.*

Again, there are traces in them of arrangement according to authors. The series *agmen crepito horret tremulum* is illustrated from Ennius; *lychnus* and *aethra* from the same author; *daedalus* and *reboant*, *petulcus* and *liquidus*, from Lucretius; *arcitenens* and *silvicola* from Naevius.

Again it should be observed that the authors quoted by Macrobius in illustration or defence of Vergil are all favorites with Verrius Flaccus. So that, all things considered, it appears to me not improbable that Macrobius is here copying, if not from Verrius Flaccus himself, at least from some writer of good authority whose writing embodied matter taken from Verrius Flaccus.

The investigation, the main lines of which I have endeavored to indicate in these two essays, will not be complete until it is extended to Servius, Aelius Donatus, Charisius, Diomedes, Priscian, and Isidore. I have been anxious however to point out the method on which, in my opinion, such an enquiry ought to be based, and (to make my meaning perfectly clear) have subjoined a specimen of an

attempted reconstruction of parts of the first two letters of the *De Verborum Significatu* from notes in writers later than Verrius. To sum up briefly what I have attempted to convey, I would say that it appears to me to be a mistake to try the plan of examining such writers as Gellius, Nonius, Macrobius, and Placidus by themselves, or in pairs. At least, as far as I have yet been able to observe, this proceeding only brings us to an explanation of part of the facts which have to be explained, and leaves the rest in the chaos in which they first presented themselves. The excellent work of Schmidt "*De Nonii auctoribus grammaticis*" is, in my opinion, spoilt by his adoption of the theory that the *De Compensiosa Doctrina* is based mainly upon Gellius and upon isolated commentaries. To suppose that a writer of the evident ignorance and general incapacity which characterize Nonius should have gone upon the plan of making independent selections from ancient commentaries seems to me to be exceedingly unnatural. The titles of his chapters suggest rather that each was taken from a separate work of reference, or a separate section in such work. The mere trouble involved in selecting from commentaries and arranging the selections under such heads as those under which Nonius has arranged his work would be very great, and must surely, if it had been really taken, have led to results very different from those which we have in Nonius.

The hypothesis which I would propose as most likely to explain the perplexing phenomena before us would be this: that during the first and fifth centuries A. D. a number of extracts and *compendia*, of which the book of Festus is one, were made from works of reference compiled in the Augustan age and the first century A. D., such as those of Verrius Flaccus, Hyginus, Fenestella, and Julius Modestus; that the same process was applied to the great grammarians, as Remmius Palaemon, Pliny, and Probus, and to the *Lectiones antiquae* of Caesellius Vindex; that much lexicographical matter was taken from Verrius Flaccus, but was quoted as if the excerptor were consulting the authorities used by Verrius Flaccus; that handbooks of general information on points of grammar and lexicography were composed from these sources, specimens of which have survived in the work of Nonius written in the third century, and that of Placidus written in the fifth. A higher species of the same genus is represented by the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius (2d century) and the *Saturnalia* of Macrobius (4th century), which make the pretence of combining profound learning with elegance and literary form.

And I would venture to suggest that the first step to be taken in the process of unearthing the ancient roots of this degenerate growth is to examine the notes which can be shown to be common to Verrius Flaccus, Suetonius, Gellius, Julius Romanus, Nonius, Servius, Donatus, Macrobius, Placidus, and Isidore; and when this is done and the notes of Verrius are eliminated, then to compare the other authors and discover, if possible, under what groups their notes can be arranged, and finally to attempt to find, if possible, the common sources of these groups. At least I know of no other method which seems likely to lead to any fruitful issue.

I subjoin a specimen of the application of this method to Paulus.

Paulus p. 2, *armillum*, vas vinarium in sacris dictum, quod armo, id est umero, deportatur.

Nonius p. 74 *armillum*. Lucilius lib. XXVIII "hinc ad me, hinc ilicet anus Rursum ad armillum." p. 547 *armillum* urceoli genus vinarii. Varro De Vita P. R. lib. I "etiamnunc pocula quae vocant *capulas* et *capides*, quod est poculi genus; item *armillum*, quod est urceoli genus vinarii."

Placidus p. 7 Deuerl. *armillum*, vas vinarium. Unde "anus ad armillum."

I would suggest that the gloss of Verrius Flaccus may be partially reconstructed from those in Nonius, the gloss of Placidus showing that the definition given by Paulus and the instance of "anus ad armillum" originally formed part of the same note.

Paulus p. 2 *apricum* locum, a sole apertum, a Graeco vocabulo *ἄπριχον* appellamus, quasi *ἀπριχός*, id est sine horrore, videlicet frigoris, unde etiam putatur et Africa appellari. So Servius Aen. 5, 128, Isidore 14, 9, 34.

Paulus p. 2 *amoena* dicta sunt loca quae ad se amanda adliciant, id est trahant. Isidore 14, 9, 33 *amoena* loca dicta Varro ait eo quod solum amorem praestent, et ad [se] amanda adliciant. Verrius Flaccus quod sine munere sint, nec quicquam in his (iis?) officii, quasi *amunia*: id est, sine fructu: inde etiam nihil praestantes *immunes* dicuntur. Serv. Aen. 5, 734 *amoena* sunt loca solius voluptatis plena, quasi *amunia*, unde nullus fructus exsolvitur; unde etiam nihil praestantes *immunes* dicuntur. 6, 638 quasi *amunia*, hoc est sine fructu, ut Varro et Carminius docent.

Here we have distinct evidence that the original note of Verrius included (and indeed defended) an etymology of which Paulus has made no mention.

Paulus p. 4 *armentum* id genus pecoris appellatur quod est

idoneum ad opus armorum. Invenies tamen feminine *armentas* apud Ennium positum. Nonius p. 190 *armenta* genere neutro plerique. Feminino Ennius, "ad *armentas* ipsius easdem." Pacuvius, "Tu cornifrontes pascere armentas soles."

Paulus p. 9 *antruare* . . . *truant*, moventur. *Truam* quoque vocant *quo permovent coquentes exta*. Nonius p. 19 *truam* veteres a terendo, quam nos deminutive *trullam* dicimus, appellari voluerunt. Pomponius Pannuceatis; "mulier ubi aspexit tam magnifice tutulatam truam"; Titinius Setina, . . . "*cocus magnum ahenum*, quando fervit, paula *confulat* trua." Here I should suppose that the words of Paulus' explanation were suggested by the passage in Titinius, which Festus had preserved.

Paulus p. 19 *Aventinus* mons intra urbem dictus est, quod ibi *rex Albanorum Aventinus* bello fuerit *extinctus atque sepultus*. Servius Aen. 7, 657 *Aventinus* mons urbis Romae est, quem constat ab avibus esse nominatum, quae de Tiberi ascendentes illic sedebant, ut in octavo legimus "Dirarum nidis domus opportuna volucrum." Quidam etiam rex Aboriginum Aventinus nomine illic *occisus et sepultus est*, sicut etiam *Albanorum rex* Aventinus, cui successit Procas. Varro tamen dicit in Gente Populi Romani "Sabino a Romulo susceptos istum accepisse montem quem ab Avente fluvio provinciae suae appellaverunt Aventinum." There is a note on this word in Varro L-L 5, 43, of which the comment in Servius is quite independent: I infer from this fact and from the similarity of language between Servius and Paulus, that Servius has preserved a note of Verrius Flaccus.

I quote these instances as specimens of a line of investigation which I hope may be worked out by scholars who have more leisure for the task than I have. About a third of the whole number of glosses given under the first and second letters in Paulus may, I think, be thus supplemented, or at least paralleled, from later writers; a fact sufficient to prove to what a large extent the work of Verrius, in its original form or in excerpts and abridgments, was consulted in antiquity.

HENRY NETTLESHIP.

II.—A STUDY OF BENTLEY'S ENGLISH.

To students of classical literature, Richard Bentley is known as a critic of almost supernatural insight, gifted with the "vision and the faculty divine," in the province of restoration and interpretation, as never man was gifted. Among students of English he is principally remembered as the author of an unfortunate endeavor to *restore* the text of *Paradise Lost*, by applying to its emendation the same critical sagacity which he had exercised with such incomparable felicity in his interpretations of the ancient classics. So far as I am aware, the English of Bentley has never been subjected to a special treatment at the hands of English scholars. De Quincey contents himself with a mere generality, and a passing allusion to two of Bentley's favorite barbarisms, *putid* and *negoce*, somewhat strangely overlooking *commentitious*, which is urged against our author with such vigor by his "wooden antagonist."

One needs but to read a few pages of the Dissertation upon Phalaris in order to discover that the English of Bentley affords a luxuriant harvest for special students of the language, that it may be regarded as marking in clear, bold outline a period of transition in the history of our tongue. The student should note that the English compositions by which Bentley is best known to after times were produced principally between 1690 and 1700, that is, between the Revolution of 1688, which may be assumed as the beginning of the critical era in our speech, and 1704, the commencement of the Addisonian age, in which the regulative tendency in our language (a tendency that so clearly coincided with the constitutional development of the Revolution) attained its completed form. Bentley's English falls, for the most part, within this period of change, a period that is distinguished by the expansion of simple, concise English prose, under the culture of Dryden and Temple, and the complete decadence of the ponderous, complicated syntax of the former age, represented by Jeremy Taylor, who died in 1667, and by Clarendon and Milton, both of whom died in 1674.

The changes in our tongue during this period are not confined to its structure. Not only was there a steady simplification of its

syntax from the Restoration (1660), the epoch which marks the rise of modern English; the vocabulary experienced a corresponding process of simplification. Many of the verbal monstrosities introduced into English during the great age of learning in the XVI century; and in the XVII century, by the school of Browne and Taylor, were rejected (as Bentley himself notes) with a reviving sense of linguistic propriety, so that the vocabulary of Bentley, Swift, or Steele presents a marked contrast in respect to purity and idiomatic vigor. Thus, for example, Bentley, who was born in 1662, five years before the death of Jeremy Taylor, contains no such *monstra horrenda* as *indagation*, *longanimity*, *multiloquy*, *stultiloquy*, *coadunation*, *thomistical*, *exauctoration*, *funest*, *mutilous*, *disreputation*, *exinanition*, *superfetation*, *recidivation*, *subjicible*, *expilation*, *imposthumation*, *temeration*, *circumagilate*, in which the vocabulary of Taylor abounds. A more vigorous, nervous, energetic English than Bentley's has rarely been produced. This is eminently true of his controversial and polemic essays. In his sermons and his discourses upon atheism, he rises to a more finished style, though here he is characterized by the same terseness and clearness of expression. There is the same absence of ostentation, the same freedom from striving after sensational devices and picturesque effects, that bane of modern prose composition. The student of English will find with surprise, as well as gratification, that many of the pithiest, homeliest phrases in our current American English are employed with perfect assurance by the greatest of classical scholars, while Archbishop Trench and his imitators will be pained and disappointed to discover that certain energetic though unpolished forms of expression, which have been assiduously reprobated as "Americanisms," are "familiar as household words" in his controversial essays.

I have arranged, under several distinct heads, the following words and phrases, selected principally from the Dissertation on Phalaris. My aim has been to reproduce the characteristic features of each phrase or sentence. Complete quotation would require an unreasonable encroachment upon the space of the Journal, and is therefore avoided, but the salient points of the passage are preserved in every instance.

I. Expressions that have become obsolete in the literary form of the language, though still current in familiar speech. Many of these are remarkable for their terseness, directness, and vigor. Notice the following: "Boyish witticisms and doggerel rhymes

which he has spurted here"; "when he stumbles upon arguments he cannot make use of them"; "what is there in this long-winded harangue of Mr. B's"; "if this epoch had belonged to Phrynichus, no goat had been here *neither*"; this use of the double negative was reputable English as late as the Reformation, and it frequently occurs even after this date. Compare Hamlet's advice to the players, "Be not too tame *neither*." "Caught in so sorry a trap"; "this is spoken by the old fellow while he's cutting his capers"; "a man that has that furniture in his upper story will discover by the very next words that the passage is corrupted"; compare our common American saying, "weak in the upper story." "A twang of their dialect," compare our "Yankee twang"; "if he designed to seek after truth, and not merely to raise a dust"; "will the examiner *insult* upon that great man (Bishop Pearson) as he does upon me?" Here *insult* is used with a clear reference to its radical sense, leaping or exulting over a prostrate foe: this use of the word is quite frequent in Bentley. Compare the following passage from Jeremy Taylor's *Life of Christ*, p. 463: "In criminal causes let us find all the ways to alleviate the burden of the man by just excuses, that he be not *insulted* on." "A fardle of common-places"; (compare Hamlet's soliloquy, also Geneva Version of the Scriptures); "they had certainly gone to pot"; this expression sorely puzzled one of Bentley's foreign translators; "an egregious piece of dullness"; "dressed up a fine story"; "I dare pin my belief upon such excellent judgments"; "he may cashier Xenophon and the rest"; "young and unfledged writers"; "a sorry plagiarist"; very common in Bentley for our modern plagiarist; compare Sheridan's *Sir Fretful Plagiary*. "Plutarch would never balk a good story"; "the Examiner makes a mighty flourish"; "beat him at his own play"; "this will be exploded for a mere forgery"; "*those* sort of requests"; compare Shakspeare, "*these* kind of knaves I know"; "'tis not to be so rigidly taken as if he had never *went* out of town"; "neither of these two improvements *are* registered in the marble"; "an advocate that will stick close"; "sprung up like a mushroom"; "Sir Henry Spelman used it (the word *aliene*) LXXX year since." This use of year, as ten year, is very common in old English¹ and still survives in current speech. "His argument is lame of one foot"; compare our "lame argument," Shakspeare's "lame and impotent conclusion"; "such common-place stuff"; "perhaps he

¹ It occurs frequently even in so scholarly a writer as Jeremy Taylor.

might be snapt before he got home"; "fall foul upon these authors"; (very common): "the region of possibilities"; "one of the biggest fashions of cups"; "the Examiner swells and blusters"; "falls into his old vein"; "went out of his way to fetch it"; "the botch is incurable"; compare our slang phrase, "a botch job"; "it exactly hits with the other reckoning"; "Scaliger has made a great slip here"; "dress up and varnish the story of Pausanias"; compare Shakspeare's "unvarnished tale." "Racks these two accounts together"; "have one fling at my translation of Gellius"; "this is news to the Examiner"; "our Sophist might come off with a whole skin"; "nor carried his Bull thither for a *Raree* show"; "refreshing quibble"; "bears hard upon the author"; "a friend at a pinch"; "first lit upon by Democritus" (very common); "with this opinion all those fall in"; this word has been in a great measure superseded by *coincide*, its exact etymological equivalent, then in process of naturalization in popular prose style. "If Mr. B. had been cut out for improving any thing"; "at the bottom in sober earnest"; "the author is very much out"; "some knotty paragraph"; "so small a business"; "a whole crowd of authors"; "hard put to it"; "region of critic"; common for criticism: "took it at (on) trust"; "have no pique against the editor"; "go with his finger in his eye to tell his story to the bookseller"; "very smart and witty"; the word *witty* seems to have assumed its modern significance after the Restoration. Note its use in Bacon's Essays, in the English of the Scriptures, and its use both in its modern and its ancient sense in the writings of Jeremy Taylor, clearly showing its tendency towards its present meaning. "At long run"; "bottomed upon that"; "searched my writings to pick holes in them"; "a linsey woolsey writer"; "raked together these few words of my dissertation"; "but for delays of the press he had had (would have had) this answer some months ago"; compare the Psalmist: "I *had* fainted unless I had believed to see the goodness of the Lord in the land of the living." This use is quite common in Bentley. "It was the tyrant himself that talked so big"; "stupid and thick-skulled fellows"; "this pious fraud"; "a sly fetch of our sophist"; "so poor that he had not enough left to bury him"; "a help at a dead lift"; "a bad business on either side"; "one coat to his back"; "fool and trifle in that manner"; "which they would certainly have thrown in his teeth"; compare Matthew xxvii 44: "blast his reputation"; "had a finger in this volume"; "to serve a

turn"; "to help at a hard pinch"; "a flush of authorities"; "our epistles will be still in the mire"; "he durst not show his head since"; "truckled to them"; "likely to be a hard brush"; "three young sparks"; "Gammer Clito"; compare the old play of Gammer Gurton's Needle. "Pay him home"; "as this booby would think it"; "dipt into his notes"; "pay him in his own coin"; "backed with proof"; "he can stumble upon things without seeing them"; "a very slippery way in telling of money"; "cram his poor margin with citations"; "he bungles grievously"; "alive and hearty"; "must be miserably out"; "he is thus taken tripping"; "worried and run down"; "Alcibiades's miss"; "jerks Plato for his ambition"; "dressed and curled in the beauish way"; "cast an oblique slur upon my Lectures"; "so *as* his thoughts might be seen"; "neither of them *are*"; "will make everybody *sky*"; "mend his hand a little"; "in the spare hours"; "sit but awkwardly upon him"; "never once twitted him"; "blow hot and cold with the same breath"; "had a hand in Socrates's accusation"; "seems to have been in one of his sleepy fits"; "now that my hand's in"; "himself is all melting when he talks on that subject"; "such matters did not busy his head"; "to leave his Sicilian prince in the lurch"; "the short of his speech is."

II. Words that are often regarded in our day as of recent introduction into the vocabulary, although they are in most instances sanctioned by the usage of reputable authors, especially in the XVI and XVII centuries. Such words are "gratuitous," "gratuitously," and "perfunctorily," a word whose employment has increased of late years to such a degree as to have become almost a "sign of pedantry," its extravagant use being probably due to the fact that many supposed it to be a term of recent introduction, a kind of fashionable novelty in speech. The same criticism applies to "gratuitous" and "gratuitously." It was the former of these words that so aroused the philological ire of Mr. R. Grant White (see Hall's Recent Exemplifications of False Philology). Bentley uses, without reserve, such expressions as "gratuitously undertakes to apologize"; "a spiteful quibble about the word gratuitously"; "perfunctorily read it," *et cel.*

III. Words or expressions frequently stigmatized as "Americanisms," though in many instances survivals of older and reputable usage. Notice the following: "too thin and tender to endure handling again"; "so tall a compliment to Socrates"; "a crowd of authors." See Bartlett's Dictionary of Americanisms, "crowd," and "tall"; also Princeton Review, Nov. 1878, Duties of

Higher to Lower Races, Canon Rawlinson. Note also "an awkward guesser"; "an odd guess"; "make a near guess at it"; "I will not pretend to guess." This word is frequently credited to the so-called "Yankee dialect," though it is employed in its modern acceptation by Bentley in a number of instances. The following, both prevalent slang phrases in the United States, should also be noticed: "see through a mill-stone"; "all of his own kidney."

IV. Words and phrases employed with a peculiar significance, sometimes archaic, sometimes apparently impressed upon them by Bentley. "Ingratiate," "relish," and "resent," used as intransitive verbs, as "thinks to ingratiate with him"; "he resents that I did not name him"; "nothing will relish, and go down with them"; "enterprise," used as a verb: "the thing he enterprizes is this"; "detect," employed in an unusual sense, "to detect him a sophist"; "punctually," employed with its radical import, having no reference to time, "this agrees punctually with Pausanias"; "whether," used for who or which, "whether of the two," common in the English of the Scriptures, compare "whether is easier"; himself, used as the subject, "himself fights with"; common in Jeremy Taylor; see also Sir Walter Scott's "myself will guide thee on the way." Note also "the quite contrary"; "whether we shall not get by the bargain"; "I desire to stand a neuter"; "endeavors at subtility,"

The use of the participial noun with the prefix *a* (at or in) is not peculiar to Bentley's English, but is characteristic of the best usage of our language until the XVIII century. Compare such expressions as "his greatness is a ripening"; "the people fell a lusting"; "the ark was a preparing," *et cet.* After the disappearance of the prepositional prefix from the literary form of the language (it survives in familiar speech), our new and awkward passive progressive inflection was developed, "*is being done*," "*is being built*," the first recorded examples of its use dating from about 1785-1795. I hope at some future day to make the history of this latest flexional evolution of English the subject of a special treatment, so that I content myself in this connection with a simple allusion. The same general observation applies to Bentley's employment of the Subjunctive Mood: he adhered to the standard usage of his time, now unhappily fallen into decadence, though constituting one of the characteristic graces of our older English construction. Bentley's language, especially the Dissertation upon Phalaris, illustrates in many instances the process of transition from the involved and complicated periods of our elder authors, to the simple, concise syntax of the modern era. This is apparent in the many sentences

which he commences with a relative pronoun, or a disjunctive conjunction, thus *breaking the sentence in two*, where an older writer of English would have prolonged it indefinitely, or a modern writer would have divided it into two or three terse sentences, probably using the demonstrative instead of the relative and avoiding the disjunctive conjunction at the beginning. Many examples might be cited, but the following will serve to illustrate: "He, I think, is the only old writer that makes mention of them. Which alone, as before in Phalaris's case, is a shrewd prejudice against their credit and reputation." "When the Agregentines got Phalaris into their power they burnt his mother also, and his friends. Which implies he was not an alien, but had friends in the country." "Let him believe, if he can, that the writer of these Epistles speaks of the Athenian. Or if he do speak of him, even this may go among the other arguments to detect him a Sophist." "'Tis almost incredible he should be ignorant of that. Or that the language of Lesbos was Aeolic."¹ To the student of English syntax, who is endeavoring to trace the evolution of our tongue, from its ancient into its modern form, the language of Bentley is worthy of diligent investigation and critical study.

In the Introduction to the Dissertation on Phalaris, p. 26, there occurs an expression that has been thoroughly engrafted into familiar English, and which serves a most excellent purpose. I allude to the use of the adjective "wooden" to denote a low degree of mental capacity, a mere creature of routine, who plays his part with as much conscious intelligence as a wooden puppet in a ventriloquist's show. In the following passage (Introduction to Phalaris, p. 26) the word seems, in Bentley's hands, to be passing clearly over into its tropical sense. I am confident that when Bentley spoke of his "wooden antagonists" he attached to the term a deeper significance than may appear upon the surface, a significance very slightly, if at all, different from the modern import of the expression. The process of tracing the transition of words from their literal to their metaphorical signification is so instructive, and seems to be so aptly illustrated in this specific instance, that I cannot forbear to quote the passage in full. "In the title page, says Bentley, alluding to his adversary's assault, I die the death of Milo the Crotonian:

"Remember Milo's end,
Wedged in with timber which he strove to rend."

¹ Many similar examples may be found in Bingham's *Antiquities*. Bingham was a contemporary of Bentley.

"The application of which, continues Bentley, must be this: That, as Milo after his victories at six several Olympiads was at last destroyed in wrestling with a tree; so I, after I had attained to some small reputation in letters, am to be quite baffled and run down by wooden antagonists."

The discussion between Bentley and Boyle as to the propriety of certain English words is rich in suggestion, and at the same time illustrative of the amazing ignorance that then prevailed like a thick cloud, even among critical scholars, in regard to the evolution of the mother-tongue. Thus we find the Examiner impeaching the purity of Bentley's vocabulary, by alleging, among other transgressions, his use of the word *aliene*. As a matter of language history the use of *aliene* may be traced back to the XIV century,¹ to say nothing of its occurrence in the Authorized Version of the Scriptures, in Shakspeare, as well as its careful entry in Minsheu's Dictionary, published during the reign of King James I. The other words charged against Bentley, *concede*, *commentitious*, *idiom*, *negoce*, *putid*, *repudiate*, *timid*, *vernacular*, are, with the exception of *commentitious*, *negoce*, and *putid*, firmly engrafted into our vocabulary. Most of them had found their way into English during the first half of the XVII century. *Concede*, *repudiate*, *timid* (not *timorous*), *vernacular*, do not occur, I think, in Shakspeare; *idiom* is used by Milton in his Tract on Education, and is of frequent occurrence in Jeremy Taylor; Minsheu in his Dictionary gives *idiome*. Of the words retorted upon the Examiner by Bentley, *ignore* is thoroughly naturalized, despite the violence done to the linguistic chastity of certain English critics, while *recognosce* has disappeared as completely as *commentitious*.

Bentley's reflections upon language, even when in conflict with sound philosophy, are worthy of study, for even the aberrations of true genius are suggestive. When he philosophizes upon the tendency of speech to constant change, in structure as well as in vocabulary, he seems to have a prevision of comparative philology, and we almost wonder that he has nothing to say about "consonantal interchange," "phonetic decay," and the other commonplaces of our modern science. The time, however, was not yet, and even Bentley was so fettered by the traditions of his age, and the absence of that extended view of language which only comparative grammar has made possible, as to maintain that Hebrew was the primitive speech of our race. With a singular lack of con-

¹ Examples of *alien* may be found in Wickliffe.

sistency, after his admirable reflections upon the tendency of speech to continuous change, "like the perspiring bodies of living creatures in perpetual motion and alteration," Bentley expresses the opinion that as the principal changes in the English in the two last centuries were owing to the vast influx of Latin words into its vocabulary, and that as this influx had now nearly ceased, it might be practicable to fix the language within definite and circumscribed limits. This display of inconsistency was due more to Bentley's acquiescence in the tendencies of his time than to independent reflection; it was not the outcome of that invincible acuteness which would have been only too quick to detect and to "insult upon" such an exhibition of weakness in an adversary. The circumscription of the language within definite limits was the cherished project of English scholars, from the time of Dryden, who saw its beginning, till the time of Johnson, who saw its close, and whose dictionary may be regarded as an attempted realization of the plan. The example of the French Academy was a potent influence in stimulating this tendency. Bentley's observations upon the character of the Latin element, in the vocabulary of English, have never received that degree of consideration from students of our language to which their sound wisdom and justice entitle them. They are especially worthy of attention in the light of contemporary scholarship, when the school of Freeman and Furnivall are making such strenuous endeavors to impoverish our vocabulary by eliminating words of classical origin, substituting Anglo-Saxon or old English terms, long since faded out of memory more effectually than the Examiner's *recognosce* and Bentley's *putid*. The history of our indebtedness to the syntax and the vocabulary of medieval as well as classical Latin is yet to be written. and I am confident that the extent of our obligation is imperfectly apprehended by English scholars. Bentley's famous note upon *contemporary* is too well known to students of language to require more than a passing allusion. Among recent writers I notice that the rule as expounded by Bentley is systematically defied by Rev. Mark Pattison, who in his fascinating *Life of Milton* invariably writes *co-temporary*.

It will be observed that throughout this essay I assume a certain degree of familiarity on the part of students with the history, if not with the writings, of Richard Bentley. Extended quotation is impossible in the space I have allotted to this article. If it succeed in stimulating some of our rising students of the mother-tongue to

seek an accurate acquaintance with the English of Bentley, associated for the most part in their memories with his unfortunate endeavor to amend the text of Milton, though even in this unworthy exhibition of his powers he lost not "his original brightness," but seemed only "the excess of glory obscured," I shall have no cause to regret my self-imposed restraint.

H. E. SHEPHERD.

The student of Bentley will find some delightful criticisms in Dr. Ingleby's "Still Lion." Why have historians of science and literature uniformly ignored the correspondence between Bentley and Sir Isaac Newton? It reveals a phase of Bentley's greatness but little known in our day. The greatest classic and the greatest scientist of the XVII century discovered no antagonism between their cherished lines of study. Bentley extols Newton as a "divine theorist," and eulogizes his discoveries in one of the few contributions he has made to our poetry. In addition to this he was one of the first to utilize and apply the researches of Newton, as his discourses on atheism attest. It is only *parvenus* in science or literature that create an antagonism where none exists.

III.—ON THE CONSONANT DECLENSION IN OLD NORSE.¹

I.

Two opinions as to the origin and development of the consonant stems in the Teutonic languages prevail. The first is that to which J. Grimm gave expression in his *Gramm.* I. 610 sqq., and which Delbrück, Heinzel and others adopted, viz., that these consonant stems arose from a gradual fretting away and contraction of the common forms of the vowel declension. The second is that advanced by the later grammarians, as Kelle, Scherer, Lyngby, Wimmer, Bugge, viz., that the present consonant declension has been received in unbroken succession from the Aryan language, although much distorted and disfigured in its progress by becoming mixed with the vowel declension. The advocates of the former theory explain the peculiarities of the consonant declension by a loss of the characteristic vowel of the stem and other deviations from the common declension necessarily caused by this loss; the advocates of the latter theory on the other hand explain the same peculiarities by a transition into the vowel declension, by irregularities arising in the declension from the influence which analogous forms of the other declensions may have exercised, thus disturbing the regular development. In view of the new facts which the researches of the first part of this work have brought to light, it will perhaps not be altogether useless to review the reasons adduced in support of theories so entirely different, inasmuch as it will not be undesirable to have the scattered remarks collected, and, moreover, this will afford us an excellent opportunity of confirming much that has

¹ These remarks are based upon an investigation entitled: 'Die consonantische Declination in den germanischen Sprachen. I Abtheilung: Die consonantische Declination im Altnordischen.' The first part of this work, containing a summary of the present state and progress of investigation on this subject, an index of works used, and a list of the consonant stems with passages showing their declension, was published by Karl Trübner, Strassburg, 1880, after having been presented to the philosophical faculty of the University of Strassburg for the doctor's degree. In the following remarks frequent reference will be made to this first part, as all the examples cannot be cited here.

hitherto only been conjecture, and of rectifying much that rested on a false conception of these forms. But in order to arrive at any kind of a satisfactory result in our investigation, it will be best to give briefly the changes caused by the 'auslautsgesetze' as generally accepted, and by the several steps in the development of the language, beginning with the common Teutonic and tracing it down to each separate dialect, in order to obtain a secure basis for our further investigation.

The stem *borg-* (we assume that the progression of the mutes is already completed) considered as a consonant stem must have been declined in common Teutonic (the endings of Scherer G. D. S. 422 are here employed) as follows :

	Sing.	Plur.
n.	<i>borg- s</i>	<i>borg-as</i>
g.	<i>borg-as</i>	<i>borg-ām</i>
d. (loc.)	<i>borg-i</i>	<i>borg-mis</i>
ac.	<i>borg-am</i>	<i>borg-as</i>

After the auslautsgesetze had operated we should have :

	Sing.			
	Goth.	O. N.	O. E.	O. H. G.
n.	<i>baurgs</i>	<i>borg</i>	<i>burg</i>	<i>burg</i>
g.	<i>baurgs</i>	<i>borgr</i>	<i>burg</i>	<i>burg</i>
d. (loc.)	<i>baurg</i>	<i>borg</i>	<i>burg</i>	<i>burg</i>
ac.	<i>baurg</i>	<i>borg</i>	<i>burg</i>	<i>burg</i>

	Plur.			
n.	<i>baurgs</i>	<i>borgr</i>	<i>burg</i>	<i>burg</i>
g.	<i>baurgē</i>	<i>borga</i>	<i>burga</i>	<i>burgo</i>
d.	<i>baurg(*<u>m</u>)</i>	<i>borg(*<u>m</u>)</i>	<i>burg(*<u>m</u>)</i>	<i>burg(*<u>m</u>)</i>
ac.	<i>baurgs</i>	<i>borgr</i>	<i>burg</i>	<i>burg.</i>

It is, however, only in Gothic that the consonant declension appears in the form which we should naturally expect, and even here it shows a strong mixture with the vowel declension ; according to the above paradigm are declined either wholly or partially : *alhs baurgs dulps (guf) mans miluks nahts reiks spaurds vaihts (þruts)* and some compounds like *ménōths fijands mitalths veit-vōds* and others. In the other dialects the vowel forms are frequent, nay in very many cases more frequent than the consonant forms, which they seem almost to have suppressed. Thus in the very beginning of our investigation we are met with the question which

are really the original forms, and how have the others, the vowel forms, or according to the other theory the consonant forms, forced their way in? An answer to this question which should be at all satisfactory would require a thorough investigation of the history and development of all the declensions in the Teutonic group, of the gradual mixing up of the same, of the slow but sure decay and disappearance of the consonant and *u*- and *i*- declensions, and of the aggressions of the *a*- declension, a thing which cannot, of course, be attempted here on account of its length. Only the principal characteristics of the consonant declension, viz., the umlaut question (in O. N., O. E. and O. Frise) and the transition from the vowel declension into the consonant, or vice versa, will be treated, which the question of the disappearance of the suffixal *a* will involve, because of its bearing upon the umlaut question. Even these questions cannot be so satisfactorily discussed as could be wished in the present confused state of the declension, especially in Old Norse, which alone must almost entirely decide the principal problem, the umlaut. We will begin, then, with the much contested umlaut question.

The strict adherents of the *auslautsgesetz* discovered by Westphal and developed by Scherer, maintain that there can be no umlaut in the n. ac. pl. of these stems, as the vowel of the ending *-as* had before the beginning of the umlaut period already fallen a victim to this law, and therefore these umlauting stems are not genuine consonant stems, but are rather to be classed among the *u*- (relatively *i*-) stems which have lost their characteristic vowel in the course of the development of the language, whereas others, on the other hand, not so firmly believing in the infallibility of the working of the law, say that these particular stems make an exception to the law: they form the rear-guard and have preserved their suffixal vowel until after the appearance of the umlaut, through a special act of indulgence on the part of the law. Almost of the same purport is the opinion that the *auslautsgesetz* is not a feature of the primitive Teutonic, but made its appearance much later than is generally believed, has in fact received an almost if not entirely independent development in each particular dialect, in one earlier, in the other later, and that these stems have retained their suffixal vowel until after the appearance of the umlaut, on account of a later and special development of the law in these particular dialects: for this opinion like the other exempts a whole class of words in the dialect itself from the working of a general law of this dialect. We shall return to this point again.

The opinion that the consonant stems are old *u*-stems was first advocated (if I mistake not) by Lünig in his edition of the Edda, pp. 121-124 sqq., and by Pfeiffer in his Old Norse Reader, but found its principal defender in the north, in Gislason, *Tid. for fil. og paed. vi.* 236-253 in a critique of K. L. Lyngby's *De old-nordiske Navneords Bøjning*, *Tid. for fil. og paed. vi.* 20-53, in which Lyngby explains these stems as genuine consonant stems. Gislason, appealing to the authority of Grimm, Rask, Lünig, Pfeiffer, gave a prominence to this theory which it had never yet attained. Gislason's proofs were easily refuted by Wimmer in *Navneordenes Bøjning i aeldre Dansk* p. 81 sqq., and by Bugge in *Aarb.* 1870, p. 210 sqq., and the former opinion of Lyngby was again raised to the seat of honor which it had so long occupied. Gislason's opinion, however, found at least recognition in Germany; Heinzel: *Ueber die Endsilben in der nordischen Sprache* p. 98 (438) admits its possibility, nay even its probability, and Scherer *G. D. S.* 435-442 explains *tēð fēt brēðer* as *u*-stems. Yet the other opinion, Lyngby's, still enjoys the widest acceptance. But the theory of original *u*- or *i*-stems and that of original consonant stems being diametrically opposed, it will be necessary to begin with a thorough investigation of the reasons for and against each of these theories, as the question of priority in regard to the original form of these stems will form an important item in the explanation of the umlaut question. The question then resolves itself into this: Is the umlaut organic or inorganic? Is it the result of the *a* (weakened to *i*) of the n. pl. ending *-as* which has been spared either by the general *auslautsgesetz* or, in case of a dialectical development, by a special *auslautsgesetz*? Or is the umlaut due to the influence of the *u*- and *i*-stems, perhaps also of the *ja*- (*jā*-) stems which have passed into the consonant declension, and have paid for the umlaut by the loss of the vowel in these cases through the influence of the genuine consonant stems? If they are, on the other hand, old *u*- and *i*-stems, how are their deviations from the rest of the *u*- and *i*-stems to be explained?

No extended proof is needed to show that most of these stems in Old Norse are deserters from the vowel declension; the decision of the whole question therefore depends upon the nature of the very few stems which show consonant forms in Gothic, Old English, Old Frise, Old Saxon and Old High German; for only by means of a decision of the nature of these stems which were once (at least in Sanskrit, Greek and Latin) consonant stems, can we

arrive at a decision of the whole question. Closely connected with these few (original) consonant stems are the names of relationship, the present participles and the *t*-stems, all of which originally followed the consonant declension. The question then is either to prove a transition of these consonant stems into the vowel declension, or to admit frankly a consonant declension in the Teutonic languages and explain the umlaut as best we may.

According to the above statement there are four groups of the consonant stems in Old Norse: I. the *-u-* and *-i-* (relatively *-a-* and *-n-*) stems; as masc. *fótr*, *fingr*, *þrǫðr*, fem. *nótt*, *bók*, *mörk*, *gås*, *mús*, etc.; those originally ending in a vowel also belong here, as *kyr*, *sýr*, *aer*, *fló*, etc. II. the names of relationship. III. the present participles. IV. the *t*-stems. Let us consider the four groups in turn.

Group I forms two subdivisions: (a) *u*-stems, masc. *fótr*, *mǫðr*, *vetr*, *þrǫðr*; fem. *hönd*, *kinn*, *tönn*, *dyrr* (pl., f. and n.); (b) the *i*- (relatively *a*-, *n*-) stems; masc. *fingr*, *nagl*; fem. *nótt*, *bók*, *mörk*, *gås*, etc.

"The comparison (of the Norse) with the Gothic," says Lyngby in the above mentioned work (Tid. for fil. og paed. vi 40 sqq.), "stands the test but in part; all the more remarkable, therefore, is the coincidence of the Old Norse words with the words in the closely related languages outside of our own family. Not only does the plural *naet-r* = Goth. *nahts*, correspond to Greek *νόκτ-ες*, but also *foet-r* to Greek *πόδ-ες*, Skr. n. pl. *pād-as*, ac. pl. *pād-ds* (B. R. Dict.) from *pād*-, notwithstanding that the Gothic has *fōtjus*; *tenn-r* or *tenn* to Greek *οὐόντ-ες*, Skr. *dat-as* (ac. pl.), notwithstanding that the Gothic has in the ac. pl. *tunþuns*; *gaes-s* with Greek *χῆν-ες* from **χένσ-ες*; *mýs-s* to Greek *μύ-ες* from *μύσ-ες*; *dýr-r* to the Skr. stem *dvār*, *dur* (fem.); *endr* to the Latin *anat-* (n. sg. *anas*)." Comp. moreover his objection to the theory of *u*-, *i*-stems, p. 41.

The correspondence here, however, is only apparent, for leaving out of consideration for the present the question as to whether the *auslautsgesetz* has spared the vowel of the ending *-as*, an inner change has taken place in every one of the examples just cited either in Teutonic or in Greek. Even the Greek form of the stem (*ποδ-* = Skr. *pād-*) no longer corresponds to the Latin form of the same (*ped-* = Skr. *pād-*), and even if *ποδ-* can, according to Brugman (Curtius' Stud. IX 368 sqq.), be explained as coming from the strong form of the stem (*pād-*) and *ped-* from the weak form

(*pad-*), that does not at all explain the long vowel in the Teutonic *fōt-*. Johannes Schmidt has recently cleared up the length of the vowel, if his explanation advanced in Kuhn's *Zeitschr. n. f. V.* p. 13 is true (*fōt-* = Dor. $\pi\acute{o}\tau$ = Skr. *phāt-*, thus a stem with a long vowel in the European group), but the rare occurrence of the word in these languages still leaves it doubtful whether it was a vowel or consonant stem.¹ If it was really an original consonant stem, as Johannes Schmidt maintains, the Teutonic has certainly changed it to a vowel stem; for we find here only an *u-* stem in Gothic, with which the O. N. singular *fōtr*, *fōtar*, *foeti*, *fōt*, n. pl. (in the Gutal. at least) *fýtir* (cf. List I 26), O. H. G. *fuoz*, *fuozzi*, d. pl. *fuozzin*,² O. S. d. sg. *fuoti*, ac. pl. *fōti* (also O. E., O. Frise *fōt*, *fēt(i)*) accord in the most perfect manner. Thus in order that the would-be resemblance between O. N. *foet-r* and Greek $\pi\acute{o}\delta$ -ες may hold good in any respect whatever, we must assume that the O. N. *fōtr* (O. E., O. Frise *fōt*) has retained the original consonant stem (and this the long vowel and the O. N. singular lead us to reject), which necessitates the assumption of two distinct lines of development of the word in the Teutonic languages, a thing not at all likely in this instance, as we shall see later. We see, therefore, that neither *foet-r* nor $\pi\acute{o}\delta$ -ες shows an uninterrupted development from Skr. *pad-*.

Maðr presents great difficulties at the very beginning. If O. N., O. E., O. Frise (ac. pl. *men*, cf. List I 51) n. ac. pl. *menn* is to be explained from the Gothic n. ac. pl. *mans*, we must admit a tolerably late appearance of the auslautsgesetz in these languages in order to explain the umlaut; if on the other hand we consider it an *u-* stem, the Gothic *mans*, O. H. G., O. S., O. Frise (*mon*, *man*) *man* are inexplicable. An explanation that will help us out of this dilemma is in fact a solution of the whole question. If *menn* corresponds to *mans* in every respect, then there can be no longer any doubt that these stems are really consonant stems and the umlaut is then due to the *a* (*i*) of the ending *-as*. Let us, therefore, briefly consider the development of this word in the Teutonic group.

The Gothic (and most of the O. H. G., O. S., and O. Frise) forms of this word have already been sufficiently explained by Scherer in the *Anz. f. d. a.* IV 546 sqq. The only remaining

¹Comp. now Hermann Möller in *P. B.* VII 498.

²It will not be necessary to state here that the *u-* stems in O. H. G. have passed into the *i-* declension, departing from n. ac. pl. in *i* = Got. *jus*.

question is whether this explanation may also be applied to the Old Norse, Old English and Old Frise (ac. pl. *men*). If one is not inclined to admit a later appearance of the auslautsgesetz here than elsewhere, the umlaut can be explained in O. E. d. sg. *menn* (in O. N. the whole singular has passed into the *a*- declension) and O. N., O. E., O. Frise n. ac. pl. *menn* only as inorganic, in other words it is left entirely unexplained. In this light O. N. *mennir*(*nir*) would be a form analogous to the n. pl. of the masc. *u*- and *i*- stems. In my opinion the relation of the different forms is quite another. We must start with Scherer from the Skr. *manú*, an old *u*- stem which in Gothic (and mostly in O. H. G., O. S., and Old Frise) has passed into the consonant declension. Two substantives come here under consideration, our word *mann*- (Gothic) and *kinnu*-. We must start here, of course, from those cases in which the *v* stands before vowels (cf. on this point Kuhn in his Zeitschr. II 460, Leo Meyer Got. Spr. § 204, Verner, Germanisch *nn* in Zeitschr. f. d. a. 21, 425 sqq.), therefore from the weak cases, and assume with Scherer non-augmentation of the *v*. We should have therefore in the primitive Teutonic:

	Sing.	Plur.
n.	<i>manus genus</i>	<i>manvas genvas</i>
g.	<i>manvas genvas</i>	<i>manvām genvām</i>
d. (loc.)	<i>manvi genvi</i>	<i>manumis genumis</i>
ac.	<i>manum genum</i>	<i>manuns genus.</i>

Accordingly in the g. d. sg., n. g. pl. assimilation of the *v* to the preceding *n* is possible, from whence it could make its way into all cases. But as the unaugmented vowel in the *u*- and *i*- stems seldom appears even in Sanskrit, the conjecture is not absolutely improbable that the regular forms with augmented vowel stood a long time side by side with the above forms; or rather the unaugmented vowel appeared only in some of the possible cases. Two courses are therefore possible in the further development of these words. If the unaugmented vowel stood in every one of the possible cases, it would have been the purest accident if the word had not become a consonant stem, as has been the case in the Gothic *mans*. If, however, the unaugmented vowel made its way into only a few of the possible cases, the cases retaining the *u*, as in the Gothic *kinuus*, would decide the nature of the declension. This is all the easier of comprehension when we remember that the ac. sg. and d. pl. are two very important factors in causing a transition from the

consonant to the *u*-declension, and in fact for the coloring in general of the declension in Teutonic. Therefore the *u*-stem of *kinnus* could not only maintain itself against the aggressions of the new forms, but also drive out the few consonant forms arising from the *g*. d. sg. and *n*. g. plur.

Perhaps we shall now be able to find a possible, if not the probable, explanation of the Gothic *mans*, O. H. G., O. S., O. Frise *man* (*n*. ac. pl.) in contradistinction to the Old Norse, Old English, Old Frise *menn* (*n*. ac. pl.) without having recourse to the acceptance of an act of violation of the prevailing laws of development in the language. Just as *mans* in Gothic chose the one way, but *kinnus* the other, in exactly the same manner we can conceive that of two sister languages the one may have chosen one way and the other the other with reference to the same word. Thus as the Gothic, Old High German, Old Saxon, Old Frise developed from the old *u*-stem *manūs* a consonant stem, but from (*g*)*hđnus* an *u*-stem, the Old Norse, Old English, Old Frise could in their turn develop quite as regularly from the same *manūs* an *u*-stem. On the supposition that *foet-r*, *menn*, *hend-r*, *tenn*, and others are to be explained only by admission of *u*- and *i*-stems, this assumption becomes necessary. Whether the admission of *u*-, *i*-stems is at all necessary for the explanation of these words is a question that will occupy us at a later point in our investigation. Here our only aim has been to point out the possibility of a divergency in the development of a word in different dialects of the same family, and in this case there is a manifest reason for such an assumption in order to explain otherwise inexplicable forms. The necessity of the assumption will fall or be confirmed according as it can be proved that the umlaut of these stems can only be explained, nay must be explained by the admission of *u*- and *i*-stems. But the question of umlaut is not the only reason for assuming two different developments of the stem *manūs* in Teutonic. Some forms of the O. H. G. and O. Frise point to another than a consonant stem, viz., O. H. G. d. pl. *mannim*, *n*. pl. *marcomanni*, *choufmanne*, ac. pl. *uuerkmanne* (cf. Graff 2, 740 sqq.), and O. Frise ac. pl. *mon*, *man* side by side with *men*, all forms that point plainly to an *u*-stem, just as the forms *n*. ac. pl. *fuozzi*, d. pl. *fuozzin*, point to a transition from the *u*- into the *i*-declension; O. Frise *fōt*, *fēt*, corresponds to *man*, pl. *men*, but not to *man*, pl. *mon*, *man*, as the umlaut here cannot be a matter of mere caprice or accident. *Vetr* and *prāðr* still remain of the masculines, both found only in the Teutonic.

The first follows the *u*-declension in Gothic and partly also in Old English, in the d. sg. *wintra*, ac. pl. *wintru*, but in the other dialects it belongs to the *a*-declension. *þrǫðr* shows more frequently *u*-forms in Old Norse, but besides these also n. ac. pl. *þræðr*.

The feminines tell the same story as the masculines. *Hönd* is a purely Teutonic word, which follows in all the other dialects the *u*-declension; *kinn* has already been mentioned above. The history of *tönn* = Skr. *dant-*, *dat-*, is the same as that of *fótr*, having passed from the consonant into the *u*-declension (cf. List I 81, Brugman *Nasalis sonans* in Curtius' Stud. ix 335, Kluge Q. F. 32, 108). According to Brugman, *Zur Geschichte der abstufenden Deklination* in Curtius' Stud. ix 395, the Gothic *daur*(n.), *dauró*(f.), reflects the weak stem *dhur* (strong stem *dhva:r*). After this weak stem had succeeded in driving out the strong one we should have in the early stage of the language n. sg. **dur*-(s), g. sg. **dur-as*, d. sg. (loc.) **dur-i*, ac. sg. **dur-m*, n. pl. **dur-as*, g. pl. **dur-tm*, d. pl. **dur-m(i)s*, ac. pl. **dur-ns*. The nasalis sonans becoming *um*, *un*, we should have in the ac. sg. **duru* (as in the case of the names of relation, which see below), d. pl. **durum*, ac. pl. **duruns*, hence through the influence of these cases comes the *u*-stem which we find in Old English *duru* (cf. List I 22). But the nasalis sonans of the ac. sg. could be dropped after the analogy of the mute stems (cf. names of relation below), so that we should thus have a flexionless singular, which probably gave us the neuter *daur* of the Gothic. The Old High German singular *turi* is simply a transfer of the plural, which was often employed in the sense of the singular (cf. Graff 5, 445), and this plural *turi* (= O. S. *duri* = *januas* Ps. 73, 6) has penetrated into all the cases of both plural and singular from n. ac. pl. *turi*, forms of an *u*-stem just as we have in *fuoizzi*, *henti*, and others.

This finishes group I (a) in which we find *u*-forms in some one of the dialects. But even considered as *u*-stems, these words show in the three dialects (O. N., O. E., O. Frise) such irregularities as exclude them from the regular *u*-declension without a satisfactory explanation of the causes producing the same; thus these words are in the n. ac. pl. *foetr*, *menn(r)*, *hendr*, *kinnr*, *tenn(r)*, *dyrr*, whereas the regular forms should be *foetir*, *fótu*, *mennir*, *mönnu*, *hendir*, *höndu*, *kinnir*, *kinnu*, *tennir*, *tönnu*, *dyrir*, *duru*. Why this deviation from the regular declension? Lyngby urges this very deviation in the declension of these words as a proof against the theory of *u*-stems and prefers to consider them as genuine consonant stems

corresponding to the Skr. and Gr. words. But we have already seen that his comparison does not prove entirely satisfactory in group I (a); let us now examine group I (b) and see if his comparison of these words is just.

We have here masc. *fingr*, *nagl*, fem. *nótt*, *bók*, *mörk*, *gås*, *mús*, etc. *Fingr*, a Teutonic word, points everywhere to an *a*-stem, still not without exception, viz., in O. H. G. in the d. pl. we find *fingerin*, in the g. pl. *fingeri* (N. II), in the ac. pl. *fingeri* (Bib. 7) (cf. List I 23; Graff 3, 527). Gen. and ac. pl. rest solely on Graff's authority, but the d. pl. clearly shows that we have here at least real *i*-forms, which the O. Frise d. pl. *fingeren* confirms: at the same time the Old Frise n. pl. *finger*, d. sg. *finger*, conform rather to O. N. *fingr* (considered as a consonant stem). A mixture of two stems (*a*- and *i*-) is here evident. *Nagl* tells the same story as *fingr*; in most of the dialects it is an *a*-stem, shows, however, forms in *i* in O. H. G. (cf. List I 55). The O. Frise also shows the same peculiarities as in the case of *finger*; thus d. sg. *neile* and *neil*: *ette wrsta knocla by dae neyl xii peninghen*. W. 468, 1; d. pl. *neilon*, *neilen*: *dat hi so diepe ende dimme mitla flower neylen is*. W. 47, 15.

Most of the feminines of this class manifestly partake of the peculiarities of the consonant stems only through a transition from their original vowel declension, being mostly in fact *ā*- and *n*-stems, as *mörk*, *rönd*, *stóng*, etc., and offer nothing whatever for the decision of our question. Others, however, have great weight and must be carefully compared with the same words in the sister languages. It is true that the Gothic n. pl. *naht-s* corresponds to the Greek *νόχτ-ες*, but whether the Old Norse *noet-r* likewise corresponds to the same *νόχτ-ες* is quite another question. Before we can confidently make this assertion the history and development of the word in the two sister languages must be more closely considered. The generally accepted derivation of *nahts* from the root *nak*- to harm, by the addition of the suffix *-ti*-, was first proposed by Bopp Vgl. Gramm.⁸ § 276, which would make our word an *i*-stem. Waiving a discussion of the different derivations proposed for *nahts* as being entirely irrelevant to the present question, it answers our purpose to know that this word is an *i*-stem in five different languages (cf. Curtius Grdz.⁸ 163). The Greek consonant stem has therefore only become so by the loss of an *i* after dentals, not a very frequent appearance in Greek, but yet not an unheard of one (cf. Curtius Grdz.⁸ 644). And this I believe to be

also the case in Gothic, where, as I hope to prove later in the progress of this investigation, the dropping of an *i* after dentals though rare is still more frequent than in Greek, and the Old High German shows a growing tendency to drop its *i*'s after dentals. This opinion is moreover substantially confirmed by the other Teutonic dialects, which show mostly *i*-forms, much more seldom consonant forms, a circumstance easily explained by the dropping of the *i* after dentals. Thus again the decision of *noet-r* depends solely upon the decision of the umlaut question. It can have taken the consonant stem as in Gothic, with which it would naturally, as one of the East Teutonic group, have very close affinities, or it can here as in most of the other dialects have retained the *i*-stem; the decision of the umlaut alone will be able to settle this question definitely. *Bók-*, Gothic *bōka-*, appears to be in Teutonic an original *a*-stem, shows, however, in different dialects *i*-forms; thus O. S. n. pl. *buoki*, O. H. G. g. sg. *buochi* (cf. List I 13): in Otfrid on account of the metre, d. pl. *buochin* (syl.), *buochen*, *ex libris fone dine buochen*, N. 11, 14, *so er an buochen geboten habet*, N. 60, 8. From these forms in *i* in Old Saxon and Old High German, and from the fact that the Old Norse in the g. sg. n. ac. pl., the Old English in the d. sg. n. ac. pl. show the umlaut, I conjecture that this word had at one time, perhaps in early Teutonic, two stems, an *a*-stem and an *i*-stem. The comparison with the Greek *φηρύς*, Lat. *fāgu-s*, provided this derivation be the right one, indicates an original *a*-stem.

Moreover, *gaes-s* corresponds to the Greek *χῆν-ες*, *mýs-s* to the Greek *μῦ-ες*, *dyr-r* to the Sanskrit *dvār* or *dur*, *end-r* to the Latin *anat-*. As to the first of these words there are two original stems: **ghansa*-(m.) and **ghansi*-(f.), Skr. *hansa*-(m.) and *hansi*-(f.). According to Curtius Grdz.⁶ 200 the Greek *χῆν* stands for **χενς*, as *μῆν* for **μενς*, or rather for **χενσι-*, as the European base is, without doubt, derived from the feminine **ghansi*- (cf. Lit. *žasi-s*, O. Slav. *gasi*, Old Irish *geiss* [*mag da gtsi*, "Plain of the two swans,"]: thus, it became in Greek a consonant stem only by an inner change, and, at the same time, by the loss of its characteristic vowel. On Teutonic territory it has, however, remained an *i*-stem (= Skr. *hansi*-; cf. List I. 30), which the forms in every dialect sufficiently prove (in Old Norse and Old English by the umlaut and the gen. sg. *gōse* in O. E.) *Mýs-s* = *μῦ-ες*. The Sanskrit offers three stems: *mūsh*-(m.), *mūsha*-(m. f.), *mūshi*-(f.; cf. BR). It is noticeable in this word that the Greek *μῦς*, Lat. *mūs*, are masculines as a general

rule, whereas the Teutonic *māsi-*, O. Slav. *myši*, are feminines. In Greek and Latin, therefore, the consonant stem *mās-* has prevailed (Lat. g. pl. *murium*, sometimes also *murum*, is a later transition into the *i*-declension); for the other European languages, however, only the *i*-stem can be accepted (cf. List I. 54). *Lāsi-* shows a similar result, the *i*-forms of most of the dialects compel us to accept an *i*-stem. For *dyr-r* cf. above. Finally *end-r* = *anat-*. If, however, the relation assumed by Fick IV 16, Curtius Grdz.⁵ 317, with the Skr. *āti-s* be right, this stem is also an original *i*-stem which opinion the Lit. *dnti-s*, O. Slav. *aty*, seems to corroborate (cf. List I. 6). Be this as it may, the other Teutonic dialects show only *i*-forms, and in Old Norse the n. pl. *andir* is the oldest, nay, the only form in the Grágás, just as *dlptir*—which is beyond all doubt an *i*-stem—is also the only form of this word in the Grágás; *endr* and *elptr* are found only in the Karlamagnússaga, and are unquestionably only formations after the analogy of *noetr*, *hendr*, etc.

From this comparison we learn two facts: the words compared with the Greek words have undergone an inner change either in one or in both of these languages at the same time, as in *fótr*, *maðr*, *kinn*, *tönn*, *dyrr*, in Teutonic, by which they have passed from the consonant into the vowel-declension (in most of the dialects at least), as *fótr*, *tönn*, *dyrr* into the *u*-declension, or *vice versa*, as *mans* in Goth., O. Frise, O. S., O. H. G., and *nahts* in Gothic, or as in *χῆρ* in Greek; secondly, originally two or more stems existed, of which the Greek took one, the Teutonic the other, as in the case of *mās* (m.), *māsi*-(f.), so that the comparison is just in no case whatever.

One other fact is to be learned from this comparison: however true it is that the method of comparative investigation is of great importance in determining the original stems of words and their relations to the same words in other cognate languages, in no case is it able to determine the special coloring a stem will receive in the course of its development in the different languages, and is therefore not admissible in the decision of our question. The definite form of the declension is so much influenced by the inner development of every language in its own separate existence, by the principles of association, by special laws of vowel and consonant change peculiar perhaps only to one dialect, nay even sometimes by accident, that conclusions should not be too hastily drawn from apparent (outer) agreement. If we compare the umlauting stems (of the simple words) of the Old Norse, Old English and Old

Frise, with the corresponding stems in the other dialects, it will be clear to every one that most of them were originally vowel stems, a few others became so by a change in their form on Teutonic ground, others allow no decision whatever, yet it seems hardly doubtful that they were once so. If, on the one hand, the special laws of every language exclude or rather render inadmissible a comparison of cognate languages, they give, on the other hand, an important hint for the explanation of these peculiarities, i. e. they refer us to an independent development inside of the respective language itself. Left to this resource, let us attempt an explanation inside of the Old Norse, Old English and Old Frise.

We will begin with Gislason's theory, that these are old *u*-stems. His unfortunate comparison of the masculine *bógr* and the feminine *bók* (cf. Tid. for fil. og paed. vi 247-8) did anything but promote the explanation of our stems, as this comparison is no more tenable than that above of Lyngby, because *bók* is an original *a*-stem, which indeed often shows an inclination for *i*-, never, however, for *u*-forms. With still less reason can Heyne, Laut- und Flexionslehre 306, place *rót* among the *u*-stems, a word which shows neither *u*- nor *i*-forms. This opinion needs no refutation whatever, as many of these stems cannot have been old *u*-stems at all. Only on the supposition that they are analogous formations to *hönd* and other original *u*-stems could this theory be upheld. It was therefore an easy task for Wimmer and Bugge to reinstate the old opinion of consonant stems. One point only in Wimmer's refutation deserves attention here. "When Gislason," says Wimmer in Navneordenes Bøjning i ældre Dansk 81 sqq., "cites as proof against the presence of the Indo-Germanic *a* in the Old Norse umlaut in *boeker* that the Old Norse has not even spared the characteristic *a* (as shown) in the Skr. and Lit. *-as* of the n. sg., but on the contrary, while agreeing with the Gothic as it generally does, has not even retained a trace of it, this would certainly be a strong proof of the correctness of his explanation, provided we did not have, inside the Old Norse, monuments of the language proving that the Old Norse, in the very case cited by him himself, has preserved in its *a*-stems the characteristic vowel of the stem down to a period in which it had long ago been dropped in Gothic. The fact that the Gothic in the 4th century employed older forms in the above cases than the Old Norse in the 12th century is no reason that the Old Norse of the 4th century could not have shown older forms (than the Gothic) in many cases. Just as Vulfila's language

can justly be called the Sanskrit of the Gothic language (de "goteske" sprogs Sanskrit), so in the same manner the language of the oldest Old Norse inscriptions can justly be called the Vêda language of the Old Norse, as it preserves for us the fundamental forms of the Modern Old Norse. But as the vocabulary in these inscriptions is so small that scarcely more than the flexion of the substantive can with complete certainty be determined, the Gothic will constantly retain everywhere a great importance in the explanation of the Old Norse forms. Yet the language in these inscriptions shows that we must be careful not to assume without more ado that the Gothic forms are the fundamental forms of the Old Norse, even if this can be inferred with the greatest probability. If, then, the *a*-stems have preserved their characteristic vowel at least in the ac., even on the youngest of those stones containing older runes, I do not see anything to hinder us from assuming that *a* also, weakened to *i*, can have been preserved in the g. sg. and likewise in the n. ac. pl. of words like *boekr* in the forms of the early language from which the Old Norse was developed, even if *a* (*i*) was wanting in Gothic. A confirmation of this opinion, in fact, is presented by the second side of the stone of Tune, on which I find the n. pl. *dohtrir*. To be sure Gislason does not mention in his treatise the words of relationship in *-lar-*; and it was quite right of him to explain Old Norse *broeðr* from Gothic *brōðrjus* the same as *boekr* from **bōkjus*, **bōkjar*. But after having found *dohtrir* on the stone of Tune I cannot consider it anything else than the primary form for *doetr*, whereas I look upon Gothic *dohtrjus* as a special Gothic development called forth by the transition of the word into the *u*-class (cf. *sunjus*, *handjus*).

This is right, as each dialect of a large family has its own history, and for this reason it is no wonder if a dialect often deviates from the primary forms found in the family, as one dialect may often retain forms belonging to the primitive source but discarded by the family in general; yet, we cannot conclude from this that the 'spared' *a* (*i*) of the ending in the older monuments produced the umlaut in some few stems (for even on this supposition we must consider these stems an exception to the general law, as we shall see later), since this *a* (*i*), be it now the suffixal *a*, as many believe, or the svarabhakti before *r* as others pretend, may possibly not have been retained till the umlaut period, a point which has entirely escaped Wimmer. Before ascribing the umlaut to its influence we must prove that it was actually present in the umlaut

period. Its presence at a former period justifies no inference as to the umlaut. Moreover I should like to object in regard to the comparison of *dohtrir* with the Greek *δογμῆρες* (which immediately follows in Wimmer), that the *-tar-* stems in Teutonic (at least in the other dialects) have suffered a transformation (cf. below), and only after conclusive evidence that the Old Norse has not shared in this transformation can the comparison be admitted. But I will not anticipate. The following investigation will, however, show whether we must take refuge behind a 'sparing' of the suffixal *a* (*i*) in this small number of stems, or whether these stems are not rather to be explained on Old Norse, Old English, and Old Frise ground in accord with the universal auslautgesetz, or, perhaps, subject to peculiar modifications of the same in the respective languages, the principle being the same whether we accept a general or a special auslautgesetz, viz., whether a whole class of words in one and the same language has been spared by the auslautgesetz of that language, as this assumption demands.

The great question is whether this *a* of the ending *-as*, weakened to *i*, has been retained until after the appearance of the *i*-umlaut, or whether it had already dropped out before the *i*-umlaut period. This I believe I may emphatically deny, and for the following reasons. Let us assume with Heinzel, Ueber die Endsilben der altnordischen Sprache 4 (344), three periods of development in Old Norse: I. the oldest, in which the primitive forms that must be assumed as the base of the later forms still existed; II. the *i*-umlaut period; III. the period in which the present Old Norse forms became settled, which can be traced back to the reign of King Gorm. The third period forms the language of the manuscripts, and like periods I and II, marks distinctly one period of development in the language. Accordingly the presence of the *a* in the first period, out of which, according to Wimmer and others, the umlaut-working *i* was developed, is of no value whatever, as the umlaut period is the second. We must therefore expect to find the *a* (*i*) still present in period II if this theory of the umlaut is to prove tenable. It is not my intention, however, to enter here into a discussion of the quality of this *a* appearing in *a*-stems like *wiwAR*, *wolafAR*. This question has been fully discussed by Wimmer, Navneordenes Bøjning i aeldre Dansk, 40, 45, also in Aarb. 1867, 53, 1868, 72; Bugge: Tid. for fil. og paed. vi 317, vii 219; Gislason: Tid. for fil. og paed. vi 231-253, p. 31; Stevens, Aarb. 1867, 208, and Heinzel, ib. 30 (270), and the point, as above men-

tioned, is of minor importance. I will attempt a solution of the umlaut question in another manner; for if in fact this controversy should really turn out in favor of the real vowel *a* (*i*) or of the svarabhakti, it would not decide the umlaut at all, as even this *a* (*i*), although it was present in the first period in the *a*-stems (therefore only conjecturally in the consonant stems), had completely vanished in the second period (umlaut period, according to Heinzel, and justly, as far as the material at hand admits of a decision, cf. l. c. p. 30 [370]). It did not, therefore, survive the first period. Its presence in the second period must first be proved before use can be made of it to explain the umlaut. Let us get at the question however from another point of view. Are these really consonant stems or are they rather old *u*- and *i*-stems, and if so, how are their peculiarities to be explained? For it is only after we have proved that this declension really did start from a few consonant stems that we have need of an *a* (*i*) vowel to explain the umlaut. Here it will be necessary to enter into the history of the inner development of those declensions (*u*- and *i*-) out of which most of these stems (at least in Old Norse) passed into their present declension, in order to decide whether our peculiar declension could arise from these declensions.

Gislason was induced to assume *u*-stems for feminines like *bók*, *bót*, *rót*, *nótt*, *gás*, etc., because the *i*-stems (the feminines) show no umlaut in the n. ac. pl., so that, he was utterly unable to explain them as *i*-stems; only *u*-stems have umlaut in the n. pl., but not in the ac. pl., retain, however, their vowel. The dropping of the vowel he did not attempt to explain, only citing analogous cases; the g. sg. *boekr*, *noetr*, *víkr*, etc., he left entirely unnoticed. Let us examine these two declensions and see in what cases the umlaut can regularly appear.

We will begin with Scherer's explanation of the masc. *i*-stems in Old Norse, which according to him are divided into umlauting or non-umlauting stems according as the suffixal vowel of the ending *-auas*, *-ajas*, is or is not colored to *i* inside of one and the same language. The appearance and non-appearance of the coloring is an indisputable fact, but why, on what conditions does it appear, on what remain away? Let us examine this question more minutely, as the solution of this problem is closely connected with the explanation of the umlaut.

The following cases are here to be considered: g. d. sg., n. ac. pl. According to Scherer they had the following endings in the primitive language: g. sg. *-auas*, *-ajas*, d. sg. *-aui*, *-aji*, n. pl. *-auas*, *-ajas*, ac. pl. *-uns*, *-ins*, therefore in the European, naturally

also in the primitive Teutonic, g. sg. *-euez*, *-ejez* (according to the prevailing opinion, but we shall immediately see that the g. sg. was really different), d. sg. *-eui*, *-eji* (later *-iui*, *-iji*), n. pl. *-euez*, *-ejez*. These endings must have given in Gothic according to Leffler's law (developed in his treatise, *Bidrag till lären om i- omljudet*, in *Tid. for fil. og paed. n. r.* II 1-20, 146-180, 231-320) g. sg. n. pl. *-jus*, *-eis*, d. sg. *-ju*, *-ei*; we find, however, g. sg. *-aus*, *-ais*, d. sg. *-au*, *-ai*, n. pl. *-jus-*, *eis*. Thus only the n. pl. of the Gothic has the properly developed form according to theoretical principles. What has stepped in to disturb the g. d. sg. in their regular development? The regular forms are found in the O. H. G. *ensti* (g. d. sg.), O. N. *naetr*, *boeker* (g. sg.), O. E. *byrig* (g. d. sg.), O. H. G. *henti* (g. d. sg.), O. N. *foeti*, *hendi* (d. sg.), O. E., O. Frise *fēt(i)* (d. sg.). Thus in one dialect the regular forms, in the others the irregular ones, nay sometimes both side by side in the same language.

Scherer's theory of caprice and accident in the coloring or non-coloring of the vowel is not at all satisfactory, though in fact the only explanation as yet offered. Since the publication of Scherer's book, however, many a point has become clear that was then dark, nay even enigmatical. If we apply what has recently been discovered to Scherer's explanation, we shall find that it was fundamentally right, though it was not caprice and accident that determined the coloring and non-coloring, but it was caused by the natural laws of development and justifiable in every particular case. Analogy and the laws of symmetrical adjustment then became very active in spreading this seeming irregular development.

The equality of the ending *-auas*, *-ajas*, in the g. sg. and n. pl. is only an apparent one; the two endings are qualitatively quite different as is shown by the Greek genitive in *-os*, Slav. *-e* and the genitives *yukt's* and *mrd's*; whereas the Greek n. pl. has *-es* (cf. De Saussure, *sur le système primitif des voyelles* 196). If we denote this qualitative difference between the ending of the g. sg. and n. pl. by *-a₁u⁴s*, *-a₁j⁴s*, in the g. sg.; *-a₁ua₁s*, *-a₁ja₁s*, in the n. pl. (following De Saussure), we shall then have in the g. sg. an ending (*-eu⁴s*, *-ej⁴s*) in the primitive Teutonic which cannot become *-iui_z*, *-iji_z* (i. e. Goth. *-jus*, *-eis*) according to Leffler's law which only allows *a* to change to (*e*) *i* when *i* (primitive or weakened from *a*¹) immediately follows, but must of necessity regularly

¹ *e* öfvergatt till *i* på grund af inverkan af det följande *j* eller ursprungliga *i*. *Tid. for fil. og paed. n. r.* II 4.

become in Gothic *-aus*, *-ais*, as the ⁴ following *e* offered an insurmountable obstacle to the further transition to *i*: *-aus*, *-ais*, are therefore the only justifiable endings of the genitive of *u*- and *i*-stems, the others that we occasionally find are subject to another explanation. As to the masculine *i*-stems in Gothic they have either wholly passed over into the *a*-declension or the singular is to be explained perhaps with De Saussure from **balgi's*, thus the unaugmented ending as in the Greek *πόλιος*, which according to Leskien's conjecture, Deklination 28, 29, is also represented in Teutonic, and which will probably again appear in the genitive singular of *noetr*, *tíkr*, *byrig*, *ensti*.

The ending of the d. (loc.) *-au*, *-aji*, is exceedingly difficult to explain: from *-au*, *-aji*, we could only expect according to the known laws of development *-ju*, *-ei*, endings which really appear in the following forms: O. N. *merki* (= **marki*, for thus we must explain the *merkinni* in: *ok eptir þat sér hann koma fram ur merkinni einn mikinn ok stóran flugdreka*. Blómstrvallasaga 7. *ok kom þar ofurliga stórr risi fram ur merkinni*. ib. 38. *þeir Josteín ljöpu or merkinni ok x menn aðrir*. Fms. I 206), O. E. *byrig* (= **burgi*), O. H. G., O. S. *ensti* (= **ansti*), O. N. *foeti*, *hendi*, O. E. *fét(e)* beside *föte*, O. H. G. *fuozzi*, *hendi* (= **fötju*, **handju*). These forms cannot come from the Gothic *anstai* and *fötau*, but are the only regular representatives of the endings *-au*, *-aji*; the Gothic forms and likewise the Old Saxon *sunu -o-*, Old English *suna*, *handa*, Old Frise *suna* (*-a* = *-ā* = *au*; cf. Scherer G. D. S. 435, Leskien Dek. 44) need another explanation.

The old locative early showed signs of having been formed in different ways, and here we must consider three methods of its formation from which the various forms of this case in Teutonic can be clearly accounted for: 1. the regular locative in *i* which is reflected in Teutonic by the forms just mentioned, and these correspond to the Sanskrit *sāndvi*, the Greek *véxvi*, and the Latin *fructui*; 2. the bare locative. The dropping of the *i* gives us in Sanskrit *uddn*, *mārdhn*, *cīrshdn*, (cf., however, Osthoff in PB. III, 34), Lit. *auwý* (cf. Bopp Vergl. Gramm. § 202, Leskien Dek. 52, Spiegel, Abaktr. Gramm. 132). 3. a locative formed by means of another suffix (*-ām* or *-ās*?), as in the Sanskrit ending *-āu* (for the *u*- and *i*-stems). Different explanations have been given for this last ending. Leskien Dek. 52 (cf. also 50, 51) justly assumes a dropping of the *i* (our second method) for the Slavonic, holds the Sanskrit *-āu* of the *u*- and *i*-stems to be the same method, whereby indeed there has been

a transfer of the *u*- form to the *i*- stems. Spiegel, Abaktr. Gramm. 132, 140, 141, with whom Schleicher Comp.⁴ 549-550 agrees, explains the locative endings *-a -ā -ō* of the *i*- stems and the *-a -ā -ō -āo* of the *u*- stems by the dropping of *-ji* and *-vi* from the fuller endings *-aji*, *-aui*. Benfey (Vollst. Gramm. 302⁵) believes the suffix *-au* of the *u*- stems in Sanskrit to be a contraction of *-aui*; on account of the near relationship of *y* and *v* the *i*- stems were drawn into this analogy. But none of these proposed explanations are exactly suited to the Teutonic; the *u*- stems could indeed be explained by the dropping of the *i*, as the ending *-au* would remain unaffected by the auslautsgesetz because of the heavy *timbre* of the *u*: an early disappearance of the *i*- in *-aji* would, however, give in the primitive Teutonic *-ai*, therefore necessarily in Gothic (unless we assume that the final *i* of the diphthong *-ai-* was exempted from the working of the auslautsgesetz, which the dative of the *a*- stems disproves) after the auslautsgesetz had operated, *-a* just as in the case of *fiska* (from primitive Teutonic **fiskai*). This may have been the case with the masculines, thus *balga* from a primitive **balg-aj (i)*, then **balgai* in early Teutonic and later through the loss of the final *i* by the working of the auslautsgesetz in Gothic *balga*. We have seen above that the genitive singular may possibly be from **balgi's*, *balgis*. Thus we should have a regular development of the whole singular from the primitive forms without having to take recourse to a transition into the *a*- declension as these forms are generally explained. This, however, will not do with the feminines, as *anstai* points to an *anst-aj* + some vowel not having the nature of *e*, *i*. I am, therefore, all the more inclined to accept Bopp's explanation given in his Vergl. Gramm.⁶ § 198 (cf. also § 56b) that the suffix *-au* in the locative singular of the *u*- and *i*- stems stands for *-ās*, 'a kind of Attic, that is, enlarged genitive'; the *s* of the ending has become vocalized as sometimes the case with this letter in Sanskrit (cf. Bopp ib.), becoming in Sanskrit *u*, in other dialects *a*. Let us denote the primitive ending by *-āx*, where *x* denotes the unknown consonant, either *s* or *m*, as some have conjectured an *-ām*. The full ending will then be **-auāx*, *-ajāx*, which would give in Sanskrit after the vocalising of *x* zu *u* **-auūu*, **-ajūu*, where the *v* and *j*, after having assumed their consonant nature as they generally do between vowels, frequently drop out; this would give by contraction the required *-āu* in the dative of both the *u*- and *i*- stems. The endings *-a -ā -ō -āo* mentioned above can be as easily deduced from the endings assumed here by the vocalizing of the consonant *s* (or *m*)

as by the methods described above, and perhaps more satisfactorily. Nothing, however, could be more adapted to an explanation of the Gothic forms than these endings *-auðx*, *-ajðx*, which would give in primitive Teutonic *-auð*, *-ajð*; the weakening process constantly at work upon the final vowel (we have in the Old Baktrian forms the different stages in *-ð -ð -a*) would already have shortened the final *ð* by the time of the appearance of the *auslautsgesetz*, hence the Gothic forms *-au*, *-ai* (from earlier *-aua*, *-aja*) by a regular process of development. Either this explanation or the explanation by the loss of the *i* (our second method) and the preservation of the diphthong intact (which seems improbable when we consider the masculine *i*-stems, g. sg. *balgis*, d. sg. *balga*), must be accepted as the regular endings; *-aui*, *-aji* cannot be admitted. The third method is open to the least objection and is on the whole the more satisfactory.

S. PRIMER.

IV.—ON THE ENCLITIC *NE* IN EARLY LATIN.

Within the last twenty years much attention has been paid to the peculiarities of early Latin. Striking deviations from the usage of the classical period have been pointed out in the regimen of verbs, in the signification and use of certain particles and conjunctions, and in the principles governing the subordination of clauses. A multitude of monographs have contributed valuable material for the construction of an historical syntax. Not to speak of others, Lübbert has traced the development of *quom*, Kienitz of *quin*, and Becker, in Studemund's Studien Bd. I, has made a most exhaustive study of the Syntax of Indirect Questions in Early Latin. The enclitic *ne*, commonly known as the Interrogative Particle, has not to my knowledge received a special treatment in recent times. It occurs about 1100 times in Plautus and over 400 times in Terence. Hence a discussion of its use which should aim in any sense to be exhaustive would far exceed the limits of a journal article. I shall therefore in the following pages content myself with the attempt to show that in the earliest Latin the use of this particle was not confined to questions. I shall then seek to establish a probability in favor of the existence of two particles *ne* distinct in origin and signification.

I proceed at once to treat the passages where *ne* is found in the MSS. with no interrogative force, for which reason the text has in most cases suffered violence at the hands of the editors.

Mil. 309 (II 3, 38). The slave Sceledrus, on discovering that Philocomasium has eluded his vigilance, gives utterance to his agitation and alarm in the following words:

Édepol facinus fécit audax. Hócine si milés sciat
Crédo hercle hasce aedís sustollat tótas atque me ín cruce[m].

Hocine BD, *hoc me* C.¹ In line 310 I follow Fleckeisen and Brix; see Tyrrell's ed. for MSS. readings. Pareus keeps *hocine* and

¹ Lorenz says, Philol. 32, p. 302, Auch C hat *hoc ine* welches Klotz sogar vertheidigt. Bergk vermuthet *hóc si milés sciat*.

puts an exclamation point after *sciat*. Ritschl's change to *hoc nunc* is adopted by Brix, Lorenz, Fleckeisen and Tyrrell. Fleckeisen however in Jahrb. 105, p. 71, proposes to read *hoc enim*. Langen treating of *enim*, in Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Plautus, p. 270, gives *hoc nunc* the preference. Lest the position of *hercle*, which usually follows *si* immediately (cf. Epid. 326), should excite suspicion, I call attention to Persa, 627 f.

Tu si hanc émeris

Númquam hercle hunc mensém vortentem, crédo, servibít tibi.

Epid. 326 (I 1. 32):

ERRATA.

- p. 52, l. 10 ff. from bottom, before MI. in each line put leaders for period.
 58, l. 19 from top read KIC(INEE)S(T).
 79, l. 9 from top dele period after *prius*.
 79, l. 14 from top insert Hec. I 1, 9 (66) Utín eximium néminem habeam?

Hicine BCD'G'P (*Hicine* D'E, *Hic* G ex ras.) Some of the codices of Donatus give *Hic si me imparatum*, but the best codex, the Parisinus, gives *Hic me misi in partū*, evidently a corruption of *hicine me si imparatum*. Consequently any change here is directly in the face of the best MS. authority. Bothe however does not scruple to transpose *me*, and reads *Hic imparatum me si*. Fleckeisen, Klotz, Meissner, and Umpfenbach follow him. Wagner reads *hic nunc me*. Conrádt, Metrische Composition der Comödien des Terenz, p. 117, reads *Hic nē*, "da die Fragepartikel durchaus fortgeschafft werden muss." Spengel nevertheless in his edition makes bold to retain *hicine*, citing for its support Mil. 309

and 565. His theory of explanation, however, involving as it does an anacoluthon, I cannot in view of all the facts accept. It does not fit all the other cases.

Mil. 936 (III 3, 62) :

Bene ámbula, bene rém gere. At egone hóc si ecficiam pláne
 Ut cóncubinam mllitis meus hósper habeat hódie
 Atque hínc Athenas ávehat si hodie hínc dolum dolámus
 Quid tíbi ego mittam múnaris?

Egone B, egonec CD. Here metrical considerations forbid the mere substitution of *nunc* for *ne* and the editors have been pushed to other devices. Müller, *Nachträge zur Plaut. Pros.* p. 82, proposes *ego hoc nunc si*. Ritschl too by transposition inserts his favorite *nunc* so as to read *At ego nunc si ecficiam hoc plane*. So too Fleckeisen and Lorenz. Seyffert (*Philol.* xxix, p. 399) finds *nunc* here "höchst matt und überflüssig," and looks upon *ne* or *nec* as a mere dittograph of *hoc*. Brix approves of this view and would have us read (with hiatus) *ut ego hoc si ecficiam plane*, which is simply a return to Bothe's reading (in my copy of 1821). I wish to make it apparent how much trouble the editors have taken to get rid of a simple *ne*, which, if a rational explanation can be found for it, must after all be retained. I know of no better parallel for this particular passage than is furnished by Poen. I 3, 18 (420 Geppert). To appreciate the scene, one must picture to himself the youth Agorastocles quite overjoyed at the prospect of outwitting a pimp and getting possession of the lovely Adelpheasium. Milphio, his slave and willing agent in the matter, has been too often wheedled by fair promises to put faith in them any longer, and hence, when his master begins a long-winded sentence promising him his freedom, he interrupts him at every turn, and bids him go bring the witnesses.

AG. Egone édepol, si istuc lépide ecfexis. MI. Í modo
 AG. Ut nón ego te hodie. MI. Abí modo. AG. Emmittám manu
 MI. I módo. AG. Non hercle mérear pro hoc. MI. Abi, abí modo
 AG. Quantum Ácherunti est mórtuorum. MI. Etiámne abis?
 AG. Neque cuántum aquai ín mari est. MI. Abitúrun es?

The enigmatical character of the whole speech, which is too long to quote entire, is shown by the words of Milphio as he goes off in a rage, muttering :

Nam istí quidem hercle orátiōni est Oédipo
 Opus cóniectore.

It has puzzled the editors as well. I have given the text of Geppert except that I have omitted the interrogation point after *manu*. The only emendation which specially concerns us here is that of *egone egone* found in ABCD to *egone edepol*. This may have been suggested to Geppert by Men. 1023 (1025 Bx),

Érgo edepol, si récte facias, ére, me[d]emittás manu.

Bothe omits one *egone* and makes no attempt to heal the halting verse. *Egone* is most likely a dittograph, and *edepol* is on the whole a probable substitution. If accepted, however, it precludes the idea of a question, since it is not employed either by Plautus or Terence in interrogative sentences. Bothe in fact does not seem to regard *egone* as introducing a question, but indicates by leaders placed after *manu* that Agorastocles' speech is broken off. Pareus reads *egone? egone! si*, etc., but his commentary shows that he caught the true sense of the passage. He interprets thus, "ego profecto te manumittam si istuc feceris," and again, "non hercle velim pro mercede mortuos omnes consequi, etc., ut non te mittam manu si . . . effeceris." An exactly parallel use of *ut non* occurs in Bacch. 1184^R,

Quem quidem ego ut nón [hodie] éxcruciem, alterúm tantum non méream.

Hodie was added by Hermann. The MSS. have *alterum tantum auri*, which Fleckeisen and Ussing keep, the latter without inserting *hodie*¹ (cf. also Stich. 24, Men. 218.) Both in Mil. 936 and Poen. 420, *egone* must be retained, but not as part of an interrogation. Agorastocles' words taken connectedly give then the following sense or nonsense: "I in good sooth, so you play cleverly your part, would not forego the giving you this day your freedom, to earn as many as are the dead in Acheron, nor yet as many as are the waters in the sea, nor as all clouds that are, nor as the stars in heaven," etc.

The next example which I shall cite is very similar. Asin. 884 (V 2, 34):

PA. Aúdin quid ait? ART. Aúdio. DE. Egone ut nón domo uxori meae Súbrupiam in deliciis pallam quam hábet atque ad te déferam
Nón edepol condúci possum víta uxoris annua.

Fleckeisen and most editors put an interrogation point after

¹ In Bursian's Jahresbericht for 1881, Heft 3, p. 39, I find that Brachmann follows Fleckeisen, but reads *altrum*. Perhaps we should read, *Quem quidem egone ut non éxcruciem, altrum ídntum auri non méream*, cf. Haut. 950, *Syrum quidem egone*, etc., see below

deferam. The usual conditions under which the *egone ut* questions are employed by Plautus are not here fulfilled, as is clearly admitted by Kraz (Stuttgart Program, 1862, p. 33). Ussing cites the parallel passage Cas. 400^{Ge}. (II 8, 68) :

Tribus nōn conduci pōssum libertātibus
Quin ēgo illis hodie cōparem magnūm malum,

and reads *Ego nē*, but the *ne* is certainly enclitic. It seems to me that there is no more interrogative force felt in *ut non* than in *quin*, although I admit that in an earlier period the construction itself may have grown out of a paratactic question, as has been proved for *quin* clauses.

In Haut. 950 (V 1, 77) the Codex Bembinus reads :

Séd Syrum quidem ēgone si vivo ádeo exornatūm dabo
Ádeo depexum, út dum vivat méminerit sempér mei.

The MSS. of the Calliopian recension BCDEHGP have, according to Umpfenbach, *Sed Syrum MEN Quid eum ? CHR Egone ? si vivo*, except that G has *ergo me*. From personal examination, however, I can state that Cod. Par. 7899, Umpfenbach's P, has no interrogation point after *egone*, although it is commonly found in P after questions. Cod. Par. 7900 A saec. X on the other hand reads *egone ?* Nonius Marcellus cites the latter part of this verse twice to illustrate *Depexum* and *Exornare* (cf. Quicherat's ed. pp. 7 and 336). The MSS. have *egone*. Quicherat inconsistently reads *ego nae* in the first place and *egone ?* in the second. Even as early as the fourth century, however, the corruption of the text (which was no doubt due to a misunderstanding of the use of *egone*) had taken place. Donatus in his commentary on Adelph. III 3, 46 quotes thus, *Sed Syrum ME. Quid eum ?* Bentley, without knowing the reading of the Bembinus, saw at once the impropriety of keeping *egone ?* as a question. I give his comment somewhat abridged. "*Egone semper respondet verbo secundae personae ut Phorm. I 2, 7. Sed quid tu es tristis ? Egone ?* Huic igitur loco non convenit. Repone *Sed Syrum. Quid eum ? Ego si vivo, eum ádeo exornatūm dabo.*" Fleckeisen discusses the passage (Philol. II, p. 76, 1847) and proposes *Sed Syrum M. Quid eum ? CH. nē ego si vivo*, etc. In his ed. of 1865, however (not, as it seems, having ascertained the Bembine's reading), he gives, with hiatus, *Sed Syrum quidem ego si vivo*, etc. Wagner, both in his German and English edition of the play, adopts *egomet*, Klette's emenda-

tion (Rhein. Mus. XIV, p. 467). Shuckburgh, the latest editor (1878), who however has never heard of Umpfenbach's critical edition, follows Fleckeisen. For *quidem* used before a conditional clause, to make emphatic a preceding accusative, I need only to refer to the passage cited above, Bacch. 1184, and And. 164, *quem quidem ego si sensero*. If MS. authority is to have any weight in the passages above discussed, *egone* stands in need of no defence. Its meaning may be illustrated by the early use of the asseverative *enim* to emphasize a conditional statement, Persa 236, *Enim non ibis nunc vicissim nisi scio*. Compare the similar use of the stronger compound *enim vero*, Phorm. 937, *Enim vero si porro esse odiosi pērgitis* . . . where the threat is broken off by Demipho's asking *Quid facies?*

In seven of the examples already given it must have been noticed that *ne* precedes a conditional clause. Hidden away amid the critical apparatus of Terence I have found a *tun* which I think may now claim admission to the text.

Adelph. 770 (V 1, 8):

Tun sī meus esses. . . SY. Dīs quidem esses Dēmea
Ac tuām rem constabillsses. DE. exemplo omnibus
Curārem ut esses.

G alone has *tu*. Umpfenbach attributes the *n* of *tun* in P to a second hand. I myself could see no trace of a correction, and there is no crowding of the letters. As there is evidently no interrogation here, the editors with one consent have eliminated the *n*. The interrupted threat of Demea, to which Syrus gives so witty a turn, is taken up again in the words *exemplo omnibus*. The form *tun* shows convincingly what we might have inferred equally well from the forms *hicine*, *hocine*, that the *ne* in these formulas is enclitic and short, and therefore this *ne* is not to be identified with the prepositive *nē*, as has sometimes happened in the passages containing *egone* *si*.

The next example is of a somewhat different character. Pseud. 371 (I 3, 137):

Ecquid tē pudet?

BAL. Tēn amatorem ēsse inventum inānem quasi cassām nucem.

Ten is found only in the Ambrosianus, the other MSS. have *te*. Ritschl in his edition writes *ted* to obviate hiatus, tacitly recognizing the fact that the infinitive depends directly on *pudet*, and that there is no room here either for a question or an indignant exclamation.

In Neue Plaut. Excursus, Heft I, p. 44, he prefers to keep *ten*, adding, "obgleich die Erklärung des Fragesatzes im dortigen Zusammenhange nicht ganz einfach ist." Bergk, in his treatise on Auslautendes D im alten Latein, p. 53, remarks, "Ich wünschte R. hätte diese Erklärung gegeben; denn mir erscheint das fragende *ne* dort ganz unstatthaft." He calls attention too to the fragment of Ennius quoted by Cic. de Div. I 31, 66:

Hoc dolet

Mén obesse, illós prodesse, me óbstaré, illos óbsequi.

where AV have *men*, which Ribbeck retains, Trag. Frag. p. 21. Bergk's own suggestion that the *n* is either a phonetic affix to prevent hiatus or a relic of the old accusative ending *m*, hardly deserves serious consideration. Fleckeisen keeps *tene* as question, Brix in Jahn's Jahrb. 115, p. 331, discusses the passage at length, giving as the proper reading for verse 370:

Númquid aliud étiam voltis dícere? CAL. Ecquid té pudet?

He too reads *ten* etc., as a sort of jeering retort made by the leno in the form of a question dependent in thought upon *pudet*. If we compare however passages like Adelph. 432 *Numquid vis?* DE. *Mentem vobis meliorem dari*, and Mil. 617 f.:

PE. Quid id est quod cruciát? cedo.

PL. Mé tibi istuc aetátis homini fácinora puerília
Óbicere, etc.

I think it will be admitted that a direct statement dependent on *pudet* understood is much more natural. *Ten* has the force of *te enim* or *te vero*, only somewhat weaker. This is made clear by two analogous passages, Capt. 566^{Bx} (III 4, 36):

Tu énim repertu's, Philocratem qui súperes verivérbio.

and Pseud. 631^R (II 2, 36):

Váe tibi: tu invéntus vero, méam qui furcillés fidem.

In dependent statement *tu enim repertus* might have been expressed by Plautus thus, *ten esse repertum*. Lorenz, although he reads Pseud. 359 (=371^R) *ted esse inventum*, translates "Ja darüber dass du," and this *ja* gives the sense of *ne* or *enim*. In Pseud. 631, Plautus may have written *Vae tibi: tén inventus vero*, which would relieve us of the necessity of either admitting hiatus after *tu* or scanning *tibt*. The *n* would fall out very easily before *inventus*, as it has in Pseud. 371 in all the MSS. except A. With the verbs

invenio and *reperio* the use of some affirmative particle may have been especially common. Another instance is furnished by Eun. 930 (V 4, 8):

tum hoc álterum,
Id vérost quod ego míhi puto palmárium
Men répperisse, quó modo adulescéntulus
Meretrícum ingenia et móres posset nóscere, etc.

A has MEN at first hand, but some late scribe has struck out the N. The Vaticanus also has *men*. The editors read *me*, but *men* must be kept, I think, as another instance of survival. Lest I may seem over-hasty in claiming for *ne* the force of *enim* I wish to call in here the evidence of an old glossary. On p. 52 of Codex Par. 7610 (saec. XIII) 2d part, at the close of quite a long article on *ne*, I found these words: "*Ne* adverbium corripitur scilicet pro *enim* vel pro *nonne* hoc est interrogativum vel affirmativum. Dehortativum vero producitur et conjunctio similiter." (Exactly the same words may be read in Cod. Par. 7611 (saec. XIII) p. 105, and Cod. Par. 7612 (saec. XIV) p. 115.) The testimony is unequivocal. I wish I might trace it back to its first source. I could show, if space permitted, that much of the article on *ne* coincides in phraseology with Priscian, and represents good grammatical tradition; but I have searched through Keil's edition of the *Grammatici Latini* in vain for any coupling of *enim* and *nonne* to explain different sides of *nē*. In the light of this gloss it is interesting to recall Fleckeisen's emendation of *hocine* to *hoc enim* in Mil. 309, and Langen's proposal to substitute *mihine* ? for *míhi enim* ? in Casina II 6, 14 (cf. Beiträge p. 267.) Seyffert too would substitute in Rud. 1003 *Itane vero* ? for *Ita enim vero* ? which does not occur elsewhere. In my judgment we must also recognize the enclitic *nē* in the following passage, Curc. 138 ff. (I 2, 47):

Tu mé curato né sitiam: ego tibi quod amas iam huc ádducam.

PHAED. Tibine égo, si fidem servás mecum vineám pro aurea statuá statuam,
Quae tuó gutturi sit mónimentum.

Tibi ne ego, BEJF. To the separation of *tibi* and *ne* in the MSS. no great importance can be attached. It often occurs where the *ne* stands in a question, cf. Curc. 419 *tu ne* in B, 82 *ei ne* BE. Müller, Plaut. Pros. p. 405, reads with transposition, *ne ego tibi*, etc. Fleckeisen (cf. Philologus II, p. 107) omitting *tibi* reads *né ego, si fidem [tu] mecum sérvas aured pro statua*. Mahler, in his dissertation De Pronominum Personalium apud Plautum collo-

catione, has shown that *ego tibi* is the normal position unless special emphasis is to be given the pronoun of the second person. Here *tibi* is emphatic, and the *ne* belongs more properly to it than to *ego*. If *ego* were emphatic and *ne* the asseverative particle of which Fleckeisen treats, we should expect this order, *nē ego tibi*. There is no certain proof, as we shall see later, that *nē* is found postpositive with pronouns. The reading *tibine* is still further supported by the fact that a conditional clause *si fidem servas* follows; but even without this it might be defended by the following remarkable passage, where *ne*, undoubtedly enclitic, occurs and is retained by the latest editor, Goetz, Epid. 541 (IV 1, 14):

Plāne hicinest is, qui in Epidaurō primus pudicitiam mihi pepulit.

The MSS. have *hicine* or *hiccine*; *is* has been added by Goetz. Camerarius emends to *hic ille est*. Prof. Studemund has been kind enough to furnish me with his own reading of the Ambrosianus, which, as it differs somewhat from that of Loewe, I will here give. The verse is divided up between two lines. At the end of the first LANE KIC . . . S . can be deciphered with space enough for HICINEST. In the second line, after a brief space, INEPIDAURŌ VIRGINI PRIMUS PUDI . . . IAM PE . . . ULIT. *Pepulit* was probably miswritten *perpulit*. Either *primus*, which is found in the other MSS. also, or *virgini*, must be due to a gloss. I prefer to keep *primus* and to regard 540 and 541 as anapaestic septenarii.

540. Certo eást, quam in Epidauró memini me paúperculam conprímere.
PHIL. Plane hicinest qui mihi in Épidauro primús pudicitiam pépulit.

The parallelism between these two emphatic statements will be perceived at once. There is not a shadow of a question present. The *hicine* is simply a stronger *hic*, if you choose *hic enim* or *hic vero*.

Other corresponding cases of *hicine* I confess I have not found. The usage must have been obsolescent even in the time of Plautus. Later recensions may have removed the few cases of its occurrence; and substituted other expressions in their place. Geppert, so far as I know, is the only modern editor who for the sake of the verse has inserted *nē* where there is no interrogation. I am unable to learn, from the books at my command, that he has anywhere explained the usage, or supported it by such examples based on MS. authority as I have given. For the sake of completeness I

give the passages which in a note on Trin. 589 (see his ed. p. 163) he has thus emended: Pseud. 348 *huncine*, 410 *hucine*; 954 *illicine*, 1175 *hicine*; Rud. 778 *huncine*, 1357 *illicine*; Stich. 435 *huncine*; Trin. 590 *istucine*.

I cannot undertake to discuss these passages here. It is no part of my present purpose to bring forward the letter *n* as a rival of the ablative *d* with which some editors have so liberally besprinkled the text of the early poets. I shall be satisfied if I succeed in shielding it in the passages where it does occur. To do this more effectually, I propose to show that an enclitic *nē* with affirmative force is recognized by the ancient grammarians, as may be proved from their works and from glossaries founded upon ancient sources. I have already given one such proof above.

Priscian (Keil II, p. 101) says: "Dubitativae sunt, quae dubitationem significant, ut *an*, *ne* correpta, *necne* . . . (I omit the examples) frequentissime tamen eadem interrogativae sunt, ut Virgilius in III¹ Aeneidos: *Hectoris Andromache Pyrrhin' conubia servas?* Idem in X:² *tanton' me crimine dignum?* Haec eadem invenitur et pro confirmativa ut Horatius in II³ sermonum:

Clarus erit, fortis, iustus, sapiensne etiam et rex.

Idem in I:⁴

O seri studiorum, quine putetis
Difficile et mirum Rhodio quod Pitholeonti
Contigit.

Terentius in Andria:⁵

Nuncine demum istud verbum in te incidit.

Hic enim *ne* conjunctio nec interrogativa, nec dubitativa, sed confirmativa est. Virgilius in X:⁶

Tantane me tenuit vivendi, nate, voluptas
Ut pro me hostili paterer succumbere dextra?

Est enim pro *etiam*."

It will be noticed that in all these passages it is the enclitic *nē* of which Priscian is treating, and not the asseverative *nē* to which (Keil II, p. 479) he assigns the meaning τὸ πάνυ and the circumflex accent. Priscian's use of the terms *affirmativa* and *confirmativa*

¹ Aen. III 319.

² Aen. X 668.

³ Hor. Sat. II 3, 97.

⁴ Hor. Sat. I 10, 21.

⁵ Cf. And. V 3, 11 and 14, and IV 1, 59.

⁶ Aen. X 846.

may be better understood by reference to the following passages, Keil II, pp. 85, 103, 156, 243, 253, 287, 337, et al. He includes under them the Greek *ὅτι* and the Latin *nam, enim, ergo, etiam*, in particular phases of their use; e. g. for *enim* in affirmative sense he very properly cites (Keil II, p. 104) *Adelph. II 1, 14 enim non sinam*. As *confirmativa* he also enumerates (II, p. 85) *profecto, scilicet, quippe, videlicet* and *nempe*. Now *nempe* is one of those particles in the pronunciation of which the nicest discrimination is required to settle upon the proper voice-inflection, and we get no comfort here from the editors. The very passage cited by Priscian from Persius to illustrate the affirmative sense of *nempe*, namely *Sat. III 1, nempe haec assidue*, is given by Jahn and Duebner with a question mark, by Hart with an exclamation point, by Gildersleeve, Pretor and Heinrich with a colon. The scholiast too regards it as a question and attaches to *nempe* the sense of *numquid non*. Acron in his commentary on Horace, *Sat. I 10, 1*, says: "*Nempe aut interrogantis aut confirmantis*." In *Trin. 427. (II 4, 25)*:

LE. *Nempe quas spopondi*. ST. immó 'quas despondi' inquito.

Pareus, Ritschl, and Wagner have a period after *spopondi*; Fleckeisen, Geppert and Brix a question mark. Riley translates "These, I suppose that I was security for?" Bonnel Thornton renders very briefly "I engaged for." Shall we then cry out that Pareus, Ritschl, Wagner and Thornton are perfect dolts because they did not see, what ought to have been as plain as day, that *nempe quas spopondi* is a question? or shall we call Brix an ignoramus because he did not divine that a Roman spendthrift would certainly have dropped his voice before he reached that melancholy word *spopondi*? Yet Hand's treatment of Priscian is not more fair when he says, Tursellinus, vol. IV, p. 73, "*Nemo vero incautius in hac re versatus est quam Priscianus. Nam postquam exposuerat ne et dubitationem significare et in interrogatione poni, loquitur de vi confirmativa, collatis exemplis prorsus alienis et male expositis ita, ut ad extremum addat: est enim pro etiam*." Let us look at these 'exempla prorsus aliena' a little more closely. It is well to premise that when Priscian calls *ne* a dubitative particle he does not deny that *Iustitiaene prius mirer belline laborum?* is a question, and when he speaks of *ne* as confirmative, he refers to the intrinsic value of the particle, and to the peculiar coloring which it gives to any utterance, and he

not at pains to tell us what inflection we are to give the voice. He leaves it free to the scholiast of Persius to decide that *nempe* is a question, but he has felt nevertheless the true force of *nempe*. The Vergil passage beginning *tantane*, speaks for itself. It is a question and Priscian recognized it as such, and yet he interprets *ne* by *etiam*, which he elsewhere styles confirmative. So *sapiensne*, if I mistake not, would mean for Romans 'wise forsooth,' and might be so pronounced as to convey to one person the feeling of questioning doubt, to another of ironical assurance. Acron says of it, "Aut interrogatio audientis aut dicentis dubitatio." To my mind *ne* has quite the force of *nempe* in Hor. Ep. I 16, 31:

'nempe
Vir bonus et prudens dici delector ego ac tu.'

An instructive Plautine parallel for *quine* is found in Epid. 449 (III 4, 13):

Ego sūm si quid vis. MIL. Némpe quem in adulescētia
Memorānt apud reges ármis, arte duéllica
Divítias magnas indeptum?

Here of course the relative clause is not one of characteristic requiring the subjunctive, but this does not affect the force of *nempe*. Acidalius changes for metrical reasons *nempe quem* to *quemne*, in which he is followed by Goetz. We shall see later on that Scaliger identifies this *ne* of *quemne* with the *ne* of *tune* (commonly written *tu nē*), which every one admits to be affirmative. Porphyryon moreover says, "*ne* adjectum, ut *egone, tune*; abundat *ne* syllaba." Acron quotes Priscian, but is evidently in the same confusion in which most of the modern editors are. For the very latest theory on this subject see Keller, *Epilegomena zu Horaz*, p. 507,¹ where *quine* is said to be the fuller form for *quin* and *qui* a modal-instrumental. Does Keller mean to assign to *quine* the force of 'how not'? Really the most sensible comment which I have found is that of Cruquius. "Videtur autem mihi," he says, "esse Atticismus pro οἷ γε ¹ *qui utique, qui certe*, nam ea

¹ "Dieses *quine* ist, was bis jetzt noch Niemand beachtet zu haben scheint, die vollere Form für *quin*, nichts anderes; und *qui* ist somit nicht eigentlich der Nominativ, sondern der Instrumental-Modalis."

² Cf. Lucian Charon 24:

"Ὡ τῆς ἀνοίας, οἱ γε οὐκ ἴσασιν—

and Ovid Fast. II 45:

A! nimium faciles qui tristia crimina caedis
Fluminea tolli posse putetis aqua!

particula *re* familiaris est Demostheni in ea significatione." Not that I admit any influence of Atticism. But it may be claimed that at least in the Terence passage Priscian has most woefully blundered. His memory has indeed played him false, for he has mixed up three passages in one, but his interpretation is sound. No one will fail to be convinced of this who shall compare And. 683,

Nihil ád te, DA. Quaero. PA. Em, *núncin* demum? DA. At iam hóc tibi inventúm dabo,

with Cas. 421 (III 1, 11),

Méminero ST. Em! *nunc enim* te demum núllum scitum scítuist.

The *ne* in itself is as much affirmative in the one case as *enim* in the other. Here too we have an excellent illustration of the nearness of *ne* to *enim*, and the real worth of the gloss already given. And this brings me to the consideration of other glosses. Although Ritschl, Loewe and others have abundantly shown how much light may be shed on the signification of a word by a neglected gloss, as yet only a beginning has been made in the utilization of the riches which the old glossaries contain. It is to be hoped that before many years Loewe, whose admirable design is set forth in the Prodrum Corporis Glossariorum Latinorum (Leipzig, 1876), will provide us with the material. I have been able to examine for my special purpose most of the important glossaries to be found in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and in the Libraries of Berne and St. Gall. For the sake of convenience I will here name the principal of these. Foremost of all is the famous Liber Glossarum Cod. Sangermanensis 12, 13, Parisinus 11529 and 11530 (cf. Loewe in Prod. p. 225, Wilmanns in Rhein. Mus. XXIV, p. 367, and Usener in same vol. p. 387). For some reason Prinz, who supplied Wilmanns with data in regard to this glossary, mentions only the early part of it as in existence. The glossary does not, however, as he states, close with E; the second tome, containing the letters F-Z, being designated by the catalogue number 11530. It contains 246 leaves, on the first of which is written, Antiqui glossarii pars secunda S. Germ. lat. 12, 2. The whole work is thus designated in the catalogue, "Glossarium antiquissimum Ansileub putatur." Usener, whose patience in such investigation is well known, could get no definite information in regard to this worthy bishop. The codex belongs to the eighth century. I shall refer to it as A.

Cod. Bernensis	16, saec.	IX = <i>a</i> , is a copy of the Liber Glossarum, containing the letters A-E.
"	" 258	IX = <i>b</i> }
"	" 224	X = <i>c</i> }
"	" A, 92, 1	IX = <i>d</i> }
" Parisinus	7640	X = <i>e</i> }
"	" 7641	X = <i>f</i> }
"	" 7642	XI = <i>g</i> }
"	" 7643	XI = <i>h</i> }
"	" 7644	XIII = <i>i</i> }
"	" 7610	XIII = <i>k</i> }
"	" 7611	XIII = <i>l</i> }
"	" 7612	XIV = <i>m</i> }
"	" 7680	IX-X = <i>n</i> , Abavus Glossary, cf. Prod. p. 103.
"	" 7690	IX = <i>o</i> , has three separate vocabularies, cf. Prod. p. 88.
" Sangallensis	907	VIII = <i>p</i>
"	" 908	VI-VIII = <i>q</i>
"	" 912	VIII = <i>r</i> . cf. Prod. p. 139.
"	" 238	VIII = <i>s</i> .

Of printed glossaries I have consulted Glossarium Lat. Bibliothecae Par. antiquissimum saec. IX. (ed. Hildebrand, Goettingen 1854) = H; Luctatii Placidi Glossae (ed. Deuerling, Leipzig 1875) = P; and the glossary appended to De Vit's ed. of Forcellini's Latin Dictionary. Finally, through the kindness of Prof. Studemund of Strassburg I have had access to one of the rarest of incunabula, namely, 'Salomonis ecclesiae Constantiensis epî glosse' described by Usener, Rhein. Mus. XXIV, p. 389 = S.

I shall give first the glosses in which *ne* is interpreted by *ergo*.

egone: *ego ergo*. A a g h s c n.

egone: *ego ergo vel numquid ego propterea*. e S.

egone: *ego ergo an ego*. i.

egone: *ego ergo numquid ego*. n.

hecine: *ista, hec ergo*. A k l m g h i.

hocine: *hoc ergo*. q.

huncine: *hunc ergo*. q.

Placidi. *Istamcine* (sic): *stam ergo*. A P.

Istancine: *istam ergo an iste*. k l.

istacine: *ista ergo*. i.

istanccine: *ista ergo? an istam*. f g.

De Glos. *mene*: *me ergo*. A d h i q s.

mene: *vero pro anme vel me ergo*. k l.

mene : *vero pro amne vel me ergo*. m.

nonne : *non ergo*. q s.

ne : *ergo*. s c.

nullane : *ergo nulla*. A.

satine : *satis ergo*. A h i.

tantane : *tanta ergo*. A h i n q.

tune : *tu ergo*. b n c.

tune : *nunc tu vel vero, tu ergo*. e.

It has thus been shown that in glossaries of widely different character and origin *ergo* is a very common interpretation of *ne*. But some of these glossaries are themselves as old as the VIII century. The sources must lie much further back. As we have seen, the gloss *istancine* : *stam ergo* is due to Placidus and probably referred to a passage from Plautus, although this form does not occur in the extant plays. On the other hand the gloss *mene* : *me ergo*, which in the Liber Glossarum is preceded by the *nota* 'De Glos.', is probably due to some early commentator on Vergil, as also the gloss *tantane* : *tanta ergo*. Probus in discussing the use of *nē* (Keil IV, p. 145) quotes Verg. Aen. I, 37, *mene incepto desistere victam?* and Aen. I, 132, *tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri?* which afterwards became stock illustrations of the grammarians. Now in his comment on the first passage Servius says, "*mene, ne non vacat, significat enim ergo et est conjunctio rationalis, et mene sic habet emphasim ut Ast ego quae divum incedo regina.*" Very like this is his comment on Verg. Bucol. 3, 21, "*An mihi cantando victus non redderet ille. An pro ergo ut Cominianus dicit.*" It is remarkable that Charisius (Keil I, p. 229), commenting on the force of *an*, in the same passage says, "*Sed Marcius Salutaris vir perfectissimus pro ergo rectius sensit.*" The inference then is perhaps not unfair that Servius borrowed from Cominianus, and Cominianus from Marcius Salutaris, who probably flourished early in the fourth century. He in turn may have borrowed it from some earlier grammarian. As the explanation of *ne* in *mene* by *ergo* became traditional doctrine, it need excite no wonder that the gloss was extended to numerous other cases, and thus found its way at last into the glossaries. It must be conceded then that the gloss itself may lay claim to a very respectable antiquity, that it antedates the Bembinus of Terence and the Ambrosianus of Plautus, as well as Donatus. There would seem to be no good reason why we should deny an equally early

origin to the interpretation of *ne* by *vero* found quite as frequently in the same glossaries, as will be seen from the following exhibit:

anne: *an vero*. Ai.¹

anne: *nonne an vero adverbium interrogandi*. gm.

hicine: *hic vero*. A, corrupted in h into *hiccine*: *hic virgo*.

hicine: *ex ea re*. A.

hiccine pro hicne, hiccine, hic vero ex ea re. iklm.

De Glos. *Hoc*: *istud*. A.

Hocine: *ocvero* (sic). A.

hoc: *istud vel tale* } klmg h c i o.

hoccine: *hoc vero* }

hoccine: *hoc vero vel hoc usque hoc putas*. ne S.

hocine: *hoc verum*. r.

hacine: *hac ergo* } i S kl.

hancine: *istam vero* }

hoscine: *hos vero*. qlkmion.

haecine: *ita vero*. pr.

Virgili *huncine*—*histum vero*. Ai.

hunecine (sic): *istū vero an hunc*. k.

hunccine: *istum vero an hunc*. qhil.

itane: *ita vero*. AqS.

De Glos. *itane*: *ita vero*. i.

itane: *putas sic, ita ergo vero* } en S.

itine: *ita vero* }

mene: *vero pro anme vel me ergo*. l m.

tune: *nunc tu vel vero tu ergo*. e.

Compare with these H, p. 159, *haec inde*: *haec vero, haec vero*: *haec inde*; p. 162, *hiscinet*: *ipsius autem, hoccine*: *hoc vero*; p. 163, *hoscine*: *hos vero*; p. 186, *ita vero*: *itinetet, itine*: *ita vero*. Finally in i I have found *siccine*: *sic etiam*. That these glosses go back to an ancient source may, I think, be made clear by the following considerations: (1) The orthography itself of the Liber Glossarum points to a good source, for it is better than that which Priscian lays down as correct. He teaches (Keil I, p. 592), "Ce quoque solebant per omnes casus vetustissimi addere articularibus vel demonstrativis pronomibus, hoc est ab aspiratione incipientibus, ut *hicce, huiusce, haecce, hocce* unde *hoc* quasi duabus conso-

¹ This gloss may throw some light on Phorm. 175 where Dziatzko reads *eam anne* for the unintelligible *amare* of the MSS., and Eugraphius has *an vero*, which may be due to a gloss.

nantibus sequentibus solent poetae producere—et sic in antiquissimis codicibus invenitur bis *c* scriptum, quomodo est apud Terentium in Andria: *Hoccine* est credibile aut memorabile?"

Now of what date Priscian's 'codices antiquissimi' were we do not know. We see, however, that the false orthography with two *c*'s came in quite early. It is found in all the later MSS. of Plautus and Terence. Cf. Bacch. 1090, *hoccine* BCD; Haut. 203, *hunc.cine* D; *hunc.cine* EF; And. 236, *hoccine* BCEGP. The Liber Glossarum agrees with the Bembinus and the Ambrosianus in having but one *c*, while the later glossaries have commonly two. (2) It has been shown by Usener (Rhein. Mus. XXIV, p. 383) that the *nota* 'Virgili' which is prefixed in A to the gloss *huncine*: *histum vero* indicates that the gloss was drawn either from a glossary to Vergil, or from a glossed MS. of Vergil based upon the commentary of Aelius Donatus. The *nota* 'De Glos.' prefixed in i to *itane*: *ita vero* also indicates a good source, and this with the fact that the same gloss occurs in the Liber Glossarum compels me to reject Loewe's hypothesis (Prodromus, p. 347) that the glosses *staec*: *ita vero* and *itine*: *ita vero* are only corruptions of a fuller gloss *itane vero*: *itine stec*. (3) The gloss *hoc*: *istud* which precedes in A *hocine*: *oc vero*, and which also has on the margin the *nota* 'De Glos.' takes in several other MSS. the form *hoc*: *istud vel tale*. The explanation by means of *talīs* is found several times in Servius, cf. Aen. IX 481, I 253, and IV 237. So too Donatus to Hec. I 1, 3 remarks, *Hiscine* Ἐρωτησιν id est *talibus*. It would seem then to be no unfair conclusion that the tradition of these glosses reaches back to the fourth century of our era. It may possibly go even further back. The gloss *hocine*: *hoc vero* vel *hoc usque*, which indicates clearly the intensive force of *hocine*, may well be compared with this gloss from Festus (Müller, p. 358-9), "Tamne: eo usque, ut Aelius Stilo et Opilius Aurelius interpretantur. Itaque Afranius: 'Tamne arcula tua plena est aranearum,'" which Paulus gives thus, "Tanne: eo usque, Afranius 'Tanne arcula tua plena est aranearum'" (cf. Ribbeck Com. Frag. p. 217). The spelling *tanne* is phonetic, as Müller remarks, pointing to Cicero's well-known statement that *cumnobis* was pronounced *cunnobis*. *Tanne* was probably of rare occurrence as compared with *sicine* or *itane*. It is not found in Terence. Our Plautine texts give it twice, Merc. 172, where the MSS. have *Tandem*, and Mil. 628 where B has *tam me*, the rest *tamine*. Better vouchers than Varro's teacher and than Opilius (or Opillius), whom Varro often follows, we could hardly desire.

Now nothing compels the conclusion that in the first instance all these glosses were made to explain *ne* used in interrogative sentences. We have seen that Plautus and Terence use *Hocine si*, *Egone si*, *Hicine si*, *Tun si*, etc. I have looked in vain in Plautus for an example of *ego vero si* or *hoc vero si*, or in fact of any pronoun thus strengthened by *vero* before a conditional clause. Cicero however does employ *vero* in this way. Compare e. g. Somn. Scip. VIII 1, *ego vero, siquidem—patet, enitar*; De Domo 47, 122, *ego vero si—dicerem—defenderem*; Cat. II v, *Hunc vero si secuti erunt sui comites*, where *vero* is something more than *but*. Cicero also uses *hic vero* in questions; e. g. De Domo 38, 102, *Hanc vero, pontifices, labem turpitudinis et inconstantiae poterit populi Romani dignitas sustinere?* Plautus never uses *hic vero* in this way. What more natural then than for an acute observer, noticing the difference between the usage of Plautus and later writers in this respect, to explain *ne* by *vero*? A passage in Terence where the MSS. have *hic vero* preceding a conditional clause, here challenges our attention. Eun. 299 ff. (II 3, 8):

Hic véro est qui si occéperit
Ludúm iocumque dicet fuisse illum álterum, | praeut huius
Rabies quáe dabit.

So reads the Bembinus. Instead of *dicet* BCDEGP have *dices*, and in v. 299 *amare* after *occeperit*. Modern editors following Bentley begin v. 301 with *praeut huius*. Priscian (Keil II, p. 50) quotes the passage in illustration of the use of *praeut*, giving *dices* the reading of the Calliopian recension, but not *amare*, although on Lindemann's evidence a Heidelberg codex has *qui sic amare occeperit*. Arusianus quotes with *dicet*. Wagner remarks on the difficulty of the passage and complains of previous editors for passing over it *sicco pede*. *Hic* and *qui* must of course refer to the youth Chaerea, whereas *dicet* if retained must have for its subject *senex*. This sudden change of subject may account for the confusion of Donatus, if we are to credit him with the following remark, "*Hic vero est*: Utrum senex an Chaerea? sed senex potius;" and again, "*Hic vero est*: Senex (which is of course false) *Qui*, scilicet Chaerea." Compare with this Eugraphius' more intelligent explanation, "*Hic adulescens, si amare coeperit, fratrem eius Phaedriam dices ludum et iocum fuisse, hoc est, non amasse.*" In his Comment. on Eun. II 3, 56 Donatus cites the line loosely thus, *O infortunatum senem, si et hic amare coeperit*. Bentley

says of *dicet*, "eo ipso ineptum est, quod quivis aliquis aequè dixerit. Repone *dicas*." *Dices* if used of a definite person would be supported by Eun. 567, *Primam dices, scio, si videris*. For *amare occipit* compare Adelph. 327, Eun. 568, Phorm. 82.

In view of passages already discussed it must be admitted that Terence might have written *Hicne si amare occiperit*, etc. Did he, for the sake of being better understood by the coming generations, avoid an obsolescent usage, and for the sake of greater emphasis employ a rather awkward circumlocution the like of which does not occur in Plautus?—*hic vero est qui si*. As conservative critics we may not lay ruthless hands upon the manuscript tradition, but when we remember Ritschl's *dictum* (Proleg. P. CXXI),¹ "longius autem a Terentiana integritate Bembinus, quam a Plautina Ambrosianus abest," it is hard to escape the suspicion that this passage in its present form is due to a later revision, at a period perhaps when it was common to gloss *hicne* by *hic vero*.² This suspicion is rather increased by Schlee's comment on these lines in a recent dissertation, Berlin 1879, *De versuum in Canticis Terentianis consecutione*, p. 46, "mira vero ac singularis est haec versuum consecutio et qualis nusquam in Terentii canticis occurrit." The *dicet* of A may stand for an original *dicetis* which was addressed to the audience and which was misread *dicet is*, but I make no attempt here to reconstruct the lines. If we consider how modern editors have changed And. 478 and similar passages, we may conceive of the ancients being even bolder in their emendations. That the passage in question lends strong authority to the *ne : vero* glosses I think no one will deny. The same service is rendered for the *ne : ergo* glosses by another passage in Terence. And. 849 f. (V 2, 8):

Étiam tu hoc respónde, quid istic tibi negotist? DA. Míhin? SI. Ita.
DA. Míhine. SI. Tibi ergo. DA. Módo ego intro ivi. SI. Quási ego quam
dudúm rogem.

Mihine DGP, *michine* BCE. For *responde* see Becker, *Studemünd's Stud.* p. 177 f. In Priscian (Keil II, p. 286) we read, "*Ji conjunctio tam completiva quam confirmativa invenitur apud illos . . . quomodo apud nos vero et autem . . . similiter nam, enim, ergo non solum causales vel rationales sed etiam completivae et confirmativae inveniuntur.*" To this doctrine he recurs later on (Keil II, p. 337), "*Nostri quoque frequenter ergo repletivi loco accipiunt. Terentius in Andria, Mihine? Tibi ergo.*" In another place (Keil

¹ Cf. *Opusc. V*, p. 371.

² Cf. however Eun. 930.

II, p. 100) he says of *ergo*, "invenitur tamen etiam pro expletiva ut Terentius in Andria *Mihine? Tibi ergo*." The affirmative force of *ergo* in early Latin has been frequently pointed out by modern scholars. Ussing in a note on Amphitruo 172 remarks that it is equivalent to the German 'ja.'¹

Now it is a little singular that nowhere in Plautus in answer to the questions *mihine? egone?* do we find *tibi ergo* or *tu ergo*. The following instances occur, however, of *ne*, used in such an answer. Trin. 634 (III 2, 8):

Égone? LES. Tune. LYS. Quid male facio? LES. Quód ego nolo, id quóm facis,
tune BCD.

Epid. 575 (IV 2, 6):

Tú homo insanis. PER. Égone? PH. Tune. PER. Quór? PH. Quia ego istanc
quáé siet
ego ne J *tune?* B *tu ne* J *tune* · E cf. Goetz'
ed. of Curculio p. xv.

Stich. 635 (IV 2, 51):

Égone? tune. mihine? tibine. viden ut annonást gravis?
EGONE TUNE MIHINE TIBINE (sic cum spatiis) A.
egone? tune? mihine? tibine? BCD.

Capt. 857 (IV 2, 77):

Égone? ER. Tune. HE. Túm tu mi igitur érus es. ER. Immo bénevolens.

Sonnenschein does not state whether *tu* is separated from *ne* in the MSS. To these, two other passages have been added by emendation. Most. 955 (IV 2, 38):

Égone? AD. Tune. TH. Né molestus's: sine me cum pueró loqui.
So Fleckeisen, Philol. II, p. 92. *Egone tu tu ne molestus* BC. *tutune* D.

Mil. 439 (II 5, 39):

Égone SC. Tune. PH. Quáé heri Athenis Éphesum adveni vésperi.
tu. MSS. *tu ne*. Ritschl.

It will be seen that the authority of the best MSS. so far as known to us, favors the writing of *tune* as one word. This is actually done by Goetz in Epid. 575, who also retains as we have seen *haecine* in Epid. 73, and *hicine* in Epid. 541. But the other

¹ Lorenz Philologus 32, p. 296, has a good note on *ergo*, in which he shows that this is only a partial statement of the truth. There is indeed danger of losing out of sight the causal force which may be combined with the confirmative.

editors write *tu nē*, and explain *nē* as the asseverative particle which in older editions appears as *nae*. In this they follow Fleck-eisen, who in the second volume of the *Philologus*, p. 61 ff. has given a most admirable and exhaustive treatment of *nē* in its various uses. On p. 91 he sets apart by themselves the instances of *nē* which we have just cited, as exceptional both in position and in force. With so much the more reason can we claim that the *ne* is enclitic. No metrical tests can show that the *e* of *ne* is long, as it is found in the thesis. On the other hand, in the passage from Stichus the rapidity of movement and the equipoise between question and answer in both pairs *Egonē? tunē. mihinē? tibi nē.* is quite destroyed if we read *Egonē? tu nē. mihinē? tibi nē.* Moreover, if we change the quantity we lose the mocking echo of the answer, which perhaps more than anything else contributed to keeping these formulas alive so long. We may well compare the use of *nempe*¹ in Rud. 565-7:

Nempe meae? SC. nempe nescio istuc. LA. Quā sunt facie? SC. Scitula: Vēl ego amare utrāmvis possim sī probe adpotūs siem.
LA. Nēmpē puellae? SC. Nēmpē molestus: ī, vīse [intro] sī lubet.

Thornton renders the last line very well, "And young forsooth? SC. Forsooth you're plaguey troublesome." With this passage in mind I prefer to read in Most. 955,² TH. *Ēgonē?* AD. *Tunē.* TH. *Tūnē molestus*, giving to *nē* in each case a force bordering on that of *nempe*, "I forsooth?—you forsooth!—Sooth you are troublesome:" with suitable voice-inflection. My reading is nearer to *tu tune* of the MSS., inasmuch as I only add a *ne* which might easily have dropped out, whereas Fleck-eisen inserts *ne* and omits *tu*. Ussing regards the *ne* as asseverative and reads *Ēgone?* —*Tu.*—*tu nē*, etc., which is inadmissible if *ne* is enclitic and short. Moreover, the accentuation *tu nē* does not elsewhere occur. I must not omit to state here that Scaliger seems to have identified the *ne* in these examples with the enclitic *nē* often affixed to relatives. At least I have found in the Codex Parisinus 11305, which bears in the catalogue the title "Notes de Scaliger sur Plaute," the following

¹ Compare also the echoed question Persa 220, *Itanest? Itanest?* and Persius Sat. II, 19, *cuinam? cuinam?*

² My reading is not possible if one rigidly exclude from Plautus dactyls with trochaic caesura. Before consonants moreover in connected discourse *tun* is the regular form. I should not think of keeping *tune molestus* except as a sort of formula. Metrically *Ēgone? Tune. Tūn molestus* would be better.

annotations: To Trin. III 2, 8, "*Egone? Tune. Tune id est tu ut in Milite quemne ego servavi in campis.*" To Amph. II 2, 65, "*quaene id est quae frequentissimum apud Plautum et apud Catullum Fratrem quemne ipsa reliqui.*" And again to Cist. IV 2, 6, "*Quamne in manibus tenui atque accepi hic ante aedis,*" *quamne id est quam.* He doubtless took Priscian at his word where he says that the *ne* of *quine* is affirmative.

Of this affirmative *ne* we have already pointed out four cases of survival in Terence, one in Ennius, and nine in Plautus, to which, if our view be accepted, six more must now be added, occurring in a mocking answer. Terence must have known this use in the plays of Plautus, and probably in the folk-speech of his time. Did he intentionally avoid it, and substitute *ergo* for *ne*? We look in vain for a second example of *ergo* thus used. We know how early in the commentaries of Vergil the glossing of *ne* with *ergo* became common. We do not know whether Donatus found *tibi ergo* in his codex. Long before Priscian and the author of what is known as the Calliopian recension, the gloss *ergo* might have supplanted *ne* in the text. A glossarist would not have taken the trouble to change *mihine*, which is metrically impossible if we read *tibi ergo*, to *mihin*. On the other hand, had Terence himself written *mihin*, the scribe who in v. 849 was very careful to keep *mihin?* even before a vowel, would hardly have written *mihine*. *Mihin* occurs in And. 476, Phorm. 506, 1048, with no MS. variation. Unfortunately this verse is not found in the Bembinus; Hertz tells us at least that only an N can be made out after the beginning of the verse. Umpfenbach does not even record this. Perhaps a closer scrutiny might at least show whether there was space for *tibi ergo*. I feel quite confident that Terence wrote *mihin? tibin?*. If it shall be decided that he wrote *tibi ergo*, I shall make him responsible for the *ne: ergo* glosses, and shall thus through Priscian indirectly prove the affirmative nature of the enclitic particle *ne*.

If any one has had the patience to follow me thus far, he will naturally be inclined to ask for a more explicit statement of my views in regard to the interrogative particle *ne*, and its relations to the affirmative particle, which has up to this point formed the subject of discussion. To avoid all misunderstanding, I wish to state distinctly at the outset my belief in the existence of an interrogative particle *ne* of negative origin, the limits of whose use, however, must I think be drawn more closely than they have been hitherto. When I find that Haut. v. 563 *vidin ego te?* is cited by

Julius Rufinianus as *non ego te vidi?*; when I find in Cod. Par. 7900 A, *edixin* And. 495 and *dixin* Adelph. 83 glossed by *nonne edixi* and *nonne dixi*, and when I find Remigius in his commentary on Martianus Capella (Cod. Par. 8674) explaining *coepistine* (cf. Eyssenhardt, p. 300) by *nonne coepisti*, I do not say that the authors of these glosses have confused the facts,¹ but I infer that to them the negative force of *ne* is as clear and sharp as the negation in *can't*, *won't*, etc., is clear to an English speaker.

On the other hand, when Priscian tells me that *nē* is sometimes affirmative, citing in illustration passages most apposite, as I have tried to show; when numerous glosses representing ancient tradition interpret *ne* to mean *vero*, *ergo*, *enim* and *etiam*; when every one admits that *sin* is equivalent to *si vero*; I cannot shut my eyes to all this testimony and declare that *nē* is purely and simply negative, and that hence all the phenomena in its use must be made to square with the negative conception. Nor can I intrench myself as Hand² does behind the profound philosophical observation that every question implies doubt, and that all doubt borders upon negation, and that hence every question contains a negative element, which very naturally finds its expression in *nē*. Practically speaking every question does not imply doubt, and does not so far as expression is concerned call for a negative element. If we look at the hard facts of language we shall find Plautus in 563 questions and Terence in 346 employing no interrogative particle or pronoun whatever, and that, too, in questions exactly parallel to those in which Hand assigns to *ne* a negative force. We shall find, moreover, *vero* occasionally taking the place of *nē*, and here and there *enim* and *nempe* in questions for which editors in some cases have actually substituted *ne*. The Greeks use *ἤ*; we ourselves employ *really* and *truly* in interrogation. But *vero*, *enim*, *nempe*, *ἤ*, and *really*, are by nature affirmative. No *a priori* reasoning, therefore, can bar out the possibility of an affirmative *nē*. For myself I see no reason for dissociating the forms *egone*, *tune*, *hicine*, etc. found in direct statements, where any negative notion is of necessity excluded, from the same forms found in questions. In commenting on Eun. V 4, 41, Donatus says, "*Obsecro an is est?* insultantis ut in Phormione (945). *Ah! tune is eras?* nam sciebat uem esse." Hand would of course translate, *Ah, you were not he?* but it is difficult to conceive why there must of necessity be a negative force

¹ Hand Turs. IV, p. 77, says of Priscian *omnia miscuit*.

² Tursellinus IV, p. 71.

in *tune* is which does not reside in *an is*? Shakespeare in *You Like It*, III 2, 410, makes Rosalind say, "But in good sooth are you he that hangs the verses on the trees?" after Orlando has confessed the act. Cf. *All's Well that Ends Well*, V 3, 47:

PAR. O my good lord, you were the first that found me!

LAF. Was I in sooth? and I was the first that lost thee.

This affirmative sense, *in sooth*, with the various shades of meaning which it may be made to take on by different modulations of the voice, is, I claim, far more natural for *ne* where irony, surprise, indignation and kindred emotions are to be expressed, than the simply negative force. I need only mention here the ironical use of *vero* (cf. Donatus to Eun. V 2, 69, "*vero*, εἰρωνικῶς ut *egregiam vero laudem*.") A very good instance of this is seen in And. 917, *Est vero huic credendum*, *Chreme*, which the early editors punctuate as a question. I conceive *ne* to have a force very like this in Trin. 960 f:

Quem ego qui sit homo nescio

Néque oculis ante hunc diem umquam vidi, *eine* aurum créderem?

BCD *ei nemirum*.

In treating the several cases of survival of the formula *egone?* *tune*. I have tried to prove that the *ne* of the answer is an echo of the *ne* in the question, and that the two stand in very much the same relation to each other as the two *nempe*'s (to take another example) in Aul. 290:

CO. Nempe huc dimidium dicis, dimidium domum?

ST. Nempe sicut dicis.

The whole tone here is of course quite different from that of the *egone?* questions.

In Adelph. 770 I have pointed out an instance of the survival of *tun* before a condition, *tun si meus esses*, with the force of *tu vexo*. But this does not differ in any essential respect from the *tun* found in Phorm. 932, *tun hanc duceres, si tibi daretur?* nor from a hundred other *tun*'s which I might cite. It is simply a matter of voice-inflection, and the *ne* in the earliest period of its use was something more than a mere sign. Of course I do not claim that, when with the constant friction to which the commoner coins of language are exposed, the particle had become reduced to a single letter, its force was vividly felt by the people who used it, any more than I would claim that ordinary English speakers attach any

force to the *s* of *as* or *such* or recognize its connection with the *so* of *also*. No Roman had any feeling for the *c* in *sic* or *hoc* as a separate element in a compound word. In this respect the affirmative particle *ne* was at a great disadvantage compared with the negative. Every Englishman has at least a vague sense of the separate force of *n* in *nought* and *none*, and the *nt* in *sha'n't*, and every Roman would feel clearly the difference between *dixin* and *dixi*. An affirmative particle would be much more likely to fade out into a mere sign. Yet that the abridged forms *ten*, *men*, *tun* were used for emphasis long after the *n* had ceased to have for the speaker any independent value, cannot be doubted. In this light I think we must interpret such scholia as the following: Donatus to And. II 3, 10, *Egon dicam? Tò ego emphasim habet*; And. III 2, 12, *Ilan contemnno: hoc est adcone contemnno, valde contemnno*; And. I 5, 28, *Eine ego ut adveser?* Pronomen hoc vim qualitatis habet; et est *cur tali, tam bono* (cf. Hec. I 1, 13); And. II 6, 4, *Nihilne est* ἐνφθισμὸς antiquorum pro *nihil* (cf. *nihil enim*, Hec. 850). In like manner Servius to Verg. Aen. II, 657, *Mene efferre*, etc., nam pronomina habent vim suam nonnumquam et emphasim. Both commentators must have had, I think, a dim sense of the latent force of *ne*, although they could give it no adequate expression in words. Servius is quite as much at a loss to explain *enim* in Verg. Aen. VIII 84:

Quam pius Aeneas tibi enim, tibi, maxima Juno,

"vacat *enim* et tantum ad ornatum pertinet," and yet we know that Vergil has ventured to refresh here in *enim* that strong asseverative force in which alone it is known to Plautus. Nothing can illustrate better the danger of looking at early Latin through Ciceronian spectacles than this very word *enim*. Only fifteen years ago William Ramsay, in his edition of the *Mostellaria*, p. 206, could say: "We maintain that in the early writers *enim vero* signifies 'for in truth,' as *enim* always signifies 'for.' " Our much despised Priscian might have taught him better (Keil II, p. 103 and 104), "Invenitur etiam pro affirmativa, ut Terentius in *Andria* (I 3, 1), *Enim vero Dave nihil loci est*, etc., et maxime praepositiva hanc habet significationem, et idem in *Adelph.* (II 1, 14) *enim non sinam*." It was reserved however for Langen in 1880 (*Beitr.* p. 261-271) to show that *enim* does not occur before Terence in any other than asseverative force, and that only rarely in Terence does it mean *for*. I think we shall not err if in some passages of Plautus and

Terence we reinforce the original asseverative or affirmative meaning of *ne*. Certainly *tune* in answer was stronger than *tu*, and German editors are fond of translating it 'du ja.' So too *ne* in a question frequently corresponds to *enim* or *vero* in the answer. I might multiply instances, but the following will suffice: Adelph. 924, *Tun iubes hoc?*—*Ego vero iubeo*. Pseud. 979, *Tune's Ballio?*—*Ego enim vero is sum* (cf. Epid. 541, *Hicines?*). Persa 185, *ain vero?*—*aio enim vero* (cf. Amph. 344). Amph. 758, *Tun dicis?*—*Tun negas?*—*nego enim vero*. Compare *itane vero?* in Rud. 971 with *ita enim vero?* Rud. 1003, *quiane* in Most. 1132.

Vérbero etiam inrîdes? TR. Quian me pró te ire ad cenam áutumo?

and Persa 850 with *quia enim* in Merc. 648, Mil. 1140, Pers. 228, and, especially Truc. II 2, 11,

Quíd tibi ego maledíco? STR. Quia enim me trúncum lentum nóminas, *enim me ABCD*; *me*, Spengel, on account of metre. Fleckeisen, Jahrb. 101, p. 702, omits *ego* and retains *quia enim*. Had Plautus used *quian me* in direct statement, I think his contemporaries would have understood him, as Horace's friends doubtless understood *quine putetis*, and *nemon ut* (Sat. I 1, 108; Keller and Holder, *nemo ut* with hiatus). I should not venture however to put *quian me* in the text.

One of the most common uses of *ne* in Plautus is in connection with the exclamatory infinitive: so Asin. 226 *Hacine te esse oblitum in ludo qui fuisti tam diu!* With this may be compared Cic. de Fin. II 10, 29, *Hoc vero non videre!* which Madvig thus explains, *Hoc vero credibile est eum non videre?* (see And. 625, *hocines? credibile?* and compare Lucret. II 16 *nonne videre?* with Lachmann's note). Cic. ad Att. VII 2, 8, *Chrysippum vero, quem ego . . in honore habui, discedere a puero!* It is evident that *vero* in the Ciceronian passages performs the same office as *ne* in Plautus, and that *nonne*¹ in the Lucretian passage is equivalent to *non vero* and is not a compound of two negatives like *nonnumquam*, in which case we should expect the negative force to be lost. In view of such passages I do not see how one can dismiss lightly the *ne* : *vero* glosses or attribute them to some ignorant glossarist. The late Prof.

¹ Spengel is, I think, mistaken in denying *nonne* to Plautus and Terence. It was used like *anne* and *namque* before vowels, and if we can trust the MSS. it was not confined to questions; see Merc. 62, *nonne ut* Phorm. 969, *nonne hercle*.

Fritsche may very possibly have held to the negative origin of *nē*, but if so, he translated Hor. Sat. II 4, 83 *ten-radere*, etc., better than he knew, "musst du denn wirklich?"

I now pass to the most difficult part of my task. It is a disadvantage to be a foundling, and many particles live under a sort of social ban because they cannot point to a family tree. What a stigma attaches to *haud* because it cannot prove its paternity! How much more ready we are to admit *non* into the society of our pet adjectives! Clearly relations and a respectable ancestry must be found for *ne*, else it will still rest under the baneful suspicion of being nothing more than a bastard negative, whose true origin has for family reasons been concealed. The most expeditious way to dispose of it would no doubt be to father it upon the asseverative *nē*. This Schoemann (Lehre von d. Redetheilen, p. 221) has done, calling it "die abgeschwächte Form" The temptation to do this is strong, and in declaring against it I have not overlooked the striking affinity between passages like Haut. 918 and Haut. 950. This resemblance is due to the fact that both *nē* and *nē* are to be referred to a common pronominal stem which for convenience sake we may with Fick call *na* (cf. Wörterbuch d. Indo-Germ. Sprach. I, p. 122). To this he assigns the office of strengthening other pronouns (Skr. *-na* in *e-na*, Zend *na* enclitische Partikel in *kēm nā* (*quem-nam*), *-na* in *ci-na* wer, *daēna* f. das selbst (?) + *νῆ*, *ναί* traun, versichernd, *-νη* in *ἐγώ-νη*, *τίς-νη*; *-να* in *δσι-να* derselbige, *-ν-* in *τι-ν-ός*, *τι-ν-ί*, *τι-νά*, lat. *nē*, *nae*, traun, versichernd, *na-m* in *quisnam*, wer doch, *n* in *nu-n-c* u. s. w., Goth. *-n* in *hun*, *ains-hun*.) The Latin language seems to have gone its own way in the development of this stem, and to have been more prolific than any of the cognate tongues. I owe to M. Bréal the following clear statement regarding it (see Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, I, p. 195.): "*na* avait à l'origine un sens démonstratif. Il a donné l'adverbe interrogatif *num* et avec le *c* enclitique *nunc* acc. m.; la conjonction *nam* acc. f., la particule interrogative *nē* dont la flexion casuelle a tout-à-fait disparu, ou qui peut-être n'en a jamais eu. La forme secondaire *nī* a donné l'accusatif *nem* dans *nempe*. De plus notre pronom s'est conservé comme enclitique sous les formes *nam* et *num* dans *quisnam* et *etiamnum*." Etymologists generally have derived *nempe* from *nam-pe* without taking the trouble to explain on what phonetic principle *nam* + *pe* gives *nempe* while *nam* + *que* gives *namque*. Bréal, as we see, assigns to *nem* a distinct origin. What if *nem* itself be the fuller form of

the enclitic *ne* which Bréal admits may have lost a case ending? The Latin language would then have started with three particles of similar formation, *nam*, *nem*, and *num*, all of which were used in interrogations, though not confined to them; while *nem* from the greater frequency of its enclitic use had lost its final *m* before the literary period. The independent existence of *nem* is tacitly admitted by Corssen, Ausspr. II, p. 640, when he says: "Ehe die enklitische Partikel *-pe* an *nem-* antrat; war das *m* auslautend, also schwach nachklingend; diesen schwachen verschwindend kurzen Laut behielt es auch vor der Anfügung *-pe*, wie das *m* von *enim* in der Tonverbindung von *enim vero*. So ward *nempe* mit verschwindend matten und kurzem labialen Nasallaut gesprochen fast wie **nepe* und so bei den Bühnendichtern gemessen." *Nepe* is found, too, in the MSS. in Trin. 328 in BCD, where Ritschl remarks *memorabili indicio pyrrhichiacae mensurae*, and in Trin. 966 in D. The vanishing of the nasal sound is perhaps still more clearly proved by a gloss which I have found in the Cod. Bern. 224, saec. X, p. 217, *neppe: certe*. *Neppe* is found according to Ribbeck in Verg. Georg. III 259 in c = Cod. Bern. 184, saec. IX, to which our gloss may refer.

The independent existence of *nem* receives further support from a gloss of Festus (Müller, p. 162), *Ne-mut, nisi etiam vel nempe usus est Cato de pot. tr-ibunici* †, cum ait: "*nemut . . . aerumnas*." The letters italicized are due to conjecture. Paulus (Müller, p. 163) gives simply '*nemut nisi etiam, vel nempe*.' Meyer and Dübner, Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta, p. 168, assign the mutilated fragment to Cato's oration 'de Tribunis Militum,' which was probably delivered in the year 171 B. C. (see Jordan's ed. of the Fragments, Proleg. p. lxxxiv). We cannot be absolutely certain however that Verrius Flaccus did find the words in Cato. Now, as the loose compounds *sicut*, *velut*, *praeut* and *prout* presuppose the existence of *sic*, *vel*, *prae* and *pro*, so a compound *nemut* presupposes the existence of *nem*, and it is clearly quite improbable that *nam* + *ut* should ever give *nemut*. I need not rehearse here the familiar facts in regard to the dropping of *m* final in the Roman folk-speech from the earliest times. If now we posit a form *tunem* for an early period we might expect to see it reduced to *tune* and finally to *tun*, just as *noenum* becomes *noenu* and finally *non*. And as *non* is the regular form even in Plautus, occurring hundreds of times, while *noenum* has good MS. authority in only one passage Aul. 67 (l 1, 28, see Ussing's note and Langen Beit. p.

263) although used as an archaism by Lucilius and Lucretius, so under the most favorable circumstances we could not expect more than two or three cases of the fuller form *nem* in the MSS. of Plautus. If I were asked to give examples where *nem ut* might have been used in a pre-Plautine period, I should give the following :

Egone(m) út te advorsum méntiar, maté mea (Aul. 682).
 Egone(m) út cavere néqueam, quoi praedíctur (Pseud. 516).
 Hicéne(m) út a nobis hóc tantum argenti aúferat (Phorm. 955).
 Núnc agitas sat túte tuarum rérum; egone(m) ut opem té mihi
 Férre putem posse ínopem ? (Bacch. 637).

Ritschl omits *ne* and does not consider it a question. Dombart in Blätt. f. bayer. Gymnas. u. Realschulwesen, 1880, p. 40, claims that *nam* was originally asseverative by nature: "*nam, enim* und *vero* sind ursprünglich versichernd und bedeuten 'in der That.' Daraus entwickelte sich früher bei *nam* später bei *enim* eine begründende und erläuternde Bedeutung." As the comic poets use *nam quis* for the classical *quisnam*, so *nem*, as is proven by *nempe*, was not always enclitic. In an early period we might conceive of it taking the place of *nam* in the following sentence, Cist. IV 1, 10. I give the reading of Pareus :

Nam hercle ego illam anum inridere me ut sinam? satiu'st mihi
 Quovis exitio interire.

Terence could only use *nem* as an enclitic and for him the *m* was irrecoverably lost. Compare for instance with the above passage, Eun. 771 :

Hancéne ego ut contuméliam tam insígnem in me accipiám Gnatho?
 Morí me satius est.

Primarily the difference in meaning between *nam* and *nem* in such questions could not have been very great. *Nam* and *enim* often border very closely on one another, and again diverge widely in their use. *Quia enim*, so frequently found in Plautus and Terence, is quite different from the archaic *quianam*, but quite like *quiane* (for *quianem*), as I have tried to show above. So we need not be surprised to find *ulin* differing both from *utinam* and from *ut enim* in Epid. 277. EP *Út enim praestínés argento, priusquam veniat fílius*, cf. Cas. 165, Poen. 845. *Uline* in fact is nothing more nor less than an inverted *nemut*, to which it stands in the same relation that *curnam* stands to the Plautine *nam cur*. I

cite here all the passages of its occurrence in Plautus and Terence. Epid. II 2, 41 (225):

Útin inpluvium indúta fuerit? AP. Quíd istuc tam mirábilest?

Merc. III 3, 15 (576):

Senéx hirquosus, tu aúsculere múlierem?
Utíne adveniēns vómitum excutias múlieri?

Rud. IV 4, 19 (1063):

DAE. Grípe animum advorte ác tace.

GR. Útin ístic prius dícat? DAE. Audi lóquere tu. GR. Alienón prius,

Phorm. V 6, 34 (874):

Sómnium: utin haec ígnoraret suóm patrem? GE. Aliquid crédito.

Hec. II 1, 2 (199):

Pro deum átque homínium fidém, quod hoc genus est, quae haec est conjurátio!
Útin ómnes mulierés eadem aeque stúdeant nolintque ómnia.

But I must defer till another time any special discussion of the interrogative use of the affirmative *nē*. The cases where *nē* strengthens a relative, of which there are some twenty-five in Plautus and Terence, are perhaps the most interesting, inasmuch as here the close relation between *ne* and *nempe* is most clearly seen. Here too as in the case of *nempe* we shall often have difficulty in deciding whether there is any real question involved. I find for instance that Bothe anticipates my view in not regarding Cist. IV 2, 6 as a question. I cite from his edition, without making myself responsible for his metre:

Quamne in manibus tenui atque accepi hic ante aedis cistellam, ubi ea est
Nescio; nisi ut opinor, loca haec circiter excidit mihi.

Tyrrell in his excellent edition of the Miles, at verse 62 points out that this usage is very similar to the Hibernicism *sure*, "sure they both asked me." He reads *quae me ambae obsecraverint*, without a question, where Bentley and Scioppius read *quaene . . .*? At 973 he reads *quae cupiat*, where Ritschl and Brix *quaen cupiat*? In both cases I should keep *ne* without a question. Ussing in Epid. 444 (449 Gz.) keeps *nēmpē quem in adulescētia*. Goetz, as we have seen, unwilling to admit *nēmpē*¹ under the ictus, reads with Acidalius

¹ The metrical question is still an open one, cf. Pseud. 353, 1189 Rud. 565, Bacch. 188, and Müller Plaut. Pros. p. 433 ff.

quemne. If we accept this reading, the change to *nempe quem* must be referred to an early revision, whose author recognized the connection between *nempe* and *ne(m)*. Doubtless a Roman soldier in the first Samnite war might have said *nem quem*, just as our Plautine hero in v. 462 says *nam quid parcam?*

I have before alluded to certain points of contact between the Plautine use of *enim* and of *nē*. I look upon *enim* not as a compound of *nam*, but of *nem*, or rather *nim*, to which it stands in the same relation as *equidem* to *quidem*. I say of *nim*, for I think it probable that, as we have of *is* both the accusatives *em* and *im*, so *nim* may have existed side by side with *nem*, although in less common use. A closer scrutiny of the MSS. may reveal a very few cases of *nē* = *nem*, but I hardly expect it. Even if some slight vanishing nasal sound were heard in the time of Plautus, it would probably not have been represented by any written sign, and later scribes certainly would not introduce a sound which had died away in the language. I attach no importance, therefore, to a corruption like *ei nemirum* for *eine aurum* in Trin. 960 BCD, as *aurum* often becomes *mirum* in MSS.¹ Should *nem* be found in A, that would be a different matter. I hope no one will call me rash or inconsistent if following the MSS. quite closely I propose *nim* as a possible reading in two passages which have sorely vexed the editors. The first is Trin. 922, where B has *ancharesancharmides* 0 *mim* *charmides*. C and D have *Anchares ancharmides min charmides*. See Ritschl's critical note and Brix. 3d ed. for the various emendations which have been proposed; *mim* has been changed to *numne*, *numnam*, *anne*, *ain*, *num* and *enim*. My own view receives its best illustration from Terence, Phormio 307. Demipho exclaims in anger:

hóminem conmonstrárier
Mihi istúm volo aut ubi hábitet demonstrárier,

to which Geta, as if pretending not to know certainly, replies, *Nempe Phormionem?* Langen, in his very valuable article on *nempe*, Beitr. p. 125 ff., translates 'Du meinst wohl den Phormio?' and remarks: "Der Hinweis auf Phormio ist nicht so sicher das Plautus hier *nempe* gebraucht haben würde." Now it seems to me unquestionable that an earlier generation might have used *nem* or *nim* *Phormionem* where Terence uses *nempe*, and with strong affirmative force. It is

¹ Curc. 10, Egone ápicularum is cited by Priscian as ego nam, etc.

perhaps a solitary survival of this use which we have here. Ribbeck in Rhein. Mus. XXVII, p. 179, proposes :

SYC ád hoc exemplumst: Chár. CH Chares? an Chármides? SYC enim Chármides: Ém istic erat.

I should read *nim* for *enim*, attaching to it the same sense. Paleographically *nim* = *min* of CD. Moreover I agree with Brix 3d ed. that the future *erit* must be kept.¹ The other passage is Merc. 767,

CO. Ni(m) métuis tu istanc. LYS. Sápio: nam mihi únicast.
Ni metuis libri, Num metuis Camerarius

Ne metuis h. e. *metuisne* Meursius. Ritschl reads *nempe metuis*. It may be a mere accident that *nempe* is not found in Plautus associated with the verb *metuo*. *Enim* is thus found, Pers. 319: *Enim metuo ut possim reicere in bubile, ne vagéntur*, cf. Cas. 281, Mil. 429. Some may therefore prefer to substitute *enim* as Ritschl has *nempe* for *ni*, but I think we shall do better to keep the simple particle, from which, according to my view, the others are derived. It may have been even in Plautus' time an archaism in this usage, as *nocnu* was for Lucretius. The bantering tone is very evident: 'Sooth you're afraid of her.'

I am moreover emboldened to keep *nim* by the following gloss found in Cod. Bern. A 92, 1, saec IX, p. 14, *nim*: *ni, nisi, si non*, of which no doubt the earliest form was *nim*: *ni, nisi* and *si non* having been added later to explain *ni*. It is easy to dismiss such a gloss with a shrug of the shoulders as the absurd attempt of some ignorant scholiast to explain away a corruption in the MSS. But it is unfair to pronounce sentence upon a gloss of which we do not know the context. No doubt many of the 'happy emendations' of modern times, did we but know it, are only ingenious attempts to explain what for the ancients needed no explanation. So *hic nunc* has been substituted for *hicine*, and *egomet* for *egone*. Spengel in Truc. II 6, 52 f. reads:

Ís te dono. PHR. Póenitetne té, quot ancillás alam
Qui étiam alias súperadducas, quae mihi comedínt cibum?
Quin etid men super adducas BCD.

¹ Or following the MSS. still more closely we may read: SYC. ád hoc exemplumst án Chares an Chármides CH nim Chármides? SYC Ém istic erit. For an—an cf. Epid. 223, cf. Langen Beit. p. 266.

Haupt (Hermes III, p. 229) proposes to read *Quine examen super adducas*. Dombart (Philol. XXVIII, p. 735) *Quin etiam mi in-super adducas*, which reading I accept as being nearest to the MSS. But I differ from Dombart inasmuch as I regard *quin*, with Haupt, as equal to *quine*, i. e. *quine(m)*. It is very like Horace's 'quine putetis.' Now Kiessling, whose eminence as a Plautine critic no one will deny, comparing Eun. 1013 and Rud. 579, proposes (Jahrb. 97, p. 634) *ni etiam examen. superadducas*, and we must admit with Fleckeisen that the emendation is 'very tempting.' But if my view of the passage is correct, it is quite the same as glossing *ne(m)* or *ni(m)* with *nisi*. So, too, in Bacch. 637 (already cited) we might substitute *nisi etiam* for *egone(m) ut*, and still fairly represent the sense of the passage. I cannot believe that Verrius Flaccus was guilty of a worse blunder than this would be in his gloss, *nem ut: nisi etiam vel nempe*.

MINTON WARREN.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Die Grundlagen der griechischen Syntax erörtert von B. DELBRÜCK Halle
a. S. 1879.

Delbrück has done so much for Indo-Germanic, so much for Greek syntax that a work by him on a theme so important as the bases of Greek syntax would have been reviewed in an earlier number of this journal had the book reached me in time for leisurely study before my long absence in Europe. Now that I have read the book I must confess to a certain measure of disappointment. It is professedly intended for such classical philologists as take an interest in linguistic studies without engaging personally in special investigations; and as nowadays there are few classical philologists who keep eyes and ears resolutely shut to the results of comparative grammar, the circle addressed is wide enough. But these classical philologists, if tolerably well acquainted with recent elementary grammars, will not be astounded by the novelty of the principles presented. Thanks to Delbrück himself in fair measure, the results of comparative grammar—certain results as they all are until questioned—have been incorporated into our school-books, and everybody knows the theory of the mixed cases in Greek and Latin. What is new in these hasty jottings, which certainly do not deserve so ambitious a title as *Grundlagen der griechischen Syntax*, is partly shadowy, partly hazardous. I do not think that the study will be as much advanced by this treatise as might have been expected. Certainly there is nothing in the 155 pages to justify the rather domineering manner in which the 'ethnic' grammarians of the Greek language are summoned to surrender their materials into the hands of 'pro-ethnic' masters. Delbrück in his earlier works has made some sad mistakes in his interpretation and analysis of phenomena, as he himself has acknowledged with honorable candor; and the old warning, *ᾧπε καὶ μένυσ' ἀπιστεῖν*, holds good for the student who takes the *Grundlagen* in hand.

I purpose in the following pages to give an outline of the first three chapters of the work, on gender, number and cases, with such comments as may suggest themselves. These chapters treat of problems which are to my mind among the most difficult in the range of Greek syntax; matters in which I am as sincerely desirous of enlightenment as the most ardent neophyte; and if I confess the disillusionments to which I have been subjected from time to time, I hope I shall be pardoned.

Delbrück begins with the irrefragable statement that as people talk in sentences, the Greeks brought sentences with them when they came to Greece, and the object of his research is to find out how far the forms of the 'pro-ethnic' sentence, the position of its parts, the construction of its verbs, may still be recognized. In this work he limits himself to the simple sentence.

The Greek being an inflected language, it becomes necessary to go back to the origin of inflexions and to deal with the fundamental conceptions of these

forms. The older method, which Delbrück considers as at least obsolescent, consists in setting up some general notion which, in the opinion of the investigator, would cover with its comprehensive expanse the various uses of the form under consideration, and the illustration which Delbrück gives of this mode is the definition of the subjunctive as the mood of 'possibility.' A more excellent way, it might seem, would be to ascertain what appeared to the Greek himself to be the essential use of a form, what was to him the common notion that lay at the basis of its varying applications. But Delbrück objects that in the first place it would be difficult to determine this; and then there is reason to doubt whether in forms of varying use such a general image ever existed in the consciousness of those who spoke the language. There were types of application, types, the existence of which is proved by the way in which language rebels against an attempt at a marked divergence, but there is no combination of these types into a general notion. There is therefore nothing to be done except to understand by fundamental conception the oldest signification. This oldest signification is of course 'pro-ethnic,' because all the inflexional forms of the Greek—except new analogical developments—go back to a period long antecedent to the Greek times. We can speak of the fundamental notion of the Indo-Germanic aorist, but only of the types of application of the Greek aorist, which is a continuation of the Indo-Germanic. Strictly speaking, then, the investigation into these fundamental conceptions does not enter into the plan of Delbrück's inquiry, which has to do, not with the origin of the kinds of words (or parts of speech) and of the forms, but with the change of the Indo-Germanic use into the Greek. Still it is evident that, even if it were only for the sake of the arrangement of the material, it would be necessary to trench upon this difficult ground; but our author promises great reserve in the treatment of these questions, and would rather be guilty of exaggerated skepticism than of yielding credulity.

Of course Sanskrit furnishes the basis—that is, Sanskrit in its oldest form; but Delbrück lays down no general data for excluding accidental coincidences; such methodical considerations he deems unnecessary. Each case has to be taken on its own merits. In concluding his introduction the distinguished scholar speaks of his task almost as if it were a modest one. If he succeeds in laying the foundations for an historical understanding of Greek syntax, he has attained the object of this treatise. He has no desire to touch the great task of building up a history of Greek speech on the foundations thus laid.

These closing words certainly imply a confidence in the new method which goes to the extent of denying either scientific value or practical utility to older processes. Something, however, is to be said in favor of the brood which Delbrück wishes to consign to chaos and old night.

It is true that the method which he characterizes as becoming a thing of the past is no longer fashionable, but for all that it is so familiar to the nature of the human mind that no precautions can keep it out. It is bound to reappear under some disguise, more or less transparent. We all know theoretically that language and logic do not cover each other, and yet we forget ourselves and treat them as coëxtensive. Becker fooled himself by the phrase *organismus*, and when we come to definition we are all prone to set up one general term which shall be wide enough to cover the phenomena. If we do not call the

subjunctive the mood of possibility, we call it the mood of will, which is not much better, on Delbrück's own principles. As to the second method which Delbrück has characterized, I hold it to be all important to get as near as possible to the native conception. Mere difficulty is neither here nor there. Ritschl's motto, *nil tam difficilest quin quaerendo investigari possiet*, is not a proud motto; it is the acknowledgment of a line of duty; and I am not in the least disposed to transfer the work of correlating form and function wholly to the pro-ethnic period.

For the sake of convenience Delbrück has arranged his material according to the parts of speech, as they are commonly called, beginning with the substantive. It is very much to Delbrück's credit that to him at least syntax has not resolved itself into function, and that he has paid especial attention to the order of words in the sentence, as might have been expected from the author of the 'Altindische Wortfolge,' or even from the writer of the well-known treatise on the subjunctive and optative, in which 'posterior' and 'prior' sentences are carefully separated.

The first chapter treats of the *gender* of substantives. In grammatical gender, as distinguished from natural gender, Delbrück shows how great the agreement is between Sanskrit and Greek, and traces back to the pro-ethnic period the association of certain forms with certain genders. The phenomenon of 'heterogeneousness' belongs also to the old stock. So *akrō* is n. and m. just as the corresponding *κύκλος* has a pl. *κύκλα*. The Greek then has retained the I-G. condition essentially. Luckily, we have to consider not the ultimate reason for the gender, only the reason for the deviation of the gender. This is to be sought, according to Brugman, either in the external resemblance of form or in the inner signification. So *pulvis* an original n. follows the analogy of *piscis*, while on the other hand *das fräulein* becomes *die fräulein*. In Greek Delbrück can adduce no example of the former class.¹ Of the latter he brings forward an important series, the masculine substantives of the first declension. The masculine common nouns, with the exception of *ἀγγεῖλης* (marked as problematical), *νεηνίης* and *ταμῖης*, all have their nom. in *-της*. Many of these have a suspicious resemblance to substantives in *-τηρ*, with which some of them run in couples—*αἰσυννήτης*, *αἰσυννητήρ*—*ἀσπιστής*, *ἀσπιστήρ*, etc., and the feminine of these masculines is not only *-τις*, but also *-τρια* (*δέκτης*, *δέκτρια*). As suffix *-ta* in kindred languages occurs only in nominal and not in verbal formations, we may exclude all the verbals in *-της* as having originally ended in *-τηρ*. This is also Brugman's notion. Nothing is said of the accent in this connection. The other substantives in *-της* which are formed from nouns were originally fem. as is shown by the old nom. *-τα*, which cannot have lost a *σ*, and it is likely that these were originally collectives or abstracts, for which analogies are cited from Sanskrit and Slav, in the latter with change of gender.² The patronymics in *-δης* (St. *δα*) are disposed of in the same way. There is no

¹ Brugman in a recent review of Delbrück's *Grundlagen* cites *κάρη* 'head' originally neuter in Theognis, Kallimachos and others fem.

² It is interesting to find that Brugman, just cited for the former half of the theory, dissents decidedly from the latter. See his notice of Delbrück in the *Neue Jahrb.* 1880, s. 660, '*ἱππότης*, *μητιέτα*, *εὐρύοπα*, are vocatives used as nominatives.' See also K. Lugebil in the same journal, s. 243.

denying the plausibility of this presentation, which has its analogue in various languages. So, to go no further than English, the fem. *-ster* has become masculine, as it were, under our eyes. But the task of hustling the feminines out of the second declension seems to me somewhat tougher. To an ethnic grammarian looking at the feminines in *-ος*, the most natural explanation would be that as we have clear ellipses in many of them, so more or less definite ellipses lay at the base of all those that were not forced to be feminine by the necessity of contradistinction, as ἡ ἵππος ('she-horse,' as a German scholar once translated it into English), over against ὁ ἵππος, ἡ ὄνος, 'she-ass,' over against ὁ ὄνος. So even ἡ κῆρυξ, and worse than that ἡ γραμματεῖς, Ar. Thesm. 432. To be sure if we explain ἡ ὁδός as 'the trodden earth' (γῆ) — ὁδός and ὁδός being etymologically the same—we have to encounter a problem equally difficult, that of the adjectives of two terminations. This problem Delbrück solves by considering them as substantives and not as adjectives, so that Ἥδς ῥοδοδάκτυλος is originally not 'Eos the rosy-fingered,' but 'Eos Rosefinger,' like 'Edward Longshanks' and 'Harry Hotspur.' According to Delbrück then all feminines in *-ος* were masculine, and the influence of analogy brought about the change. Οἶμος was originally masc., afterwards, especially among the Attics, it became feminine. 'Evidently because of the analogy to ἡ ὁδός.' But according to his own confession we are no longer in a position to know what analogy induced ὁ ὁδός to try the experiment of Teiresias. Much more simple are the Latin examples *haec Eunuchus* sc. *fabula*, *haec centaurus* sc. *navis*. The Bellerophon is to us also a *she*. If this theory is correct, the transfer of gender proceeded from the predicate where the jar was less felt to the attribute, and the analogy must in almost every case have been sharp and powerful.

The second chapter treats of the *numbers*. Of course the three numbers are I-G. Of the singular there is little to be said except that Delbrück cites old Persian analogies for ὁ Λάκων, ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, a usage which brought down upon Thukydides the wrath of the pedantic Dionysios of Halikarnassos, who had not the benefit of reading Spiegel on the Persian cuneiform inscriptions.

Interesting is the retention of the dual in Greek. It is found in Skrs. for twin parts of the body, for which, however, the plural cannot stand as in Greek, and also for other things that go in couples. So even in hostile pairs. It is the number of bothness. So too in old Bactrian. The Greek has more freedom. Twin parts of the body are in Homer put more frequently in the plural than in the dual, which is used only when bothness is emphasized. Still some influence must be conceded to the metre. The combination of the dual subst. with the plural verb is not allowed in Skr. as it is in Greek, and when the numeral δύο is used, Delbrück, fortified by Zend analogies, considers the Greek to have retained the original I-G. condition. There we have no true dual, no bothness, only a twoness. The true dual with a plural is a liberty, and the Greek switches

¹ There is a tendency—is it pro-ethnic?—to forget the feminine gender of some of these words, as is evidenced by Wellauer's change of δρόσοις ἀέπτοις, Aesch. Ag. 165, into δρόσοις λεπτοῖς. To be sure Wellauer had the analogy of other verbals in *-τός* which are treated as fem., especially before vowels, δακρυτός ἐλπίς, Aesch. Cho. 234, etc., but λεπτός has practically become a simple adjective, and Wellauer should have required some positive warrant for retaining *-οις*, if indeed it was anything more than a slip. As an illustration of the way in which dictionaries are made, I would state that I find δρόσοις λεπτοῖς in the last edition of Pape (s. v. λεπτός) without anything to indicate even a v. l.

off from the I-G. track. The dual subst. with the singular verb is supposed to be justified by old Bactrian examples. For the Greek agreement of a plural adjective with a dual substantive D. knows no pro-ethnic analogue. Of course it would be sheer trifling to produce Semitic parallels to the behavior of the dual, but I would venture to say that wherever there is a dual there must be some such vacillation, and any conclusion as to originality is extremely risky. Our 'foundations' seem to be elastic, not to say shaky.

In Skts. and Iranian two notions which belong together but are not designated by the same word may be expressed by a dualistic turn, one of the two words or both words being put in the dual. Of the latter there is no trace in Greek, but Wackernagel contends that the former is found, and maintains that *Αἰαντε* in Homer H 175 means not the two Aiases, but Aias and Teukros. Familiar to every one is the Latin *Castores*, corresponding most probably to a Greek τῷ Κάστορε, which Welcker actually gives as occurring in a passage of Euripides for which Delbrück has searched in vain. I may add that I have been equally unfortunate.¹

Before leaving the dual I would remark that after all that has been written about the dual and Herodotos, Kühner in his grammar actually says that Herodotos employs the dual frequently, whereas the non-use of the form by that author is one of the most notorious grammatical facts in his dialect.

Under the head of the plural D. discusses the well-worn question as to the neuter plural and the verb singular, but as his treatment is not novel, it is hardly worth while to analyze it. All are agreed that it is the difference between unity and variety, or as Coleridge has it between 'plurality' and 'multeity,' that determines the varying construction. Some of the neuter plurals which take plural verbs are what may be called dualizing plurals, under which I should be inclined to classify γοῖνῶτα, γνῖα, μέτωπα, ἡνῖα, ἐρετμά, and I wish that D. had gained his own consent to treat the *pluralia tantum*, many of which seem to belong to the same category, as names of cities, Ἀθήναι, Θήβαι, and the like. Scant analoga from the Rigveda lead Delbrück to the conclusion that the Greek has preserved an original I-G. freedom. It is a familiar fact that as the dual dies out of later Greek, so there is a growing tendency to mechanical concord in the same period, such as we may observe in recent English, and especially in American English, in which couples seldom take the singular, a very common construction in the healthier period and healthier sphere of our language. I sincerely hope that the revisers of the authorized version have not meddled with that syntactical feature of the English Bible.

The third chapter has to do with the *cases*, for the general treatment of which we are referred to Hübschmann's book, which can hardly be considered a finality. D's study of the cases excludes the sporadic case-endings, such as -θεν, which belong originally to the pronoun alone; -φι as originally nominal is included.

There is no discussion of the *nominative*. The origin of the *vocative* is left out of view as a matter of indifference for the investigation in hand. Here the only important point is that in the pro-ethnic time there was at least a

¹ The legend which D. cannot find is familiar enough. It is mentioned even in elementary books. Preller's references are to Tzetzes Lyc. 88, 511; Clem. Rom. Hom. 5, 13; Iul. Firm. p. 54 Burs.

vocative sing. Benfey's parallel between the copulation of voc. and nom. by $\tau\epsilon$ in Γ 277 $\text{Ζεῦ πάτερ} \dots \text{'Ηέλιος θ' ὅς κτέ}$, and a similar union by means of *ca* in Sanskrit does not seem to me to rest on a sufficiently wide basis of induction. 'Ηέλιε cannot be got into the combination on account of the verse, and while it is easy enough to abuse the old device of *metri causa*, we cannot at all events deny the influence when there is a balance.

However it may stand with the predicative use of the vocative in Sanskrit, any sound construing of the predicative vocatives in Greek for the good time reduces them to a minimum.

The *accusative* as treated in ordinary grammars presents various uses. So we have an accusative of the outer object, of the inner object, of extent, of aim, of respect, and so forth. Of late, however, it has been shown from various quarters that in contradistinction to the outer object all the other uses can be easily united in one group. And so Hübschmann makes two great divisions, the *necessary accusative*, otherwise called the accusative of the outer object, and the *voluntary (freiwillig)*, which comprehends all the rest. These two groups are united in the fundamental conception that the accusative is the complement of the verbal idea. Nothing narrower will answer to demonstrate the unity of the accusative use, and, painful as it is, we must resort to a general term. This function of the accusative is further illustrated by the position of the case, which in the primitive order of words immediately preceded the verb. So in substance Delbrück. Of course, as we shall see, such a definition and such a grouping can be of little practical avail and we shall have to descend to types of application. The notion that the accusative is the complement of the verb as the genitive is the complement of the noun is a familiar way of putting the matter, and seems simple. In practice, however, it becomes necessary to qualify at every turn. The combination of verbal nouns in Latin, of adjectives in Greek with the accusative presents no difficulty, because there we have the verbal idea, and on the other hand a true genitive with a verb may be made to depend on the nominal idea, and the current definition of the accusative as the case of the direct in contradistinction to the dative as the case of the indirect object is not satisfactory, as we shall see. But the accusative *in vacuo*, so to speak, the accusative without a verb, what does that complement? Are we to be remanded to the abomination of supplying a verb? Is not the accusative itself clothed upon with a form which suggests object? But I had forgotten that language has no life outside of the formulated sentence, and though I fear lest the literal acceptance of that statement may carry us too far, I am fain to be satisfied. It must be granted then that the accusative or the complement of the verb will cover all the uses of the accusative in the Greek sentence, and the I-G. accusative must be hard to satisfy, if such a definition does not answer for the pro-ethnic state also. The Greek use of the accusative is so much wider than ours, and some of the transitions so startling, that I have sometimes in practical instruction run through the heads of the so-called accusative in Hebrew with a Greek class as an excellent gymnastic for the imagination, which plays a more important part in grammar, practical and theoretical, than is commonly supposed. But such a gymnastic is not necessary with this wide definition of the accusative. Still I would venture to remark, at the risk of appearing very old-fashioned, that there is one meaning which the accusative has and one which it

shares with no other case, and this is the meaning which the ethnic syntax of the Greek has put in the foreground. This is what the Greek himself with marvellous instinct seized upon as his *αἰτιατική*, his *casus effectivus*, so falsely, so lumberingly translated by the Roman grammarians *accusativus*. The object affected takes a great variety of constructions in the range of I-G. as every one knows. Noteworthy, for instance, is the tendency in some I-G. languages to shift the construction when persons are meant and the contrast between the accusative and dative is not brought out by the difference of direct and indirect affection. This is entirely too vague, as the same verb often takes acc. and dat. with little, if any, difference of signification. The contrast is between the sentiency of the personal dative and the passivity of the accusative of result. 'The dative,' as I have elsewhere expressed it, 'always implies an object effected, which may be contained in the verb or expressed by the complex of verb and object.' I should therefore unhesitatingly put the so-called accusative of the inner object as the original use of the case from which all the others are evolved, and that without a *salto mortale*.

When Byron says 'I want a hero,' 'hero' would be called in grammatical parlance an outer object; but he says in the next breath, 'an uncommon want,' which is an inner object. There is no grammatical difference between the two expressions. The 'uncommon want' is a 'hero-want,' so to speak; and similar shiftings may be found for the seeking—few more apposite, perhaps, than this from Eur. Supplikes 1059-61:

ΕΥΑΔ. ἐνταῦθα γὰρ δὴ καλλινίκος ἔρχομαι.

ΙΦ. νικῶσα νίκην τίνα; μαθεῖν χρήζω σέθεν.

ΕΥΑΔ. πάσας γυναικας ὅς δέδορκεν ἡλιος.

It is well known to those who trouble themselves with the history of grammatical research that this is the use which Bernhardt makes the essence of the accusative (*die reine Wirkung*), and the recognition of its importance is one of the gains of recent syntactical work. Now if we accept the accusative as the case of the complement, it seems better to take the inner object as the fundamental meaning, because that is the universal complement, which cannot be said of the outer object. For the outer object you must have an active transitive verb, whatever that means. But this outer object, or necessary accusative, the needful complement, I suppose we may call it, this object accusative with transitive verbs is put in the lead by nearly all grammarians, and so by Delbrück in common with Hübschmann. And here I cannot keep from repeating the old remark that there is a traditional jargon about transitive verbs which does not advance the understanding of the matter at all. 'Transitive' is a translation from the Greek *μεταβατικός*, and to the Greek there was no metaphysical conception of 'going over to an object.' A transitive verb was simply one that was capable of being turned into the passive, and as the passive in Greek may be used of a verb which takes the dative in the active, we gain very little by that. Our only way of recognizing an active transitive verb is that it takes an accusative of the outer object, and when we are uncertain whether the object is outer or inner we are in a quandary. The upshot of all this science is that Hübschmann, when he treats of the Zend, enumerates alphabetically all the verbs that take the accusative. Of course

that is impracticable in a Greek grammar, and Delbrück leaves the subject with evident impatience, remarking that grammarians generally satisfy themselves with citing those categories in which there is a different usage prevalent in the language of those for whom the grammar is written. And here I would add that at this point as elsewhere English grammars of Greek retain a traditional reference to the Latin idiom, and of late years through thoughtlessness or ignorance German usage is also kept in view. Delbrück contents himself with calling attention to the fact that this comparison of idioms is merely practical and not scientific. Nor does he discuss the instances in which the grammarians are divided as to the interpretation of an accusative as inner or outer, and cites only one instance of the sort to illustrate the difficulty of the subject. In *πόθεν πλείθ' ὑγρά κέλευθα*; γ 71, *κέλευθα* is classed by Kühner as an accusative of the outer object, to which one Escher who has written on the accusative in Sophokles objects. *πλείν*, he says, is not a transitive verb. D. decides against Kühner 'by feeling.' 'The English language abounds in similar turns, 'sail the seas,' 'walk the streets,' etc., which my 'feeling' would dispose of as accusative of characteristic, the accusative of measure, content, inner object.

Delbrück notes that the Greek does not go so far as Sanskrit, Zend, Slav, or Latin, which combine with more or less freedom verbal substantives with the accusative. Verbal adjectives are freely handled, but there is nothing in Greek parallel to the Latin 'quid tibi hanc curatiost rem?'

D. concludes that the I-G. use was wider than the Greek, but still limited to adjective and substantive with verbal ideas.

There is according to Delbrück no natural order for the 'voluntary accusative,' and he follows Kühner, because it seems 'practical' to do so. It certainly saves trouble. The first in this indifferent series is acc. of the *inner object*, the cognate accusative and its extensions, *ἀρίστην βουλὴν βονλεύειν, κοιμήσατο χάλκεον ὕπνον, Ὀλύμπια νικᾶν*. D. agrees with the general statement that the Greek shows a greater preference for this type than the other I-G. tongues, but adds that it is certain that the type itself is not of Greek origin, a certainty which no one would ever have been at the pains to dispute. The so-called terminal accusative is also I-G., though thrust into the background by the clearer prepositional usage. It might have been worth mentioning that the two are not parallel, if we keep up the distinction between inner and outer object, and that the history of the terminal accusative in Greek shows a narrower limitation in the Homeric time than in the later dramatists. The accusative of extent in time and space is also I-G.

The accusative of respect or of the part affected, *ἀλγῶ τὸν πόδα, κεφαλὴν τε καὶ ὀμματα καλὰ εὐκαῶς*, with the extension of this to *βοῆν ἀγαθὴς* and the like, is next considered. The adjective gets the construction, according to D., in a two-fold way, first owing to the equivalency of the adjective with the verb *εἶναι* to the verb and the transfer of the predicative to the attributive use, and then through the participle, passing from the accusative with *εὐκα* to the acc. with *εὐκῶς*, and so to the acc. with *ἴσως*. As the difference between the adjective and the participle consists in predication, I am unable to see that there is an essential difference between the two ways.

This 'Greek accusative,' as it is called in Latin, is also pro-ethnic according to D., and yet he has no proof of it in Sanskrit, nothing decisive in Slav, and

is obliged to take refuge in Zend, where it does not occur with verbs, but with predicate adjectives alone.

I would here allow myself to remark that if this accusative of respect can be regarded as a 'voluntary accusative,' I do not see why we cannot pack the necessary accusative into it. There is no conceptional difference between *λυπεῖ τὸν πόδα* and *ἀλγῶ τὸν πόδα*. 'Intransitive' and 'passive' do not alter the actual relation. So in Hebrew the passive is unhesitatingly construed with an accusative,¹ if, indeed, it is lawful to produce such a parallel. For the national conception of the construction, the passage of Plato which I cite below is not without its interest.²

Delbrück then asks why is this type lost in the I-G. languages that do not possess it? The answer to this is the concurrent use of the instrumental. So even in Greek we find that the instrumental dative varies with the acc., and the same thing happens in the Zend. In Skr. the instrumental has crowded out the true case-use of this accusative, case-use as contradistinguished from adverbial use. "That this use of the accusative maintained itself in Greek was due partly to the circumstance that the acc. in this special 'constellation' is open to no possible misunderstanding." Without 'pro-ethnic' light we should have said that the Greek had a livelier conception of the actual relation and had preferred life to mechanism.

Of the double accusative D. has nothing to say from the pro-ethnic point of view. The combination of the accusative of the thing with the verb so as to form a quasi-compound verb, which takes an ordinary object accusative, is considered by Kühner to be an idiom of the Greek language, and D. has no analogous phenomena to produce from other quarters. That Kühner does not exhaust the range of the double accusative by his statement appears from the example cited by Escher from Soph. Ai. 1108: *κόλας' ἐκείνους τὰ σέμν' ἔπη*, where both accusatives are coördinate.

Under the head of the adverbial accusative D. admits that the boundary line between this use and the true living case-use is not sharply fixed. The mediation of the transition is not new. He begins with the accusative of the content, which he had only mentioned before in passing; the acc. neuter of an adjective instead of a subst. *ἀλληκτον πολεμίζειν* B 452 follows naturally on *ἀπρηκτον πόλεμον πολεμίζειν* B 121. The plural is also used, but the difference between *ὄξεα κεκληγώς*, 'a succession of shrill cries,' and *ἡδὺ γελᾶν*, 'a sweet laugh' (sweet laughing) becomes effaced: adverbial accusatives are both singular and plural, and the choice is no longer syntactical but æsthetical—a dangerous phrase against which I must protest in passing. How much of our syntax is nothing, if not æsthetical. With the number the case itself also vanishes from the memory, and for the same reason. No definite individual thing is present to the mind. The next step is to combine this accusative with verbs with which it

¹ See Ewald Lehrs, 133 a, cf. also 284 a. The *σχῆμα καθ' ὅλον καὶ μέρος* as in Greek. The passive retains the part. To me the retention of the accusative is as nothing in comparison with the leap which language makes from the acc. to the nom. in the full development of the passive, even after making the most of intransitive and reflexive.

² Plato de Republ. 5. 46a D: *ὅταν πον δάκτυλός του πληγῇ, πᾶσα ἡ κοινωνία ἡ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα πρὸς τὴν ψυχὴν τεταμένη εἰς μίαν σίνταξιν τὴν τοῦ ἀρχοντος ἐν αὐτῇ ἡσθετό τε καὶ πᾶσα ἅμα ξινηλήσῃ μερὸς πονήσαντος ὅλη καὶ οὕτω δὴ λέγομεν ὅτι ὁ ἀνθρώπος τὸν δάκτυλον ἀλγεῖ.*

does not stand in an accusative relation, and then with adjectives. But if the accusative is the case of the complement of the verb, it is hard to see why the adverbial accusative should not be as much felt as any other. But it is not needful here to follow Delbrück in copying Kühner. It suffices us to know that here too we are on I-G. soil. As to the form, Delbrück notes the three classes: (a) neuter of adjectives both singular and plural, the dual not occurring, as the relation is indefinite; (b) accusatives of adjectives in the feminine form to which a feminine substantive must be supplied. Here we are told not to mind ellipses, against which the modern philological world is so much prejudiced. Lobeck long ago gave the right point of view for these formations. (c) acc. sing. of subst., such as *χαῖρον*, the use being originally appositional.

As we approach 'the mixed cases' we are nearing ground which Delbrück has made especially his own, and his remarks deserve attentive consideration. The doctrine that the Greek *genitive* contains both a *genitive* and an *ablative* has become one of the commonplaces of Greek grammar, and there is no denying the gain of thus dissecting the case-form, but the gain is for us who have to learn the language, and is far more practical than scientific. Apart from the number of new difficulties which arise as to the distribution of the uses among these different factors, the strain to represent to oneself the national conception is very much intensified. So long as a language retains a form in full function anywhere, the type is alive everywhere. The justification of an objective case in the English noun is the existence of an objective case in the pronoun; the justification of acc. and nom., of gen. and dat. in the dual number of Greek is to be found in the clear-cut acc. and nom., gen. and dat. elsewhere. Sometimes syntactical habit keeps the memory of the merged form alive. So the English dative is sadly broken down, as is shown by the ready transfer to the subject of the passive. Even the Greek passive cannot show a perfect analogue for 'I am made amends,' 'I was shown a room.' And yet there is a sense of uneasiness, as if the expression were a violation of a principle, and so when the dative signs 'to' or 'for' are commonly used to make the dative relation more plastic, the language is less prone to do this violence to itself. The preposition is indeed the great syntactical gnomon of merged cases. This the Roman teachers themselves perceived, for they too knew and taught that

¹ I frankly confess that I do not like the expression 'mixed case' altogether. A mixed case would, properly speaking, be one in which both form and function are mixed. A case-form with double or treble case functions is a different thing. Of course Boeckh looked upon this subject with other eyes than grammarians of the present day, and yet his remarks in the *Encyclopädie u. Methodologie der Alterthumswissenschaft* are worth considering still: Man hat den Genetiv, Dativ und Ablativ Mischcasen genannt, weil sie ausser ihrer ursprünglichen Function die der verloren gegangenen Instrumentalis und Localis übernommen haben. Indess darf man sich dies nicht so vorstellen, als ob sie bei der Vertretung jener Casus ihre Grundbedeutung eingebüsst hätten. Dies ist ebensowenig der Fall als die Praeposition *de* ihre Grundbedeutung geändert hat, wenn sie im Französischen Verhältnisse bezeichnete, die im Lateinischen theils durch den Genetiv, theils den Ablativ ausgedrückt werden. Die untergegangenen Casus sind vielmehr geschwunden, weil sich die durch dieselben bezeichneten Verhältnisse auch vermittelst der Grundanschauungen der andern Casus auffassen lassen, wie die Unterschiede der verschiedenen Sprachen beweisen. Of course this is rank heresy. The gen. case-form in Greek, as we shall see, represents two distinct cases, and yet to the Greek himself as to Boeckh the original gen. must have seemed more expansive than it does to the recent syntactical school. Curtius, by the way, does not go so far as some modern investigators and admits a certain widening of the case.

the ablative was a mixed case, as is shown by a familiar passage in Quintilian (1, 4, 26) penned many centuries before Delbrück's classic treatise on Ablative, Local and Instrumental.¹

Delbrück takes up first that part of the Greek genitive which corresponds to the I-G. genitive, and easily disposes of Kühner's view that the genitive originated from the subject or object of a sentence. Objective and subjective genitive are only in place at any rate when the word which takes the genitive is a verbal substantive, and there I much prefer the old nomenclature 'active' and 'passive.' The view that the genitive proper is a kind of deorganized adjective is one that has always commended itself to me personally, and Delbrück concedes its inner probability. At the same time he remarks that the etymological proof of this is in a bad way, and that the identification of *ἴημοιο* with *δημοσιο-* is absolutely wrong, as the *σ* in *δημοσιο-* arose from *τ*—a useful warning. Delbrück then considers the *gen. with the substantive* as to all intents and purposes an adjective, and cites familiar parallels, *Σθενέλης υἱός*, *coniunx Hectora*, Sanskrit, Slavonic. For the Greek, however, it might be well to notice the differentiation between the compound, the adjective and the genitive, near as they stand to each other. To a Greek of the Platonic time *ὦ Κλεινίε παῖ* had a very different tone from *ὦ παῖ Κλεινίον*, perhaps not merely from poetic associations. Of course D. leaves this genitive proper to make its own way in the world with the substantive to which it is married. Possessor and possession, cause and effect, part and whole, these are things which take care of themselves. He considers Kühner wrong in putting the notion of separation under the genitive proper, for this belongs properly to the ablative element. If, as he says, the partitive genitive occurs in Sanskrit as a pure genitive, it would not be hard to conceive the genitive of separation as a pure genitive either; for, taking the preposition as a gnomon, the partitive genitive may be conceived as an ablative in Greek. The fact is that the conception shifts in both categories named, and separation as dispossession may take the genitive proper. Not as much light, according to Delbrück, falls on this Greek genitive from the Sanskrit as were to be desired. The Sanskrit abstract governs a noun more freely, and the Sanskrit is fond of composition where the other languages use genitive terms. For *Σωκράτης ὁ Σωφρονίσκον, ἡ οἰκία τοῦ πατρὸς*; there are analoga in Sanskrit; he speaks doubtfully of the *gen. of material* in old Sanskrit, with certainty of it in Lithuanian; and *δέπας οἶνον* has its analogue as well as the partitive *gen.* Subjective and objective *gen.* also occur, *ποῦ γῆς* is good Zend and *τῆς ἡμέρας* good Sanskrit, good pro-ethnic.

The *genitive with the verb* is evidently a more difficult problem than the genitive with the substantive, and the most simple way of disposing of it would be to make it depend on the nominal idea contained in the verb, a familiar grammatical device in such verbs as *ἀρχω*, *τυραννέω*, and the like. But Delbrück does not give us anything so definite as this. He only tells us that the verb is paralleled with the accusative, and cites a sentence of Jacob Grimm to the effect that the accusative is completely controlled by its verb,

¹ Quærat enim [ille praeceptor acer atque subtilis] sitne apud Graecos vis quaedam sexti casus et apud nos quoque septimi. Nam cum dico *hasta percussi* non utor ablativi natura: nec, si idem Graece dicam, dativi.

while the genitive shows less objectivization, and the force at work (*die thätige Kraft*) is, as it were, only attempted and started, not exhausted. This view, which is no longer novel, is adopted by Delbrück and declared to be perfectly consistent with the assumption that the genitive is an adjective. 'Des Kalbes essen' may have been originally 'Kälbernes essen.' 'Kälbernes' reminds me of the Viennese bills of fare in which these original genitives abound. In other parts of Germany, I believe, the simple substantive is considered sufficient on the principle that a definite portion is put in the accusative in Greek and presumably in I-G. I am personally, as I said, a hearty advocate of the adjective origin of the genitive, but I must confess that this very point has given me more trouble than it should have done with Delbrück's assurance to back me. For 'Kälbernes essen' it is not necessary to eat a whole calf, hence the partitive type of application; and so I have always explained it to myself: and yet when we want to express a characteristic notion we do not use the genitive in Greek, but the accusative. We are not at the bottom of the matter.

But I hasten to the I-G. foundations. Delbrück makes use of the parallelism between acc. and gen. for his terminology and arrangement, and actually calls the gen. here considered the accusative genitive, and follows the same points of view in his development. It will perhaps be remembered that he renounced under the accusative anything like an organic arrangement. Of the genitives which correspond to the outer object he notes that in the Rigveda verbs of imparting take the genitive, then verbs of enjoyment and cloyment, as I should allow myself to call them, verbs of eating and drinking, verbs of actual and intellectual perception, among which the Greek scholar will be delighted to notice *vid*, verbs of remembering and forgetting. Verbs of ruling, which Kühner falsely lists with verbs of superiority, have a primeval genitive. 'We may bring the difference between acc. and gen. before us by translating: *Gewalt haben an jemand*.' Surely a very slipshod way of stating the matter, but the whole book is a series of jottings. The verbs of the emotions take the gen. partly as an inner, partly as an outer accusative. The heart of these combinations is also pro-ethnic. For the judicial verbs the Greek has the comfort of the Latin. Delbrück knows no Skr. analogies.

With the acc. of the inner object may be compared the gen. with *ὄζω* and the like. Delbrück thinks the difference between acc. and gen. very evident, and so it is at points, but the cases are not all so clear as those which he cites from Pind. Ol. 3, 23: *οὐ κατὰ δένδρε' ἐθαλλεν χῶρος*, and Homer E 72: *λεμῶνες μαλακοὶ Ἴον ἠδὲ σελίνων θήλεον*. Here again no direct parallel can be produced. Still there is a pro-ethnic foundation.

The genitive of aim is parallel with the accusative of aim (the terminal accusative), so with notions of physical and mental feeling, seizing, reaching, desiring, aiming, and the like. This gen. is found in Slav, but the discussion of the Skr. relation is postponed. In the accusative as in the genitive there is nothing but the complement of a verb, which we conceive as the aim. The gen. in *ὠρμήθη δ' Ἀκάμαντος* Σ 488 is not to be explained otherwise than the acc. in *ὠρμωμένῳ νεπτέρας πλάκας* Soph. O. C. 1576. The gen. combines with the verb in the same immediate way as the accusative, but is to be distinguished from the acc. in the way defined by Grimm. For my part I am unable to produce a parallel from my grammatical reading for so unsatisfactory a result, in

which theory and practice tug against each other perpetually. An immediate combination is not consistent with the difference which is set up.

Then follow verbs of approach and meeting, on which Delbrück has nothing more to remark than that the acc. also occurs, and that on the strength of the isolated *ἐμὸν λέχος ἀντιώσαν*. The analogy of the double acc. is brought forward to help the acc. and genitive, as if the acc. and genitive were not much easier to understand. Verbs of filling, verbs of plenty, take the genitive, while verbs of want belong to the ablative side of the house. In Skr. *par* and similar verbs take the gen. or the instrumental, as even in Greek the instr. dative occurs. And then we are taught how the pro-ethnic imagination could pass from the simple combination *ἀφαιρῖσθαί τινά τι* to the more difficult *πιμπλάναι τί τινος*, which, as I have said, we perversely consider the more simple. "The reason why the gen. is used in the latter instance is due to the fact that we have in mind only a part of a greater mass."

The gen. of price and value is made to follow the same analogy, such as it is. Latin and Slav. have this gen. The Skr. employs the instr., which the Greeks also use. I cannot go into the faint Skr. parallel for the gen. of the stake. It is enough to know that this type is pro-ethnic.

On surveying the ground traversed, Delbrück remarks that the Latin use is narrower. This is the more distressing as the Latin has kept its genitive pure and unspotted from the world, that is, as far as cases, are ever pure and unspotted. The Latin gen. has not allowed itself to be contaminated by the preposition as the Greek gen. has done, and, with the exception of some slight flirtation with the locative, may be considered virginal. Delbrück thinks, however, that the Latin genitive is actually prudish and that the Greek freedom is nearer the pro-ethnic type.

So even the Skr. does not escape an oblique censure. Verbs of touching, seizing, and the like do not take the gen. in Skr., and yet if Grimm's distinction be true, which by the way can hardly be Grimm's especial property, we ought to have the gen. It is more natural that the object case in Skr. should have spread itself over these verbs than that the Greek should have introduced the natural construction *ex propriis*, which I interpret to mean *propriis viribus*. We have then the comfort of knowing that all these Greek constructions are pro-ethnic.

The predicative gen., the gen. with *εἶναι*, and the like is a pro-ethnic of the first water. Here the genitive may easily be conceived as an adjective. The only trouble is that it would be a nominative here as it was an accusative—and such an accusative!—in the preceding combinations. To be sure, the guess might be hazarded that in primeval language the *verbum substantivum* took its predicate in the acc., which would make everything comfortable. I have nothing to urge against this conjecture except that it lacks the merit of novelty, being familiar to every reader of Ewald (Lehrb. § 279 a. Note).

When the genitive is construed with adjectives, the adjective is a substantive or takes the accusative genitive with which we are familiar.

As to the local genitive Delbrück has, with a candor that does him all honor, taken back a notion which he advanced in his 'Ablativus Localis und Instrumentalis,' that certain Greek genitives represented the locative, such as *ἡ οὐκ Ἀργεὺς ἦεν Ἀχαϊκῶν*; γ 252. He has reconsidered his position and recognized the

force of the neg.,¹ and the analogy of ποῦ γῆς. ἐξέτο τοίχου τοῦ ἑτέρου he is now disposed to classify as an extension of the verbs of striving and aiming. Still he is not satisfied, and while he gives up λελογμένος Ὠκεανοῖο, θέρεσθαι πυρός as locatives, he sees no clue to the puzzle. The current partitive explanation does not convince him, and 'bathed an ocean-bath' and 'warm oneself a fire-warmth' which lie much nearer than some of his own interpretations, would be entirely too simple.

The instrumental θείειν πεδίοιο he also abandons, and the instr. gen. generally, only hinting at a parallel between πεδίοιο θείειν and πλεῖν θάλασσαν. In the ardor of my first love for the adjective theory of the gen. I saw no more difficulty in πεδίοιο θείειν than in θυραῖος οἰχνεῖ, ἐκτόπιος συνεῖς, φοιτᾷς ὑπερπόντιος, ἐπαίθριον ταλαίπωρεῖν, to say nothing of the mass of temporal adjectives used in a similar way, a very large number of which by the way end in -ιος, like the Ionic gen.

What is to be done with genitives like αὐτοῦ, ποῦ,² and the like is also a puzzle to Delbrück, as it well might be, a curious illustration of the advance which Greek grammar has made since the time when Krüger fancied this to be a survival of the oldest gen. use, as may still be read in the fifth ed. of his grammar, edited by Pökel, § 47, 1. An analogy with the genitive of time νυκτός is out of the question. This is not a matter of ἀλογος αἰσθησις. Space within which might be a gen.; point at which never. Before Brugman had put the doctrine of so-called compensative lengthening in the right light, it might have been possible to suppose a genetic connection between these forms in -ου and the adverbs in -οῦτι. This I grant is now entirely out of the question, and yet they stand facing each other in a way that reminds one of -της and -τηρ above cited. Of course a school which explains all the perfects in κα by a false analogy with ὀδῶκα from ὀωκ will make very light of ἐψοῦ. Elsewhere, it will be observed, the temporal relation grows out of the local; here we are to reverse the process, which must also give us pause. I can understand time as the measure of space as in German; that is common everywhere. But not 'when' for 'where.' νυκτός is parallel with ὁδοῦ but not with ποῦ. In short I do not consider ποῦ and its kindred to be genitives at all any more than I consider *domi* a genitive. What it came from *viderint phonetici*.

The adjective explanation of the temporal genitive, to which I have already alluded, is simple enough and familiar enough. It is one of the most evident applications of the theory. Indeed the use of the adjective in this way is familiar to all periods of Greek literature. Besides the gen. itself is not so much temporal as characteristic, τῆς νυκτός is contrasted with τῆς ἡμέρας, and the notion of time within which is an extension. This temporal genitive is I-G., is pro-ethnic. It appears in Skr., in Zend.

At the close of his exhibit Delbrück apologizes for making the adjective theory the basis of his arrangement of the pure genitive, and declares again that if we put ourselves strictly on the historical point of view, we have noth-

¹ Which would have been suggested to a Greek scholar by the prevalence of τοῦ λοιποῦ with the neg.

² I see no cogent reason for considering οὐδαμοῦ and μηδαμοῦ in such combinations as Xen. Comm. 1, 2, 52 as a gen. of price, though this is a view advocated by G. Wolff and N. Wecklein on Soph. Antig. 183.

ing to do with the fundamental conception, which does not belong to the syntax of the individual language; we have only to separate the new types of application, if such may be, from the old. May I venture to say that the only thing that helps us at all in our endeavor to grasp these uses, new and old, is this very theory for which he apologizes? If we are to limit ourselves to the types of application and reject all hypotheses of fundamental signification, it is difficult to see how a classical philologist is to be much profited by this study. If we are to despair of getting an insight into the genesis of the form, the mere fact that this or that is 'ethnic' or 'pro-ethnic' is a mere curiosity. If, as Delbrück maintains, there was no consciousness in the language of a nexus in sense between these different uses, nothing but separate and distinct types, the gain of this whole comparison becomes infinitesimally small for the class of scholars to be enlightened. Is the genitive really parallel with such words as the Fr. *son*, which holds in its three letters so large a number of radicals? Is the attitude of our consciousness towards inflexion the same as its attitude towards complexes of sound, which have different meanings in different collocations? If the genitive form does duty at the same time for an ablative, pure and simple, if no mediation is possible between abl. and gen. in signification, then we have a state of things such as Delbrück would not recognize in *ποι*—a mere coincidence of forms. This coincidence of form does not suffice to kill the merged case. If there is any the least fibre of organism left in any part, the type is preserved, and this is a point to be kept steadily in view as we follow Delbrück's treatment of the ablative element of the genitive.

The I-G. ablative designated that from which something goes away or starts, the point of separation or origin. In Latin it united with the instr. and locative, in Greek with the gen. The gen. is then an abl. when it occurs with verbs which signify 'to come from,' 'rise from,' as in the *βίθρων ἵστασθε* of Soph.—whose case-register, I would remark, is very peculiar—'retire' as in the *χάζοντο κελείθου* of Homer, 'flee from' *τῆς νόσον πεφευγέαι* of Soph.—verbs of privation and verbs of taking away. It will be remembered that the double acc. with verbs of taking away was adduced to comfort us when considering verbs of plenty in an entirely different category according to Delbrück himself. *κενός* and *γυμνός* form a bridge between the gen. and abl. D. follows Leo Meyer in deriving *δείμα*, *δείω*, *δεῖ* from a radical akin to Skr. *durd* 'far,' and I would add that a similar origin has been claimed for *δείτερος* (Am. Journal of Philology, vol. I, p. 381). *τί δεῖ*, means then 'what is far,' 'is still wanting,' 'is necessary.' Other abl. constructions are found with other separative verbs which it is not necessary to go through with, and further with verbs of origin. According to Delbrück, in *πατρός ἐσθλοῦ πεφυκέναι*, *πατρός* is an abl. gen., but that is not 'proved' by the 'vicarious preposition.' 'Burn *up*' and 'burn *down*' are not the same thing though they may be used of the same action. Nor are 'bury *in*' and 'bury *with*' the same. 'A noble sire's offspring' and 'sprung from a noble sire' are not the same, and English grammarians will tell us that even the 'head of an ass' and 'an ass's head' are not identical, although English authors are not so discriminating as the grammarians. Here again Delbrück recognizes a bridge and grants the possibility of the pure gen. with participle of passive signification. 'Pouring' and 'drinking' out of a vessel, 'bringing

from,' 'receiving,' take the abl. gen. *δέχεσθαι* is construed either with the ablative of him from whom or the locative of him in whose place the thing is received, of which more hereafter. The gen. with *ἀκούω* is the acc. gen. when only one case is employed, the abl. when acc. of the thing and gen. of the person are combined. In *τό γε μητρὸς ἐπείδεο, μητρὸς* is an abl. Verbs signifying superiority, inferiority, preference, are also abl. The gen. of material seems to be an original ablative, but the line which separates it from the true genitive is like the shadow of Poe's Raven, and well it might be in view of the fact that the Latin coincides with the Greek in the use of the adjective which is gen., and in the use of *ex* with the abl. which corresponds to *ἐξ* with the abl. gen., the Greek gen. being left between the two.

'The gen. with the comparative is undoubtedly an ablative as is shown by Skr., Zend and Latin.' This view has so much in its favor intrinsically that it has found ready acceptance. It can be illustrated from a great variety of languages. It is shown in the Hebrew *min*, in the *plus de* of mod. French. This is the abl. of *hersicht*, as it has been called, and there is no denying the comfort of the view. Inside the language, however, there is no expression of the relation by aid of an abl. preposition such as we found with the gen. of material. The prepositions which furnish side expressions take the acc. With so marked an abl. as the gen. with the comparative it may seem wild to speak of a bridge to cross the gulf, and D. speaks of none. Yet the possessive gen. does furnish us with a slender thread of connexion. When we say 'my betters' in English, 'my' furnishes the standard, and occasionally in Greek we have positions which indicate the possibility of a similar conception. The vicarious construction with *ἡ* has not been cleared up, and Delbrück is not satisfied with Schömann's view. Finally D. does not know what to do with such gen. as *μέτειναι οὐ μακροῦ χρόνου* Soph. El. 478; *τὸν ἀνδρ' οἶκεν ὕπνος οὐ μακροῦ χρόνου ἐξείν* Phil. 821; *ἤξοντα βασιῶν κοῦχ' μινρίου χρόνου* Oed. Col. 397. There is Sanskrit analogy, it seems, for the abl., but I cannot understand how any one can see any fundamental difference between this and the ordinary gen. of time within which, which is paralleled by *ἐν* with the dative.

Adverbs in *-ως* are ablatives, as we have all known these many years, and I would again apologize for bringing up in this Journal so many commonplaces of Greek grammar.

Far more important is the question which D. next discusses, the coalescence of these cases. How did the gen. and abl. get rolled into one? In approaching this problem D. cites familiar examples of the absorption of the signification of one case by another. In Old Persian the dat. has vanished and its functions have been transferred to the gen., a process that Delbrück explains by the behavior of the later Skr. which hands over all manner of functions from the dat. to the gen. By a similar proceeding the dative form became rare, then forgotten. So in certain German dialects the simple preterit has passed out of the memory of those who use the language. A similar impoverishment is found in the Romance languages, and D. well remarks that if a process which has gone on, as it were, under our own eyes is so hard to follow, we must not be surprised to find nothing but gropings in this far darker region.

In I-G. there was a form of the abl. plur. which differed from the gen. and which coincided with the dat. as is the case in Latin. In the sing. the *ā*-stems

(II decl.) had a special form of the abl. in *-ā*. Delbrück thinks that the Zend and Latin ablatives that do not belong to the *ā*-stems are new developments, and that all the other stems have the common ending *-as* for gen. and abl., so that the Sanskrit represents the original state of things. All which D. admits to be problematical. This would furnish us with the external ground, the merging of form.

In Skr. the abl. is alive, kept alive by the large number of abl. forms in the *a*-stems. If the Hindu had not had a clear consciousness of the abl. as a special case, a confusion was to be expected between the two cases in the *ā*-stems as well as in those stems in which the abl. gen. forms are identical. This confusion is very rare in the older language, more common in the later. Apply this to the Greek. The Greek lost its abl. plur. very early, and hence the common ending (*-os*) of gen. and abl. of the 'non-*a*-stems' could the more easily occasion the coalescence of abl. and gen. in the '*a*-stems.' Because they said *χάζεσθαι νηός* (*ναφός*) so they said *χάζεσθαι κελύθου* or rather *κελεύθου*, the abl. being *κελεύθω(ς)*.

When D. comes to the inner grounds he says that we might conclude that there were certain points of contact between the gen. and abl., from the fact that grammarians who start from the unhistorical conception of a simple Greek gen. manage in a measure to stow away the old abl. in the genitive. Far more important, however, is the fact that points of contact present themselves unsought to those who are not interested in forcing all the uses of the two cases under one fundamental conception. And so after rejecting with scorn the unhistorical view that verbs and adjectives of want are construed with the gen. as the negative of verbs and adjectives of fulness, he admits the force of an explanation which goes very far to restore the unity of the case. If possession and dispossession, union and disunion, are paired under a common head, there is no impassable gulf fixed between gen. and abl. But I will not follow D. through other familiar instances of the thin partition between these two cases, only adding that he considers the increasing importance of the prepositions *ἐξ*, *ἀπό*, etc., to have contributed to the decline of the abl., the form becoming less necessary, and that *-φι* also encroached on the unfortunate case.

If any case is a mixed case it is the Greek *dative*, which, however, in spite of its importance, the length of this review reminds me to despatch as happily as I may. Here we have a compound of the original dative, the locative and the instrumental, as is shown to some extent by the form. The dative of the third declension is a locative—perhaps. In the first and second declensions the dative has the upper hand in most dialects, the locative form being sporadic; in Elean, Arcadian and Cypriote, the dative yields to the locative. The I-G. *ā*-instrumental is probably not extant in the Greek noun, but has left traces in adverbial formations such as *ἀμα*. The I-G. *φι*-instr. is yet to be seen in the Homeric dialect. As to the plural D. is satisfied with guessing that the old locative and instrumental have been fused.

1. As to the *pure dative* D. has given up his notion that the case originally meant 'inclination toward something,' and now agrees with Hübschmann that it is a purely grammatical case, 'grammatical case' being another modern device for beclouding an issue. As such it is the case for which the

predication is meant, 'der casus welchem die Aussage gilt.' Perhaps the case of reference would not be a misrepresentation. From a purely ethnic point of view stress might be laid on the personal character of the dative, and I have elsewhere defined the Latin dative as a case of personal interest, and tried to harmonize the relation of dative to locative by considering it a sentient locative, which does not require actual local contact and provides for Delbrück's forsaken Ariadne, his abandoned 'inclination.' For the use of the pure dative there are Skr. analogies enough, and no one can doubt about its being 'pro-ethnic.' From an ethnic point of view I cannot see how anybody could dream that we have a locative in *θεοῖσι δὲ χεῖρας ἀνέσχεον* I 318, and it is passing strange to an outsider that D. should consider such a conception possible though he takes care to controvert it. There is not a ray of new light on this subject.

2. Under the head of the *local* dative D. has again to announce a change in his view, one of those numerous changes which make an ethnic grammarian who is desirous of a sure foundation, somewhat shy of building too rapidly on the lines presented in this treatise. Formerly D. separated the dative of the place where from the dative of the place whither, such a dative as we find in *αἰματόεσσα δὲ χεῖρ πέδιω πύσεν*. This he has taken back, admonished by Holtzmann that the terminal loc., if I may dare thus render 'Loc. des Zieles,' is not the 'Casus des schlechthinigen Zieles,' an expression which would be utterly spoiled by translation. If I may venture to cut the whole matter short, what they mean amounts to this: Just as 'in loco stare' and 'in loco ponere' present the same relation, so *πέδιω πύσεν*, and *Ἑλλάδι ναίων* do not present a different conception to the Greek. For my own part I am not so sure of that. May not *πέδιω* after all be the pure dative? Personification is a very easy process to a lively language.

I cannot go into detail as to the assignment of other combinations. To me *δέχεσθαι* takes the pure dative and not the locative.

3. The *instrumental dative* gives D. a new occasion to retract his former error as to the explanation of *πέδιοιο θέειν*, in which he once recognized the prosecutive instrumental.

The *case in -φι* is briefly discussed. The suffix is generally used as an instr. loc. and abl., occasionally, as D. thinks, in passages where only gen. or dat. would seem possible. This divagation is attributed to the disappearance of the original force from the consciousness.

It is possible that I may take up at a later time Delbrück's treatment of the verb, and discuss it in a more serious and systematic way. I would only say in closing my *résumé*, that if I have allowed myself some freedom of expression, I have not intended to write anything incompatible with the highest esteem of Delbrück's own work. In the present essay he has put together for the behoof of the *seri studiosorum*, a number of facts and hypotheses, which are doubtless suggestive and instructive, but the book is not equal to the title by which it will always be quoted. If he had only called it 'Erörterungen'—perhaps one good would have resulted—this review would not have been written.

B. L. G.

De Ione fabula Euripidea quaestiones selectae. Doct. Diss. by L. K. ENTHOVEN. Bonn. 1880.

The writer endeavors to settle two points in regard to this play: 1st, its date, and 2d, the place on the Acropolis where Creusa is understood to have had her interview with Apollo. He rejects the date assumed by Boeckh (B. C. 429) and by Fix (B. C. 420), and decides that the play was probably produced in 412: (1) because an examination of its metre shows it to have about the same number of resolved feet as the *Helena* which was represented in B. C. 412; (2) because in Ar. *Lysist.* (B. C. 411) Cinesias makes a suggestion to Myrrhina as to the cave of Pan which may have been easily understood as an allusion to the mention of the same cave in the *Ion*; (3) because there are several verbal coincidences between the *Ion* and the *Helena* (some of these are so striking as rather to justify the inference that, though they betray the same author, they could hardly have been introduced by him in two plays written in the same year); and (4) from certain points of resemblance in the plots of the two plays. As to the scene of Creusa's mishap, the writer decides that it must have been the cave of Pan; and disposes of the claim of the cave of Aglauros by endeavoring to show that the five places in which the term *μακραι* is found applied to a portion of the north side of the Acropolis are corrupt or interpolated. In regard to three of these he is able to show that Usener concurs in the rejection of them; the fourth is rejected by Paley and Dindorf; and in the fifth he considers that *μυχῶδεςι μακραῖς* is a false reading for *μυχῶδεςιν ἀκραῖς*: and as the name *μακραι*, as a designation of a portion of the Acropolis, occurs nowhere else, we are expected to draw the inference that after it had arisen by mistake in v. 492 it got itself inserted in the other four places. How this is probable the writer does not show. He discusses also the meaning of *γάλα* and *θυμέλη* in this play, and the use of *ὅστις* in Euripides, and comments on certain difficulties connected with vv. 804-7, 1010-7, 1426-32, 1575-94. In handling these, as well as in the other matters treated of, if he does not exhibit as much tenderness as the conservative critics of the old school would show, he at least gives intelligible reasons for the course he recommends; and if the play had come down to us in the shape in which his emendations and omissions would leave it, the work of the commentators would have been much lighter than it has been.

C. D. M.

A History of Greece from the earliest times to the present. By T. T. TIMAYENIS. 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1881.

The author of this history thus describes in his preface the views with which he has undertaken it. "While I cheerfully acknowledge my obligations to Gibbon and Grote—the most eminent of modern historians—a careful study of the Greek writers has led me to differ from them on many important matters. The peculiar feature of the present work, therefore, is that it is founded on Hellenic sources. I have not hesitated to follow the Father of History in portraying the heroism and the sacrifices of the Hellenes in their first war for independence . . . nor have I scrupled, in narrating the great civil strife of the nation, to base my assumptions and conclusions on the testimony of the inimit-

able historian of the Peloponnesian war." It seems then that Grote—for Gibbon may here be left out of the account—has founded his history on non-Hellenic sources; that he has failed to give just weight to the testimony of Herodotus and Thucydides, and has manifested a tendency to rely too much on the evidence of inferior witnesses or on his own conception of what the facts must have been. This is a position which may fairly be occupied by any student of Greek history; but he will not be justified in presenting this assumed failure of Grote as the *raison d'être* of an improved history he proposes to write, unless he directs attention to particular instances where Grote has gone astray through misinterpreting or undervaluing the statements of the earliest writers, and shows by quotation or reference that in these cases the evidence we possess does not warrant the inference which Grote has deduced from it. Such a refutation is certainly not contained in a note like the following: I p. 329, "I confess that nothing in Grote's 'History of Greece' astonishes me so much as his attempt to represent Kleon under colors that would befit a Themistokles or Kimon, rather than the most consummate villain that ancient Hellas ever produced. His arguments are eloquent and worthy of himself, but they are certainly illusory and misleading": yet this, with a similar note on p. 339, comprises all or nearly all that the writer of this book gives us to substantiate his claim to be a more faithful follower than Grote of Herodotus and Thucydides. In the whole 860 pages of the two volumes there are not more than twenty-five references to authorities which can with any propriety be called precise. There are perhaps three times that number in which the reader is directed generally to "Thucydides," "Plutarch," etc., and about forty in which Greek passages are cited without any particular indication of their source. It may be noted in passing that the Greek is not printed with as much accuracy as might fairly be expected, considering the nationality of the writer (see I, pp. 252, 288, 294, 346; II, p. 267, etc.). But it may be said that any considerable number of quotations and any discussion of controverted views would mar the utility of the book for 'the general reader,' for whom it is presumably intended. Such a person will have every reason to be satisfied if he can feel assured that the statements made to him are in accord with the fair and natural interpretation of what the ancient writers have actually said. The necessary limits of this notice forbid a detailed examination of the book to ascertain how far it meets this reasonable expectation of 'the general reader,' and only two or three statements made in the early pages can be referred to. On pp. 15-21 we have an account of the Trojan war, and at the end of it we are expressly told that it is "the Iliad of Homer to which we are indebted for the foregoing narrative." Among the incidents mentioned is (p. 20) that Hector "fell, and Achilles, still unappeased, bound the lifeless body to his war-chariot and dragged it three times round the walls of Troy." This statement seems to be based on a confusion of Il. X 251 and Q 16; or is it rather simply a reminiscence of Virg. Aen. I 483? On p. 54 the tribes of Epirus are named Chaonians, Thesprotians, Kassopaeans and Molossians, and we are told that "Herodotus calls the two last mentioned tribes Greeks, but Thucydides considers them as barbarians." The Kassopaeans, however, do not appear to be named by Herodotus or Thucydides at all. On the same page we read, 'according to Aristotle the land of Thesprotia, in the neighborhood of Dodona,

was the most ancient seat of the Hellenic race." It is hazardous to assert that this statement about Thesprotia is not found in the works of so voluminous a writer as Aristotle; but it has at any rate escaped the notice of H. Bonitz, the laborious compiler of the Berlin Index. Aristotle does indeed say that ancient Hellas is *ἡ περὶ Δωδώνην καὶ τὸν Ἀχελῷον*; but there is no mention of Thesprotia in that passage, and Kiepert places Dodona in Molossis. On the next page in the description of the Peloponnesus we are told that it is "traversed from north to south by two rugged ranges of mountains radiating from Mount Pindus." How this can be so, since we have learned on p. 36 that Pindus "divides Epirus on the west from Thessaly on the east," is not explained. Another curious geographical statement is found on p. 37. "The romantic vale of Tempe, through which the Peneius escapes into the sea between Mounts Pelion and Ossa, is perhaps the most enchanting spot in Greece." The fervor of this and the subsequent description suggests that the author must himself have visited this scene, and therefore his statements may be taken as those of an eye-witness. But Kiepert's chart makes the Peneius issue between Olympus on the north and Ossa on the south, and places Pelion still further south of Ossa. Can it be either that the river has made for itself a new outlet or that the mountains have changed their places since the surveys were made on which Kiepert's map is based? It may be thought that these criticisms are trivial, and that it is ungracious thus to call attention to what are probably oversights and accidental blemishes in a work which may notwithstanding be on the whole a clear and readable narrative of the story of Greece. When however they are considered in connection with the fact before noticed, that the author has throughout his work compelled his readers to rely almost solely on his own narrative and abstained from giving them an easy means of testing his accuracy, and has besides in his preface challenged comparison with Grote on the ground of his superior fidelity to the ancient authorities, it will be felt that the mention of them is not irrelevant.

The book is written in a plain and unaffected style, which does not need the apology which the writer makes for it. It is by no means heavy reading, and if it were relieved of the pretentiousness of the preface and subjected throughout to a revision which should make the exactness of its statements approximate more nearly to that of Grote's, it might be recommended as giving in a moderate compass a readable narrative of the whole history of Greece from the earliest times to the present.

C. D. MORRIS.

Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik von HERMANN PAUL. Halle, 1881.

Kleine Mittelhochdeutsche Grammatik von KARL WEINHOLD. Wien, 1881.

The first is volume II of the 'Sammlung kurzer Grammatiken Germanischer Dialecte.' It is intended to serve a three-fold purpose: as an introduction to Middle High German for the beginner in Germanic philology; as a text-book in the Gymnasium, and to supply the wants of all who would read and study M. H. G. literature. The first purpose is best served; the sixty-nine pages being about evenly divided between 'lautlehre' and 'flexionslehre.' The only defect

in this regard is, that the M. H. G. sounds are not treated systematically and independently of the New High German. Instead of this we have chapter III on the relation of M. H. G. sounds to the N. H. G., treated particularly with a view to the wants of the general reader and the gymnasium student. Chapter IV on 'lautwechsel' is admirable. It emphasizes analogy in the development of sounds and forms, and treats scientifically of 'umlaut,' 'ablaut,' the relation between *e* and *i*, *o* and *u*, 'grammatische wechsel,' assimilation and gemination. For the student of comparative grammar the references to the latest investigations might be more numerous. The distinction between the infinitive in *-an* and the gerund in *-en* (§ 145) needs an explanation or a reference, say to Kögel, *Keronisches Glossar*, p. 145-6, and to our modern so-called 'present participle' in 'ein zu liebendes Kind.' The relation between *o* and *u* is not made very clear in § 38. He says 'die nächste Grundlage ist immer *u* und *o* daraus abgeleitet.' Is every *o* 'brechung' of *u*? Why not give the double origin of *o-u* which he alludes to? That of *e-i* is given. The ablaut is treated in certain series called 'ablautsreihen,' six in number. They run parallel with Braune's in his Gothic grammar. They are the very latest results, which, let us hope, will not prove mere speculations to be set aside in the next number of Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*. *Nasalis* and *liquida sonans*, which play an important rôle in the establishment of these ablaut-series, have just been formidably attacked in the 'Beiträge,' vol. VIII, 1, by Kögel, who had once accepted them.

The dialectic variations have been collected in one chapter, where they cannot confuse the beginner. The pronunciation received thorough treatment in § 6. We must remark again, as we did with regard to Braune's 'gotische grammatik,' upon the nearly total lack of anything like syntax or function or use of forms. Just in these the beginner finds great difficulties, because in a very short time the M. H. G. forms and spelling will be familiar to him. In this respect Weinhold's grammar is far superior. I refer to § 165-172 on the uses of the adjective declensions, to § 129-133 on the compound tenses.

Weinhold's grammar is a new edition of the short grammar in his reader (Wien, 1875), which is brought up to the standard of his large grammar (Paderborn, 1877). Weinhold is more conservative than the 'junggrammatiker' Paul, Braune, Sievers, and does not venture to embody the latest theories of the double or triple Indo-European *a*-series in a text-book. He still retains the *a*, *i*, *u* ablaut-series, and does not go beyond the splitting of primitive *a* into European *e* and *o*. Of 100 pages only 33 are devoted to a very systematic and clear phonology, that does not start with N. H. G. sounds.

Grundriss der neusländischen Grammatik von WILLIAM H. CARPENTER.
Leipzig, 1881.

This is the first systematic grammar of modern Icelandic. A few treatises and occasional statements in grammars of Old Norse and in dictionaries were the only sources of information. Even this grammar the author intends as a pendant to Wimmer's 'Oldnordisk Formlæra,' upon which it is based. § 1-6, treating of the letters and their pronunciation, would have been more serviceable had they been based upon the analysis of Icelandic sounds given in

Sweet's 'Handbook of Phonetics' (Oxford, 1877). As Mr. Sweet's study of Icelandic pronunciation was made ten years before publishing the 'Handbook,' without an opportunity of revising it, Mr. Carpenter, if he is phonetist enough, during his six months' residence in Iceland could have verified and corrected Sweet's account. Then we should have had another living language scientifically transcribed.

The vocabulary and reading matter (16 pages of prose) are very carelessly made up. Finnur Jónsson in a very severe review in the 'Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie,' Febr. 1881, has counted 37 words in the reading which are not in the vocabulary, and a number of wrong forms and incorrect translations. Of course such carelessness is inexcusable and prejudicial to the rest of the work. And yet Jónsson's criticism of the grammar proper seems to me a little too severe and ungracious, if not spiteful. Jónsson says, for instance, if it had not been for Mr. Olsen's assistance the serious errors would have been more numerous. Now this is an ungracious remark, as Mr. Carpenter gives full acknowledgment of his great indebtedness to Mr. Olsen. The spelling of *e* and *je* is a matter of unsettled authority. There are other points of unsettled usage on which Mr. Jónsson is altogether too positive. Certain forms in § 36 *hellirs, hellirar, hellirum*, Jónsson claims should not have been admitted to the paradigms, 'obschon sie bisweilen in der Rede vorkommen.' This latter clause is suspicious. They do occur in the spoken language, it seems. Suppose Olsen and Arnason pronounced them classical enough, is not their word as good as Jónsson's? Everything that is printed is not classical or good usage. Suppose a foreigner should imitate Mr. Jónsson's German and write 'ohne den Beistand des Herrn Björn Olsens,' would he not offend against good usage? Mr. Carpenter's work is not for Icelandic what Mr. Sweet's 'Sounds and Forms of spoken Swedish' is for Swedish, but before we consider Jónsson's attacks as unanswerable, we should like to hear from Mr. Carpenter and his 'gewährsmänner.'

H. C. G. B.

The English Poets. Edited by T. H. WARD. Vol. III. Addison to Blake. Vol. IV. Wordsworth to Sydney Dobell. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1880. Baltimore: Cushings & Bailey. (\$1.75 per vol.)

This series, which commended itself at once by plan and execution to universal acceptance, is now complete. 'Wordsworth to Sydney Dobell' has suggested to more than one reviewer the notion of an antilimax. 'Addison to Blake' would have been an impossibility twenty years ago. I quarrel with neither collocation. The poets have been assigned to scholars who are in many cases, I might say in most, not only special students of their authors, but men whom every one would recognize as eminently fit by temperament and original production for the appreciation of what was best in them. That this congeniality has its drawbacks is evident enough. There is danger of understanding too much. There is danger on the other hand of esoteric faultfinding, the tone which one expert is apt to assume towards another, so that an ordinary reader becomes a little rebellious at last, from the feeling that he has no rights as against such masters. If one man were passing judgment on all these poets,

one might have the comfort of occasional dissent; but when Mr. Matthew Arnold talks to us of Gray and Cowper and Keats, Mr. Swinburne gives us a study of Collins, Mr. Austin Dobson characterizes Prior and Gray and Hood, Sir Henry Taylor brings us as it were into personal contact with Southey and Campbell and Rogers, we must be content to learn. Of the major poets besides those mentioned, Pope is treated by Mark Pattison, Burns by Dr. Service, Wordsworth by the Dean of St. Paul's, Coleridge by Pater, Scott by Goldwin Smith, Byron by J. A. Symonds, Shelley by Frederick Myers. The Dean of Westminster has written of the Wesleys and of Keble. Mr. Dowden and Mr. Saintsbury have done good work for both volumes, and Mr. Edmund Gosse has handled many of the minor poets with rare knowledge and fine appreciation. Such a series is truly philological in the older and wider sense, and a selection of Greek and Roman poets so edited would be a boon to classical studies.

B. L. G.

A Collection of Gesture-Signs and Signals of the North American Indians, with some Comparisons. By GARRICK MALLERY, Brevet Lieut. Col. and formerly Acting Chief Signal-officer, U. S. Army. Washington, 1880.

Col Mallery follows up his 'Introduction to the Study of Sign Language' (noticed in a former number of the Journal¹) by this valuable collection of gesture-signs, gathered by various persons from many different tribes. The editor's method and principles are the same as those announced in his introductory treatise. The statements of collaborators and other authorities are given as nearly as possible in their own words; the present work is merely an attempt at an orderly arrangement of the signs reported, without effort to trace them to their origin. For some time this preparatory work of collection must go on, the greatest possible completeness being the chief desideratum; and we are glad to learn from a note of the editor addressed to correspondents in foreign countries, that "arrangements have already been made probably sufficient to procure all the gesture-signs of the aboriginal tribes of this country which can still be rescued from oblivion." The present volume gives also some of the conventional signs used in institutions for deaf mutes, and some of the natural signs invented by them before they have received systematic instruction.

The editor invites efforts to trace connections between the gesture-signs and language-roots, syllabaries and ideographs. Attempts also to group the signs geographically, ethnographically or otherwise, are in place, though in the present stage of the investigation such attempts should be conducted with the utmost caution. The first aim must be to arrive as nearly as may be at the original forms of the signs.

This volume is issued by the Bureau of Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution, and is excellently printed, with wide margins for annotations and corrections. The industry and carefulness of Col. Mallery and his assistant, Dr. Hoffman, are entitled to all commendation, and we trust that they will have the coöperation of all persons interested in these investigations.

C. H. Toy.

¹ Vol. I, p. 206.

The Story of Achilles from Homer's Iliad. Edited with notes and introduction by the late JOHN HENRY PRATT, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Assistant Master at Harrow School, and WALTER LEAF, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Macmillan & Co., 1880.

Mr. Pratt was drowned 'in the prime of health and vigor,' and Mr. Leaf has undertaken to edit his annotations and complete his work. I have looked through about a third of the notes, and have seen enough to convince me that Mr. Leaf would have done well to digest his material still further. The selection of the books—a selection suggested by Grote and De Quincey—is certainly of questionable wisdom; and the distinct effort to make the commentary a kind of Homeric dictionary and historical grammar is a mistake, in which, however, I am sorry to say, many will see a supereminent merit. In my judgment, no etymologies should be given in a commentary for schools except such as serve to light up the translation or to remove erroneous impressions, and as Homeric dictionaries of fair quality are in the hands of all schoolboys, I do not see the desirableness of giving the meaning and etymology of so many words about which there is no serious question. Memoranda which might have been useful to the teacher have been hastily incorporated into the notes. There is too anxious a display of recent authorities, and an evident forgetfulness that a theory which might interest the editor in its inchoate state may be a real disservice to the beginner; and when I read in the preface that the editor has 'purposely taken no notice of all the more recent discoveries in the original vowel system,' I shudder to think what he would have made of his book, if he had paraded the 'ablaut' through it. Luckily the notes have the great virtue of brevity, in which respect, La Roche, to whom the book is under numberless obligations, has been a most useful model. Sometimes, however, the notes are brief to a fault; perilous assertions are made and important matter overlooked. The knowledge of the annotators has not reached the clarified state; it has all the turbulent joy of a new possession, and hence inconsistencies are not surprising. So we are told at A 182 that $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ in Homer does not mean 'since' *quoniam*, and with equally curt decisiveness that it does mean 'since' at Φ 291, where La Roche's note is ' $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ causal.' The speculations as to syntactical evolution are crude; the lamentation over the degradation of the future with $\acute{\alpha}\nu$ to a solecism is a bit of wasted sentimentality. If $\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ in A 559 is final, how in the name of all that is Attic can $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\eta\varsigma$ stand for Attic $\tau\iota\mu\acute{\eta}\sigma\iota\varsigma$? When it is stated that $\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu$ does not mean 'live to see,' the remark should be guarded. No meaning more common in Attic. The mistakes in accentuation, which are nearly all analogical mistakes and cannot be put off on the printer, are too numerous to be creditable to English scholarship, and the appearance of the text is far from being attractive.

B. L. G.

A Syllabus of Anglo-Saxon Literature. By J. M. HART (University of Cincinnati). Adapted from B. ten Brink's *Geschichte der englischen Literatur*. Cincinnati, 1881.

Professor Hart has done good service in preparing this brief outline (69 pages) of Anglo-Saxon literature. While based on ten Brink, it introduces subjects not

treated by him, and its arrangement is different. As it is without table of contents or index (the insertion of which would have made it easier of reference), the subjects of its nine short chapters are here transcribed: I. Roman Britain; II. The German Conquerors; III. General Features of the Early Poetry; IV. Beowulf and other Heathen Poetry; V. Conversion to Christianity—Bede, Aldhelm, Boniface; VI. Christian Poetry—Caedmon—Genesis, Exodus, Daniel; VII. Cynewulf—Riddles, Christ, Elene, etc.; VIII. King Alfred—Orosius, Boethius, Pastoral Care—Chronicle; IX. Alfric—Solomon and Saturn etc.—Decline of Poetry. It will thus be seen that it covers a wide field in small compass, and the only fault we have to find with it is its brevity, but more could not have been expected in a syllabus. It can be used as a handy and serviceable outline, and the student must supply the details. A bibliographical appendix to each chapter, or to the whole, would have assisted the student, but the author informs us that the work is not yet complete, and when completed he intends to add a preface, table of contents, full index of subjects, and a bibliographical appendix. He follows ten Brink in regarding the historic Beowulf and the mythical god Beowa, or Frea, as merged into one, and seems to endorse Müllenhoff's view of the origin of the poem, without mentioning that Hornburg has given Müllenhoff's theory a very careful examination and reached an adverse conclusion. While most scholars probably adopt Müllenhoff's hypothesis with some modifications, much may be said for Ettmüller's view, without fully approving the latest form of the text as presented by him. He also accepts Vigfusson's reference of the fight with Grendel's mother and the *Grettis-saga* to a common original, considering that "the resemblance is too great to be a mere coincidence." The author separates the genuine and the disputed poems of Cynewulf, in this differing from ten Brink, from whom one could not learn that the genuineness of any of them had ever been called in question. While ten Brink's first book of volume first presents the best account of Anglo-Saxon literature that has yet appeared, especially from the point of view of aesthetic criticism—and we are glad to know that an English translation of the volume is announced—the history of Anglo-Saxon literature is still to be written. Wright first supplied some of the materials in Vol. I of his *Biographia Britannica Literaria*, but criticism has made great progress since that time. Morley has an interesting and readable account in Part I. Vol. I of his 'English Writers'; Sweet, a sketch prefixed to the four-volume edition of Warton's 'History of English Poetry'; and Metcalfe has just written about it agreeably, but by no means exhaustively, in his 'Englishman and Scandinavian'; lack of sympathy for his Anglo-Saxon as compared with his Scandinavian forefathers is too evident. We must still go to ten Brink for the most valuable account, and Professor Hart has done well to direct attention to that work, and to furnish a syllabus for the lectures of the professor and the private reading of the student, for which purposes we can heartily commend it.

J. M. G.

The Anglo-Saxon Metaphor. Dissertation for the acquisition of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Freiburg. By FRANCIS B. GUMMERE. Halle, 1881.

This essay is devoted to controverting Professor Heinzel's view (*Quellen und Forschungen*, 10) that the *simile* was characteristic of the Old Germanic poetry

seen especially in the Old Norse, but was lost in the Anglo-Saxon owing to a foreign culture, Romanism and Christianity. The author vigorously combats this view, holding that the *metaphor* was the original characteristic of Anglo-Saxon poetry, and "the real task will be to show why the Old Norse developed the simile at all." He proceeds by the inductive method and cites numerous examples of the metaphor from Beowulf, representing the heathen element, Caedmon, the Christian, and the Phoenix, an allegory which may be directly compared with its original. These examples are all carefully classified, and we regret that lack of space prevents a fuller notice. The conclusion reached, after an extended investigation, is that "the typical A-S. metaphor was originally confined to one word, or at the furthest, to several words that stood in the closest syntactical relation," and that the foreign influence seen in Caedmon "was not so great as materially to detract from the originality of the native style." These views are well sustained and deserve the careful consideration of scholars.

J. M. G.

REPORTS.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN. Herausgegeben von DR. EUGEN KÖLBING. II Band. Heilbronn, 1879.¹

The second volume of *Englische Studien* consists of two numbers only.

W. Sattler, *Zur englischen Grammatik*, begins the first. He discusses the two phrases 'My own' and 'Of my own,' and likewise 'The first of January' and 'The first January,'² and illustrates by an abundance of examples.

F. H. Stratmann, *Zum altenglischen Wörterbuche*, has notes on *sþruen* (*speowen*), *blout*, and the suffix *ild*.

Under the title, *Ein altenglischer Schwank*, Felix Liebrecht brings forward Walter Map's tale, *De Sceva et Ollone mercatoribus* (Dist. IV, cap. 16). He relates, partly in abridgment and partly by extended translations into German, the story of the miser Ollo, whose house in Pavia is entered during his absence by his former partner Sceva; the latter takes possession, cajoles Ollo's wife, gains over servants, neighbors and magistrates by a liberal distribution of money and promises, and by their assistance excludes Ollo from his own house upon the latter's return from his journey, and eventually succeeds in persuading him that he has lost his wits. Liebrecht adduces several parallels, of which the nearest is a comedy entitled *Harrig Niding*, by the Danish dramatist Justesen Ranch (A. D. 1476-1577), republished at Copenhagen in 1876 by S. Birket Smith in Hieronymus Justesen Ranch's *Danske Skuespil og Fugleviser*.

H. Varnhagen continues his *Contributions to the Exegesis and Textual Criticism of Dan Michel's Aienbite of Inwyrt* from the first volume. Part III, which opens this instalment, contains something over a page of various readings. In Part IV is printed the French text of the passage on the *Pater Noster* (*Ayenb.* pp. 98-118), together with that underlying the sections which Zupitza and Wulcker have admitted into their *Reading Books*. Appended notes to these passages touch upon matters of interest.

K. Bøddeker prints a *Versified Rule of St. Benedict* in the Northern Dialect from MS. Cotton. Vesp. A. 25 of the British Museum, from which he drew the English Songs and Ballads of the XVI century, communicated in *Jahrb. f. Rom. u. Eng. Lit.* N. F. II 81 ff. He concludes that the present version dates from the beginning of the XV century, but is itself the copy of a somewhat older original. An investigation into the language is reserved for a succeeding number of this same volume.

F. Lindner contributes an interesting monograph on *The Tale of Gamelyn*. The editors of Chaucer have generally agreed that it was spurious, yet, with

¹ See A. J. P., vol. I, pp. 225-232.

² i. e. '1st Jan.' never read as it is written. See A. J. P., vol. I, p. 89.—B. L. G.

the exception of Tyrwhitt and Hertzberg, they have lacked the courage to exclude it from the *Canterbury Tales*. (Here, as at the very beginning of the paper, Tyrwhitt comes in for the praise which of late has been but grudgingly bestowed.) Lindner rejects the hypothesis that Chaucer wrote and inserted the tale as a parody upon current ballads; Chaucer is too much in sympathy with the people to cast ridicule upon their heroes. The metre, and the frequent exhortations to be silent and attentive, show that the ballad was originally designed for recitation. The peculiarities of rhyme, alliteration and language are convincing evidence of its popular origin. It probably belonged to the imitations of the Robin Hood ballad poetry, and is to be assigned to the XIII century.

In a note to a passage in the Old English Poem of the Childhood of Jesus, Reinhold Köhler furnishes some curious illustrations of a legend forming part of the poem above mentioned, and first printed by Horstmann in his *Altenglische Legenden*, Paderborn, 1875. To this E. Kölbing adds another illustration from Cod. Harl. 3904 of the British Museum, first described by Wülcker in the *Jen. Literaturzeitung*, 1875, p. 871.

F. H. Stratmann has a short note on æ in Layamon, which he suspects may denote the sound *d* in certain cases, though it usually stands for A. S. æ, *ð* and *ea*.

Under the heading, Corrections to Old English Texts, Stratmann also reprints a few improved readings from vols. XI and XII of *Notes and Queries*, Series 4.

Witte, in an article on the Semi-Saxon (Neuengelsächsische) Pronoun, exhibits the condition of the personal, reflexive, possessive and demonstrative pronouns during the period 1100-1250. Only a few points can be noticed in this review. *pe* is found dialectically for *pu*, as in the Ayenbite. *poū* replaces *pu* in the later MS. of Layamon, the B-text. *You* does not occur as nom. in Semi-Saxon. The A-text of Layamon has *wit*, *unker* and *incker* as relics of the dual, but they have disappeared from B. *She* is derived from *seo*, the *sce* of the A. S. Chronicle being disregarded. Beowulf 2021 ff. and Jul. 258 are quoted as affording examples of the demonstrative with the force of the personal pronoun. The dat. sing. masc. and fem. of the third personal pronoun is banishing the acc., *hine* disappearing before *him*, and *hi*, *heo* before *hire*. *pai* (*tai*) is clearly a personal pronoun in the *Wohunge of ure Lauerd*.

In Lay. I 34 and I 136 *self* must be construed as a substantive. *Ourselves* and *yourselves* appear neither in A nor B of Layamon. The dative of the pers. pron. with *self* occurs even in A. S., as in Beow. 954, Gen. 611, Christ IV 113, Beow. 1839. The possessive is used in forming the reflexive only in the first and second pers. sing., and here not exclusively. For the third pers. and for the plural of the first and second pers. the dative is employed.

The *mi* and *thi self* are not to be regarded as genitives of the pers. pron., but as possessives. Witte refers to the example from S. Basil given Mätzner II, 11, as proof of the substantive use of *sylf* in A. S.: And hæfdon ealles *ge* weald ge heora āgenes sylfes on eallum pingum. It is not to be denied that the Semi-Saxon appears in certain cases to have lost the consciousness that *self* was a substantive, but such uncertainty was only natural in this transitional stage.

It occurs for the later possessive *its* as early as the poem edited by Morris and by him entitled *The Pearl* (E. E. T. S. 1):

108. Lorde, dere watz hit adubbement, etc.

Under the demonstratives it may be remarked that Witte quotes from the *Ancren Riwe* to show the existence of *pis* used predicatively, referring to a plural subject, as, for example, p. 76:

pis beoð sein Gregories wordes.

J. Caro treats of *The Historical Elements in Shakspeare's Tempest and Winter's Tale*, and ingeniously connects these two plays with the account of a voyage made to the Prussian coast of the Baltic in 1390 by Henry, Earl of Derby, afterwards Henry IV of England. His chief authority for details respecting the expedition is Henry's treasurer, Richard Kingston, whose account-book has been preserved, and is accessible in *Scriptores rerum Prussicarum* II 789. Though the foundation is slender, his theory is constructed with much skill and expounded with admirable clearness.

Ed. Tiessen furnishes on p. 185, and again on p. 440, a number of Contributions to the Determination and Exegesis of the Text of Shakspeare. They form the continuation of a series published in *Herrig's Archiv*, and are in the nature of emendations to the text of Delius's fourth edition of Shakspeare's works.

These papers, which are not concluded in the present volume, refer to thirteen plays in all. The first, beginning on p. 185, takes up in succession *Love's Labours Lost*,¹ *The Merchant of Venice*, *King Richard II*, *King John*, and *Much Ado about Nothing*; the second, pp. 440-475, is devoted to *King Henry IV*, parts I and II, *King Henry V*, *As You Like It*, *Julius Caesar*, *Measure for Measure*, *Timon of Athens*, *Antony and Cleopatra*. Many of the corrections will seem superfluous to the English student of Shakspeare, and not a few depend upon erroneous conceptions of the meaning of phrase or context, although this opinion would by no means hold of all.

Felix Bobertag concludes his article on *Pope's Rape of the Lock*, begun in the first volume of this journal. Pope is considered as the representative of a school which at present has but few admirers, and an attempt is made to understand the principles and methods of that school, and the causes for the disfavor into which it has fallen.

Some seventy pages at the close of this number are taken up with book notices. Wilhelm Viator criticises the second edition of Bernhard Schmitz's *Encyclopädie des philologischen Studiums der neueren Sprachen*, hauptsächlich der französischen und englischen, and finds little to recommend. F. Lindner reviews the second edition of Fiedler's *Wissenschaftliche Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, as edited by Kölbing. Lindner qualifies his praise by objecting to the arrangement of the matter, which is substantially the same as in the first edition of 1849.

Kölbing has a favorable notice of Karl Körner's *Einleitung in das Studium des Angelsächsischen*, *Erster Theil: Angelsächsische Formenlehre, Heil-*

¹ Which the author prefers to *Love's Labour's Lost* on the analogy of *Love Labours Won*.

bronn, 1878. Carl Abel's *Die englischen Verba des Befehls*, Berlin, 1878, is noticed by David Asher. Rich. Koppel bestows nearly eleven pages upon Karl Elze's *William Shakspeare*, Halle, 1876.

A. Tanner, *Die Sage von Guy von Warwick*, Heilbronn, 1877, is approvingly noticed by Kölbing. *Beowulf*, Traduit par L. Botkine, Havre, 1877, is considerably treated by Karl Körner, though he cannot help remarking upon the translator's lack of thorough philological training. Zupitza's edition of *Cynwulf's Elene* is examined in detail by Karl Körner, who ends with an exhortation to Zupitza upon the teaching of historical English. Under the heading, *Zur englischen Litteraturgeschichte*, II, Kölbing notices Leopold Katscher's translation into German of Taine's *History of English Literature*, and follows with a review of Anglia, numbers I and II of the first volume. The cordial spirit of the latter is especially noticeable, and conveys a sound reproof to those who delight in an exhibition of *odium philologicum*.

Several school-books for the learning of English are reviewed under the heading *Lehr- und Uebungsbücher für die englische Sprache*, and the book notices of this number close with a few words upon the fourth edition of Moritz Retzsch's *Outlines to Shakspeare's dramatic works*, Leipzig, 1878. The number ends with the department of *Miscellanea*, of which the most important article is an obituary notice of Heinrich Leo, contributed by Moritz Heyne. The catalogue of *Lectures on English Philology* at the German Universities is interesting and serviceable, and the system of journal reports is begun, with a promise of future extension.

II. The second number of the volume begins with an investigation by Kölbing into the sources of the Middle English poem *Amis and Amilloun*, in which he continues the researches already published in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, IV 282 ff. In the former article Kölbing had sought to prove that the English text (E) was based upon a French original, *Amys et Amillyoun*, contained in a London MS (L). Ten Brink, in his *History of English Literature*, pp. 313-5, refers the English poem to the French *chanson de geste* *Amis et Amiles*, and in a private letter, quoted by Kölbing in this paper, broaches a novel view of his own, namely, that L is based upon E, and not, as Kölbing assumes, E upon L. Kölbing now draws further conclusions from a MS. (C) of the Grand Ducal Library at Carlsruhe, containing a better French text than L. Admitting that all the difficulties are not cleared up, he remains, except for some trifling modifications of detail, true to his former opinion.

Henry Sweet, treating of some of the sources of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, proves quite conclusively that at least two entries, those under 473 and 584, are of a distinctly poetical character, as evinced by the alliteration and the use of a poetical instead of a prosaic word for 'booty.' Perhaps certain other entries, notably those under the years 457, 491, and 501, are to be classed with the foregoing, but the evidence is less satisfactory.

The same scholar, under the head of Old English Etymologies, communicates explanations of *beohata* and *gdræcg*. The former he interprets as 'beehater,' i. e. 'bear,' as he would understand *Beowulf* to mean the same animal. *Gdræcg* is identified with *gasric*, a word occurring in a Runic couplet with the same meaning. *Gasric*, accentuated thus: *gdsric*, might correspond to the stem of the Norse verb *geisa*, 'to chafe, rage,' with the affix *-ric*.

F. H. Stratmann, in *Notizen zur altenglischen Grammatik*, proposes a new explanation of A. S. *ea* = Gothic *au*, and calls attention to the occurrence of *sc* for *s* in English, particularly that of the region of Warwickshire, between 1200 and 1470.

E. Kölbing follows with a collation of Turnbull's edition of *Sir Beves of Hamtoun* (Edinburgh, 1838) with the Auchinleck MS. upon which it is based.

F. Lindner continues the examination of *The Tale of Gamelyn*, begun on p. 94 of the first number. After investigating the grammatical and dialectal peculiarities of each of the MSS. containing the tale, Lindner finds that the original text was probably composed in the northern part of the West Midland district about the close of the thirteenth century.

K. Bøddeker furnishes a wellnigh exhaustive treatment of *The Language of the Rule of St. Benedict*, as a contribution to the knowledge of the Northumbrian dialect. In this he fulfills the promise made on p. 60, *supra*. Taking his initiative from Ellis's *Early English Pronunciation* and Sweet's *History of English Sounds*, he determines the values of several diphthongal combinations and simple vowels, to which he subjoins remarks upon the consonants, the accent, and the toneless final *e*. The inflections are well worked out in twenty-three pages more, and are followed by syntactical observations on the Use of the Subjunctive, the Omission of the Pronominal Subject, and the Infinitive.

W. Sattler, *Zur englischen Grammatik*, shows by numerous examples that such expressions as *two and a half inches*, where both the integer and the fraction precede the noun, are, partly through German influence, beginning to replace the older *two inches and a half*, where the integer precedes and the fraction follows the noun. As a supplement to his paper in the first number, Sattler quotes examples of various modes of writing dates from Queen Victoria's *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands* and Theodore Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*.

Ueber drei Raleigh'sche Schriften is the title of an interesting paper by A. Buff. Three tractates attributed to Raleigh, and no doubt written by his hand, are shown to be mere translations or adaptations of certain French and Italian works. The first, *Observations concerning the Causes of the Magnificency and Opulency of Cities*, consists mainly of extracts from Botero's *Tre libri delle cause della grandezza e magnificenza delle città*, Venetia, 1589. The second, *The Cabinet Council containing the Chief Acts of Empire, etc.*, is pieced together out of Bodin's *Six Livres de la Republique*, Paris, 1577, Machiavelli's *Principe*, and his *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio*. The third, *The Prince or Maxims of State*, is somewhat more original, but owes much to the three treatises last mentioned.

R. Mosen contributes an article on Nathaniel Lee's *Life and Works*. A view of his life and poetical genius is followed by a survey of his plays in their chronological order. Mosen makes out three periods of his activity as dramatic poet, viz: 1675-6, 1677-1681, 1684-1690.

Tiessen's Contributions, already noticed above, occupy the remaining pages of this number, with the exception of Book Notices and Miscellanea.

The Book Notices comprise a review by K. Maurer of Ignaz Jastrow's *Zur strafrechtlichen Stellung der Sklaven bei Deutschen und Angelsachsen*, and of Hertzberg's edition of *The Libell of English Policye*, Schipper's *englische Alexiuslegenden*, the fourth edition of Diez's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, together with Urban Jarnick's *Index to the same*, Holt's revision of White's *Ormulum*, Bödcker's *Altenglische Dichtungen der MS. Harl. 2253*, Leo's *Four Chapters of North's Plutarch*, and Baskerville's *The Poetry of Germany*, by various critics. The departments of *Lehr- und Uebungsbücher* and *Miscellanea* contain nothing of much general interest except Kölbing's note on Chaucer's *Knights Tale*.

ALBERT S. COOK.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE. 1880.

Janvier 1. Notice sur les Caractères Phéniciens destinés à l'impression du *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. (Ph. Berger.) After pointing out the insufficiency of the Hebrew characters to represent the Phoenician language, M. Berger gives a sketch of the history of Phoenician typography, from the discovery of the alphabet and language by the Abbé Barthélemy, announced in 1758, to the alphabets of Bodoni, Parma, 1808 and 1818, the Imperial Press, Vienna, the Duc de Luynes, 1846, and de Saulcy, 1847, and shows that their imperfections demanded a new set of types for the projected *Corpus Inscriptionum*. The National Press will have four new Phoenician fonts, two of the older and two of the later character; it will probably not attempt separate types for the Neo-Punic, which is too irregular to be manageable by the printer. For Hebrew it returns to the monumental font of Robert Étienne (Stephens), which was discovered in looking over the older specimens for a suitable character, and of which an exact copy has been made.

2. Notes de lexicographie assyrienne. Third article (St. Guyard). The author defends the following significations: *tabrât*, 'lodging'; *igug*, 'to be angry' (correction of his former view, § 40); *ququ*, 'reed, rush' (correction); the concluding formula in exorcisms against demons: 'remember the oath of heaven' (after Halévy); *ilānišu ištārātīva amnā ana sakiki* (Ass. p. 230), 'his gods and his goddesses I have destined to be broken'; *sakiku* = 'fragment' (after Halévy); *enat* (A. L., p. 81, l. 28-29) Kal pass. partep. fem. of *enu*, 'to change, infringe, transgress,' and *uēpīl* (ib.) from *pīlu*, 'transgress'; *irišu* (deluge-text; A. L., p. 86, l. 49), 'odor' (with Fox Talbot, against Smith who takes *iru* = 'odor,' and Delitzsch, who renders 'friendly desire'); the form *uquunu* as an infin., Kal of Assyrian verbs ܩܘܢܐ; *ir*, 'field'; the stem *ba'ar*, 'hunting and fishing,' and *bāru*, 'cistern, pit'; *atabbu*, 'basin, watering-place'; *mišari*, *usāti* (Sayce's *Sennach.* p. 2), 'protection, assistance'; Pael and Safel of *parak*, 'to act in such and such a manner, execute, do'; *iddiūn*, *namrīru*, *birbiru*, *melamonu*, *šibubu*, 'majestic, splendid' (correction after Halévy); *muštarihu*, 'firm, strong, a sovereign'; *dabab*, 'to speak, say'; instead of the problematical *iāt* read *idāt* (plu. of *id*, 'hand'), 'alongside of.'

Nouvelles et Mélanges. C. Imbault-Huart describes some recent English and French translations of modern popular Chinese poetry, and Chinese and English newspapers at Peking and Shanghai, and notices favorably Father A. Zotolli's *Cursus litteraturae sinicae neomissionariis accommodatus*, Shanghai, 1879. L. Feer speaks of R. N. Cust's *Sketch of the Modern Languages of the East Indies*, London, 1878, as a useful compilation. N. Siouffi, French Vice-consul at Mosul, gives the outline of a conversation held by him in Oct. 1879 with Sheikh Nasser, the religious head of the Devil-worshiping sect called Yezidis, whose religion forbids learning to read and write, except to one family. E. J. Dillon has a very commendatory notice of Harlez's *Manuel de la langue de l'Avesta*, Louvain, 1879, and Barbier de Meynard a short account of Rieu's excellent Catalogue of the Persian MSS in the British Museum, London, 1879. J. Oppert locates the primitive seat of the Assyrians and the Phenicians in the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf. Barbier de Meynard notices briefly the chronicle of Abu Zakaria, edited and translated by E. Musqueray (of whose work the reviewer speaks unfavorably), Paris, 1879.

Février-Mars-Avril. 1. *La Coupe Phénicienne de Palestrina, et l'une des sources de l'art et de la mythologie helléniques* (Ch. Clermont-Ganneau), 3d article. This article describes the gilt silver medallion of the cup, namely the form and posture of the three men and the two dogs; the author conjectures a relation between this scene and those of the circumscribed zones, but offers no explanation.

2. *Étude sur quelques peintures et sur quelques textes relatifs aux funérailles* (G. Maspero). This is a careful study and lively description of the Theban Egyptian funeral rites from the monuments, the construction of the coffin, the furnishing of the tomb, the construction of the funeral bark, the procession, the lamentations and the voyage across the Nile to the Place of the Tombs (emblem of the voyage of the soul after death to the judges of the lower world). The author takes occasion to correct the statement of Diodorus Siculus that the mummy encountered, beyond the sacred lake of the nome, forty-two judges, who examined the character of the deceased, and allowed the body to pass only when he was found to be free from crime; this, says Maspero, is a confounding of the ceremonies of interment with the mystical sense that the Egyptians attached to them. The monuments tell nothing of earthly judges; but the Nile was a symbol of the 'lake of the West,' which separated the human from the divine world, beyond which the soul met the forty-two judges of the infernal jury.

3. *Des Origines du Zoroastrisme*. (C. de Harlez). 5th article. The author continues his attack on the storm-myth theory (*oragism*) by an examination of some important Avestan doctrines: the Fravashis, originally the old Aryan divinized souls of the dead, became later guardian genii of men or attendants on gods, on celestial genii or even on abstract beings (this latter view being borrowed from the Accadian mythology), and their guardianship has nothing to do with storms, and has no resemblance to the Sumerian spirits; the inferior evil genii, the Yâtus, Pairikas and others, are simply wicked and hurtful spirits, and do not need the lightning to explain them (Harlez ridicules the attempt to connect Pairika and Apsaras etymologically); the elevated morality and pure

spirituality of the Mazdean eschatology, strict rewards and punishments after death, victory over the evil spirits, final restoration of the world to virtue and happiness, and the resurrection of the dead, have nothing to do with the storm, and the molten metal which traverses and purifies hell and destroys the Serpent, is the metal of the mountains, and not the lightning, the terrible plague produced by the demon Malkōs is not an air-storm, but a cold winter; Zoroaster resists all attempts to reduce him to a storm-hero, he is not even an old Aryan storm-hero Mazdaically reconstructed, although he smiled at his birth (lightning), lived for thirty years on milk and cheese (cloud-cows), and was tempted by Anromainyus to abjure the law of Ahura (the Vedic Sarama solicited by the storm-demons to abandon her heavenly masters); the argument from the 19th Fargard of the Avesta, to the effect that the temptation (battle between good and bad spirits, air-storms) is immediately followed by a conversation between Zarathustra and Ahura-Mazda (revelation-descent of lightning), and that these are therefore both storm-myths, falls, because there is nothing in the Fargard about storms, and its two parts have no connection one with the other (also the Vedic *vāc* is the personification of speech in general, and not thunder); the Eranian legends, such as Zoroaster's bestowment of immortality on Vistāspa's son, and the promulgation of the Mazdean law by the bird Karshipta, are only by violence brought into connection with the phenomena of the air. Harlez maintains that the storm-theory rests on baseless assertions and erroneous text-interpretations, and obstructs the progress of correct explanation. The Avesta, he says, contains no word for lightning or thunder; and the theory in question ignores the true nature of the beliefs and institutions of Persia and the other Aryan peoples.

4. Matériaux pour l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie Musulmanes, traduits ou recueillis et mis en ordre. (H. Sauvaire, Consul de France). First part, Coins (continued). The coins treated are the derham, the dāneq (one-sixth of a derham), the qīrāt (one-twentieth of a derham), the tassūj (one-fourth of a daneq), the kharrūba (carob-grain, of varying weight), the habba (grain, reckoned at two grains of barley), aruzza (grain of rice—40 or 48 of them make a daneq), and the fels, of varying value, originally one-fortyeighth of a derham, and itself divided into four pieces (qeta); interesting particulars concerning the origin, designations and history of these are given by the author, with full references to native authorities.

5. Note sur la forme du tombeau d'Eschmounazar. (de Vogüé). From personal observation of the tomb de Vogüé offers the following explanation of some terms in the inscription: *makom* is the ensemble of the monument, including the sepulchre, the vault, and perhaps a small exterior building; *keber* is the sepulchre, which contains the sarcophagus; *kelet* is a movable hollow object, the box or receptacle of the sarcophagus; *mishkab* is the funereal couch, the sarcophagus; *ālīt*, a difficult word, probably the vaulted space that covers in the sarcophagus. Lines 3-6 would then read: 'I rest in this coffin, in this sepulchre, in the monument that I have built . . . let no one carry off the coffin of my sarcophagus, let no one burden me in this sarcophagus with the vaulted chamber of a second sarcophagus.'

6. Étude sur les inscriptions de Piyadasi. (Senart). After a sketch of the history of the decipherment and interpretation of the inscriptions, and the

presentation of examples going to show that in all the texts the long and nasalized vowels are always and the *añ* and *u* frequently identical, together with special transcriptions in the particular groups (such as *thi* instead of *sti*, *k* instead of *ky*, and a series of *r*-ligatures), Senart proceeds to the detailed examination of the various texts. His plan is to print the original of any given inscription from the best text, with his transcription (he finds that of the *Corpus Inscr. Ind.* unsatisfactory), followed by the transcriptions of the other texts. His first chapter is on 'the fourteen edicts and the detached edicts of Dhauli.' For the first edict (against the slaughter of animals for food) he prints the Gimnar text, and adds a verbal commentary on it and the others. *Dharmma* (= *dharma*) he takes in the sense of 'positive religion'; Prinsep's rendering of *samāja*, 'convivial meeting,' he rejects, and holds that the word somehow or other comes to the sense of 'the destruction of life'; in the form *dharmadīpi* (facsimile W of the Kapur di Giri text) he finds a confirmation of Burnell's conjecture that *līpi* is a Sanskrit appropriation of the old Persian *dīpi*.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. H. C. characterizes Father Violette's Dictionnaire Samoa-Français-Anglais et Français-Samoa-Anglais as a very important contribution to Oceanic philology. In reference to the attacks on Dr. Wells Williams's Chinese dictionary by Chalmers and Giles, Imbault-Huart says that, though it contains many mistranslations, it is nevertheless the best Chinese-European lexicon in existence. He notices favorably Gonsalves's Lexicon Manuale Latino-Sinicum, Peking, 1879, Möllendorff's Family Law of the Chinese, Shanghai, 1879, and Piry's edition of the Saint Édít, *ibid.*; the value of the first number of Jametel's L'Épigraphie Chinoise au Tibet, Peking, 1879, which gives Tibet from an exclusively Chinese point of view, he says is diminished by the author's non-acquaintance with the Mongol and Tibet languages. Barbier de Meynard commends Stanislas Guyard's Manuel de la langue persane vulgaire, Paris, 1880, to travelers as a convenient handbook.

Mai-Juin. I. Étude sur quelques peintures et sur quelques textes relatifs aux funérailles. (G. Maspero). This concluding article gives the ceremonies at the tomb—the mummy receives the last adieux of the family, and the women chant their lamentations. Maspero gives the curious funeral oration (Leyden MS. I, 371), in which a husband reproaches his wife for dying and leaving him; he has been able to fix some phrases heretofore undecipherable, from a copy furnished by M. Wilbour; the oration, he thinks, is juridical, possibly intended to lay the wife's ghost. In the description of the ceremonies of the funeral banquet he gives the traditional harper's song (on the transitoriness of life), correcting and filling out the text of the Harris Papyrus, No. 500, from two inscriptions. The article concludes with a short statement of the Egyptian view of the constitution of man: the part that remains on earth after death, called the *ka* or 'double' was at first conceived of as hardly less material than the visible body; later, the conception becoming less gross, but the earthly representative being regarded as having the properties of matter, it was termed *bāi*, 'material,' or, regarded as a flame, called 'the luminous,' *khou*. These various conceptions continued to exist side by side, and were worked up by the priests into a system or dogma, so that towards the XVIII dynasty they divided the human person into two parts, of two sections each: the *body* with

its *double*, both of which remained in the tomb, and the *material soul* which served as body to the *luminous*, and accompanied it in its transformations and successive existences. The fuller explanation of these conceptions Maspero reserves for a future paper.

2. Matériaux pour l'histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie Musulmanes. (H. Sauvaire). The author continues his enumeration of coins, concerning which he gives a very large number of valuable quotations from native writers.

3. Étude sur les inscriptions de Piyadasi. (Senart), second article. This treats the second edict (declaration by Piyadasi that he has introduced, into his territory and that of the neighboring peoples, plants, fruits and wells for men and beasts), and the third (order to magistrates to teach the people obedience to parents and elders, almsgiving to brahmins and çramapas, respect for all life, and avoidance of prodigality and violent language). In the arāṃṇe of the Kapur di Giri text of the 2d edict, Khālsi alafṃne, Senart finds Ariana ('in the territory of Antiochus, king of the Greeks, and also of the kings near him in Ariana'), a geographical term hitherto not met with. This article, like the preceding, is full of valuable discussion, in which the author has constant regard to the work of his predecessors, Wilson and Kern.

4. Notes de lexicographie Assyrienne. (St. Guyard), 4th article. The article contains a number of detached observations, among them the assignment of the signification 'mausoleum, tomb,' to *kimaḥḥu*, the reference of the preposition *but* 'near' to a noun *būṭu* meaning 'thorax' (the *ṭ* being often in Assyrian viciously replaced by *t*), and the announcement of a new verb, the root *uāḥu*, 'to displace.'

Nouvelles et Mélanges. There are several noteworthy papers attached to the Proceedings of the Société Asiatique. Clermont-Ganneau suggests that the Phœnician-Cyprian divine name, pronounced by him Pummai, should be compared with Shaddai for the signification. Oppert inclines to identify Nabonassar with Tiglathpileser, and thinks it probable that the era of Nabonassar, Feb. 26th, pertains to the year, and not to the day of the Babylonian epoch, the 26th of Feb. is merely the first of Toth of the year 576 of the Sothiac cycle (in the calculation of Hipparchus) and the year proper began twenty-four days later, on the first of Nisan (22 March). Guyard offers an interpretation of the final formula of malediction in the inscriptions of Van. Certain documents which have been supposed to exhibit the commercial transactions of a Babylonian banking-house, called Egibi Sons (B. C. 800-400), Oppert maintains to be juridical records in which appear men of the tribe of Egibi, and in which he also finds data for fixing the relations of the Babylonian cubic measures to one another; the unit is the *ka* = 18 lit. +, and the *gur* = 5860.5 lit.

• Août-Septembre. 1. Des Origines du Zoroastrisme. (C. de Harlez), sixth and last article. In this Second Part of his discussion, Harlez gives the positive side of his conception of Zoroastrism, as follows: It is the product neither of storm-myths (these, handed down from the old faith, it transformed, so that they are no longer recognizable), nor of solar myths, nor of the conflict between the Eranians and the Hindus (though hostility to the Hindu religion existed).

The best authority on this point is the Gathas, which, in contrast with other parts of the Avesta, exhibit the pure Mazdean reform; they show Mazdaism persecuted and struggling for life—it was therefore not a simple development of popular beliefs—its object was to abolish the old cultus and beliefs, and to introduce new doctrines, monotheism, governmental and moral dualism, prophetism, religious abstractions, a new cosmogony and eschatology, the Ameshaçpentas, the Fravashis, the Qarenah, incantations, and interdiction of the interment of the dead. Whence came these new beliefs? As a preliminary to answering this question, the date of the Avesta must be fixed as nearly as possible; from allusions in the book itself to certain historical events, from the advanced civilization it indicates, and the decomposition of the language in which it is written, and from a comparison of the intellectual conditions of other peoples, the Greeks, for example, it appears that it cannot be put earlier than the period of Darius Hystaspis (though its legends may belong to a more ancient time)—in the time of Darius it controlled only a part of Eran, the Persians had not accepted it. As to the origin of Mazdaism: it retained the principal ceremonies of the old Eranian cultus, and many of the old legends; it borrowed from the Turanians demonology, incantations, the worship of the stars and part of its fire-worship, funeral practices (as those relating to defilement by dead bodies), the interior hell with its western gate and mountain, the Fravashis, spirits of the gods and of material beings, and various scattered characteristics; it shaped for itself dualism proper, the celestial hierarchy, a cosmogony and eschatology, systematized the data furnished by Eran and Turan, and idealized what it had inherited from naturalism; it had in common with Judaism monotheistic principles, creation, the moral side of dualism, demonism, and prophetism—whether it invented or borrowed these latter conceptions, science is not now in position to say—it is improbable that Judaism borrowed them from Mazdaism, for they, together with the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, appear in the former earlier than they can be found in the latter. Whether Zarathustra is a myth, or an ancient sage, or a sacerdotal title transformed into a proper name, it is impossible to determine. But Mazdaism could not have been the work of a single man—its apostles were the magi. Darius, as the Behistun inscription states, reëstablished the temples and rites of the viçs, not the Mazdean religion which had no temples; the magi had abolished not Mazdaism but the worship of the gods. The apparent difficulty here is explained by the fact that there were two classes of magi, the one Eranizing or Eranized, the other Chaldaizing or Turanian. The religious history of the Eranians, then, is this: Arrived at the southeast of the Caspian, they came in contact with a Medic (?) people, whose doctrines they in part adopted—the resulting mixture of opinions was shaped and formulated by a man of genius or a powerful priestly body—at first a sweeping reform was made, but old traditions forced their way in, and so Avestan Mazdaism arose, with its variations and contradictions. Harlez's articles on Zoroastrism are published in book-form by E. Leroux, Paris.

2. *Élégie sur les malheurs de l'Arménie, et le martyre de Saint Vahan de Kogthen.* (J. A. Gatteyrias). This is the first complete translation of an Armenian text published by the Mechitarists of San Lazzaro, Venice, in their Armenian Historical Library, Venice, 1853-1861. It details the sufferings of

Armenia under the Arab domination in the eighth century of our era, and describes the life and death of the popular Saint Vahan. Such translations are welcome as throwing light on the obscure history of that time, especially on the relations of the Armenian bishops and nobles to their conquerors.

3. Étude sur les inscriptions de Piyadasi. (Senart), third article. Commentary on the fourth and fifth edicts, the former of which states the happy results of the king's efforts in behalf of religion, and the latter announces the appointment of overseers or superintendents of religion, who are to occupy themselves with the adherents of all the sects, at home and among the frontier populations. A photographic reduction (four-fifths size) of Cunningham's facsimile of the Kapur di Giri inscriptions is appended.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. C. Imbault-Huart gives Chinese Miscellanies—anecdotes, bons mots, novels and maxims—the first of a series of translations designed to present a general view of Chinese literature, and for this new Chinese Department of the *Journal* he invites contributions from all quarters. There is a brief mention of the edition of Tabari now coming out at Leyden under the editorship of twelve distinguished Arabists, de Goeje having the general direction, of which a good part has already appeared.

Octobre–Novembre–Décembre. 1. Senart's fourth article gives the Piyadasi inscriptions VI–XII, in which the king declares his zeal in the administration of justice, in healing dissensions among the clergy, and in procuring the happiness of his people; announces liberty to all sects, since even those men who fail in almsgiving are not without other virtues; says that in place of the chase and similar amusements he now occupies himself with deeds of beneficence; over against ordinary social customs commends religious practices as securing happiness in the future life; affirms that glory is valueless unless the people follow his religion, which requires strenuousness; and exhorts the sects to have charity one toward another that they may all attain to an inward unity of pure religion.

2. Bibliographie Ottomane. Notice des livres Turcs, Arabes et Persans, imprimés à Constantinople, durant la période 1204–1296 de l'hégire (1877–1879). (Cl. Huart). In continuation of the valuable bibliographical communications of the late M. Belin, interpreting secretary of the French embassy at Constantinople, Huart gives a list (which he does not offer as complete) of Turkish publications during the years named, following Belin's five divisions: theology, religious sciences, legislation; literature, morals, poetry; history, biography; miscellaneous (geographical, mathematical, encyclopedic, etc.); linguistic science, composition, grammar; and there is added a list of works published at Beirut, with which are to be compared the catalogues of the American Mission press, and the Jesuit press of that city. The Constantinople list shows considerable activity, notwithstanding the interruptions caused by war; among the books are a good many translations of French novels (those of J. Verne and others), besides French and Greek grammars, and the Koran literature is respectable. We are glad to see this valuable work resumed; its value would be increased by brief indications, so far as possible, of the literary or scientific worth of the books named; dates are generally and prices frequently given.

3. Sur la véritable signification de la notation numérique inventée par Aryabhata. (Léon Rodet.) The object of this article is to show the bearing of Aryabhata's special notation on the question of the origin of our decimal system of figures. The view of Prinsep and Woepcke, that it is a Hindu invention transmitted to Europe by the Arabians, was opposed by Ed. Thomas on the grounds that the old Hindu system, before the eighth century of our era, had different figures to express the units, the tens, the hundreds, the thousands, and probably the other orders, and that though some of these figures resemble certain letters of the writing in which they occur, these letters are not at all the initials of the names of the corresponding numbers; and it has since appeared that in the Açoka-character the numeral figures, though only slightly different from those of seven centuries later, bear no resemblance to the letters of this character. It has been further objected against the Indian origin that Aryabhata invented for his own use a special notation, which he would not have done if he had known this decimal system. Rodet has before, in his translation of the second chapter of the *Aryabhaṭṭyam*, argued from the author's rules for the extraction of square and cube roots, that he had command of a decimal system essentially the same as ours. He now explains A's peculiar system (which makes the five first classes of the Sanskrit alphabet signs of units, from 1 to 25, including of course two tens, and the two last classes signs of tens, from 30 to 100) shows that it was invented by him solely for the purpose of putting his astronomical tables into condensed metrical form (he uses it indeed only for the tables in his first chapter), and that this argument, therefore, against a Hindu decimal notation is to be left out of the discussion. He thinks that A. used a column-table, abacus, in writing his numbers, and that the centenary system employed some centuries earlier by the princes of India was based on the hieratic numeration, such as is found in the Rhind papyrus, published by Eisenlohr, in which the units and tens have different signs, and the hundreds and thousands the same. In an appendix he gives authority for writing the name of his author with one *t*.

4. Études Buddhiques. Comment on devient Buddha. (Léon Feer). From the first ten texts of the *Avadāna-Āṭaka* Feer describes the five steps in the process of attaining the dignity of Buddha, the meeting, the offering to the Buddha, the vow or aspiration of the seeker, the luminous, sanctifying smile of the Buddha, and his prediction of the worshipper's future; to which he adds an account of the ten heroes of the texts treated, the instructions given by the Buddha in order to produce desire and aptitude for the Bodhi, and the relation between the ranks of the Buddha and the inferior Arhat.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. The Chinese Miscellanies contains several interesting historical and religious papers, an episode of the insurrection in Chinese Turkestan in 1865, a Buddhist ceremony in China, a visit to the temple of Confucius at Shanghai, a visit to a religious and scientific establishment near Shanghai, and a collection of unedited reflections and maxims. Darmesteter's translation of the *Vendidād* (one of Müller's series of *The Sacred Books of the East*), Oxford, 1880, is reviewed by Harlez, who finds in it much that he thinks incorrect; these two scholars differ widely in their principles of interpretation of the *Avesta*. De Goeje gives a severe criticism of the first volume

of E. P. Goergens's *Arabische Quellenbeiträge zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, which is an abridged translation of the second part of Abu Shāma's history of Nureddin and Saladin (*The Book of the Two Gardens*) with the aid of R. Röhricht; the reviewer cites numerous cases of inaccuracy. The valuable *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*, vols. I-IV, London, 1874-1879, is noticed by Mehren.

C. H. Toy.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM, XXXV, 2.

1. pp. 157-163.¹ E. Rohde: *The Legend of the Nine Sleepers of Sardinia*. In *Rh. Mus.* XXXIII, p. 209, R. called attention to the relation between the heathen story of Epimenides and the Christian legend of the Ephesian Sleepers. He now treats the various phases of this same mythical conception in an acute discussion of Aristot. *Phys. Ausc.* IV, 11, p. 218, b. 21, and the notes of Philoponus and Simplicius on this passage. Of special interest is the explanation of the striking fact that the popular mythology connected the story (doubtless very old) of a long sleep with the name of Epimenides. R. finds the solution of the difficulty in Max. Tyr. diss. XVI, 1: ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου τῷ ἀντρω κείμενος ἕπνω βαθεῖ ἐτη συχνά, ὅναρ ἐφη ἐντυχεῖν αὐτὸς θεοῖς καὶ θεῶν ἐγγόνους [so Markland for λόγους—ἐκγόνοις?] καὶ Ἀληθείᾳ καὶ Δίκῃ. That is to say, the *source of the wisdom* of Epimenides was a long sleep in the cave of Zeus on the Cretan Mount Ida. One sees at once the kinship of this story with the well-known legends about Pythagoras. R. concludes as follows: We may now assume more decidedly than before, that a story of sleeping heroes, of kin to the Sardinian legend, existed at Ephesus in heathen times, and that the familiar legend of the Seven Sleepers had its origin in a Christian modification of this older myth.

2. pp. 164-173. O. Apelt: *On the Commentary to Plato's Parmenides*. Corrections in the text of the Supplement to the Commentary of Proclus. This work has been three times edited (by V. Cousin, Paris, 1820 and 1864, and by G. Stallbaum, Leipzig, 1830). Apelt believes it to have been composed by a single hand and to contain elucidations of sufficient value to repay the labor of restoring the text.

3. pp. 174-190. J. Asbach: *The Consulships of the Julian and Claudian Emperors*. The writer begins with the contradictory statements in Suetonius (Aug. 26) and Dio (51, 21) about the duration of the consulships of Augustus in the years 31-29 B. C. Then, in order to test the trustworthiness of Suetonius, he examines all the statements made by the latter about the consulships of Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius and Nero, comparing these statements in each case with the inscriptions. The conclusion reached is, that Suetonius is inexact in notices of this sort. A. accordingly accepts the statement of Dio in regard to the years 31-29 B. C. He then attempts to determine the precise duration of each of the five consulships which Augustus held for portions of the year. In this investigation he leaves Suetonius entirely out of account, but finds at the end that Suetonius is certainly not far wrong. The serious

¹ See *Am. Journal of Philology*, vol. I, No. 2, p. 235.

error of Suetonius consists in saying that Augustus held the office of consul throughout the year only five times: We must now believe he did so eight times. In view of the whole case, A. believes it is better not to attempt to remove the mistake of Suetonius (Aug. 26) by emendation. Instead of following such a method, he would prefer always to bear in mind the careless habit of this historian, to subject all his statements to the most searching criticism, to reject them when unsupported unless inherently probable. At the end A. gives a table showing the duration of each of the consulships of the first five emperors.

4. pp. 191-235. H. Flach: On Hesychius of Miletus. The introductory pages discuss the marks, so to speak, by which, in the biographies which Suidas borrowed from Hesychius, the parts which Suidas himself added or interjected may be recognized. F. shows that these biographies cannot be ascribed to Hesychius in their entirety, and declares his belief that Suidas had more abundant materials at command than is commonly supposed. The investigation which follows is divided into several distinct parts. Two preliminary questions are first treated: (1) The source of the remarks made by Suidas in the first person (e. g. *προέειπεν*, s. v. *Φίλων Ἰουδαῖος*), some of which are to be referred to Hesychius. These Suidas copied without change. Eudocia, on the other hand, who has preserved two such remarks of Hesychius, gave up the first person. (2) The question what citations of other writers in these biographies can be proved to belong to Suidas himself and not to Hesychius. In a note F. refutes the current view that Hesychius treated no ecclesiastical writers. After these preliminary discussions one hundred and thirty-seven biographies are examined singly, the attempt being made in each case to show what materials Suidas used and how he used them. Next comes a detailed list of the works earlier than Hesychius to which Suidas had recourse when he failed to find enough for his purpose in Hesychius. Of these works, the Scholia to Aristophanes seem to have been most frequently used. The concluding part of the article is an attempt to settle the dates of Hesychius and the Pseudo-Hesychius. The conclusion in regard to Hesychius is, that he composed his biographical work very late in life under the emperor Heraclius, and that he was born not many years before or after 550. In this connection F. presents an interesting, if not entirely convincing conjecture. He thinks it probable that the elder Hesychius of Miletus, father of the historian, was a grandson of Hesychius of Alexandria, a famous physician and father of Jacobus, also a famous physician. This Jacobus, then, would be the grandfather of our Hesychius. F. calls attention to the favor with which physicians are treated by Hesychius and to the fullness of detail about family matters in the biography of Jacobus. The time of the Pseudo-Hesychius is not to be determined so easily nor so surely. But it is certain that he based his work on Suidas and not on Hesychius. He leaves Hesychius so entirely on one side, that F. concludes he must have had a manuscript of Suidas quite different from the existing ones—one in which the parts composed by Suidas himself were visibly separated from the epitome of Hesychius. F. is inclined to ascribe the Pseudo-Hesychius approximately to the period of Zonaras, but promises a fuller discussion of the matter in the preface to his forthcoming edition of Hesychius.

5. pp. 236-243. F. Leo: The Third Decade of Livy. This article calls attention to the service rendered by the recent edition of Luchs in restoring to their rights the neglected manuscripts of Books XXVI-XXX which are independent of the Puteanus. Luchs has performed a task first accurately described by Mommsen in the *Analecta Liviana*. Leo gives a summary statement of the relations of the manuscripts and then discusses several passages singly. He designates the Codex Puteanus by the letter P, the manuscripts of the family of the Spirensis (first used by Gelenius for the Basle edition of 1535) by Σ. Leo believes, with Luchs, that these two classes of manuscripts have equal value, and that each should be used to correct the errors of the other. XXVI, 49, 12, Leo writes, with Σ, *alia me angit cura . . . muliebris sum, simul et aetate*. For the proper use of *ango* and *stimulo* he refers to XXVI, 40, 2, 7; 47, 5, 8; XXIX, 1, 4; XXX, 11, 3; 14, 1; 36, 10. XXVI, 51, 1, Leo reads, with Σ, *data quinquere, captivis cum Magone*, and refers to Polybius (X, 19, 8, etc.) for the facts. In P *cum* is corrupted into *que*. XXVII, 7, 1 Leo writes: *cum agmine captivorum*. XXVIII, 7, 10, *omissis Romanis rebus*. XXIX, 1, 2, *ex iis trecentos iuvenes, florentes aetate et virium robore insignes, circa se habebat*. XXIX, 3, 7, Σ has: *sociosque navales in auxilium duxit*. Leo defends in *auxilium* (*auxilium* in its original sense) and suggests the loss of some such word as *adsumptos*. Leo holds that words unintelligible in P, which are wholly omitted in Σ, are to be treated as corruptions of the true reading. So XXIX, 17, 15, *matronas fuit virgines*. Σ omits *fuit*, but it seems to be a corruption of *vitiant*. XXX, 18, 7, *et ut rem permixtus* (so P) etc. Leo restores the passage thus: *et ut semper eminus, ut cuspidi uti et comminus, ut gladio posset*, etc. He refers to Cic. C. M. 6, 19; Caes. B. G. VIII, 13; Ov. Met. III, 118. XXX, 29, 4, *maxime si hostis fiduciaque, non*, etc. Leo finds in *si* (lost from Σ) a remnant of *securitate*. XXX, 31, 1: P has: *Hannibal avere adventus tui spem*. Σ has: *Hannibal, adventus tui spe*. Leo conjectures: *Hannibal, ob levem tui spem*, and refers to Polybius XV, 8, 12.

After discussing a few of Luchs's emendations, Leo proposes several of his own. XXVI, 41, 20, *Vexati a Poenis socii*; 41, 21, *eadem in victores ingruit*. XXVII, 1, 8, *terga subsidiantium* (or *opperientium*, so Höfer) *invaderent*; 18, 13, *subierunt*. *primique* simul; 27, 11, *pro veteri prudentia* (so also Σ); 47, 9, *somno ac via illis sternerunt*; 50, 1, *Nero ex nocte*. XXVIII, 15, 9, *hostem cerneret*; 33, 16, *ipsi fuerunt*. XXIX, 3, 8, *hominibus pacis*. XXX, 30, 11, *quietis prodest consiliis*; 31, 4, *nostri prius de*; 31, 10, *verba prolata renuntiant*; 42, 7, *responderent ipsi non mite*; 45, 7, *claraque cognomina asciverunt*. Leo also calls attention to several interpolations hitherto unnoticed. XXVII, 13, 4, *die*; 34, 11, *eam rem*; XXVIII, 27, 6, *milites*. In 12 he writes *militatis* for *militatis*.

6. pp. 244-278. Th. Bergk and Th. Kock discuss (independently) the recently discovered fragments of Greek poets. (See Am. Jour. of Phil. I, p. 236.) The time has not yet come nor is this the place for attempting a summary of the attempts to restore the readings of these shattered texts. The *ῥῆος* which Weil and Blass have assigned to the Temenidae, Cobet to a satyric drama, Bergk now claims positively for the Cresphontes and Kock for the Archelaus. But this and other similar questions which these fragments have started are not ripe for concise statement.

7. pp. 279-286. F. Bücheler: The Apologists Aristides and Justin. A little book was published at Venice in 1878, in Armenian and Latin, with the title *Sancti Aristidis philosophi Atheniensis sermones duo*. B. examines the question how far these tracts can be referred to the Aristides who is mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome, and whom Justin is said to have imitated. One of the pieces has evidently nothing to do with Aristides; the other, which is very short, cannot have been his in anything like its present form. In this connection a number of critical remarks on Justin's Second Apology are offered. B. writes: II, 12, ἐμπίπλασθαι, ὡς ἔλεγε τὰ ἴσα. Farther on in the same chapter, εἰ δὲ καὶ νῦν τις ἦν, τραγικῇ φωνῇ ἂν ἐβόησεν, with a suggestion that perhaps καὶ νῦν should be substituted for καὶ νῦν.¹ II, 15, B. protests against Leutsch's change, Ἀρχεστρατεῖς for ὀρχηστικοίς. But surely the connection calls for a proper name, and more weight should be given to the fact that the union of the names of Philainis and Archestratus was *traditional* and therefore presumably familiar, at all events not likely to be obscure to anybody who could follow the reasoning of the Apology. The objection that the actual book of Archestratus was not a popular one at the time would seem to apply with equal force to the name of Philainis.² In the same chapter B. writes καὶ γεινομένοις καὶ γεγραμμένοις. In II, 2 several interpolations are pointed out: δὲ Οὐρβικὸς ἐκολάσατο εἰς δεσμὰ ἐμβαλόντα τὸν Πτολεμαῖον, αὐτὸ τοῦτο μόνον (after ἀνερωτήσαι).

8. pp. 287-297. F. Blass continues the communication of fragments from Greek poets. In 1879 the Berlin Museum acquired a quantity of torn bits of parchment from Egypt. Among these is a very small piece with parts of about a score of lines from Sappho. Graux decides that the writing belongs approximately to the eighth century. The restoration of entire lines is impossible. Some of the forms are important: . . . ἡχοῖσθεις, οὐκ οὐτω, κάσλον, διάκηται, λῦπης (2 sing.), etc. A larger piece of these same parchments gives parts of fifty lines (two passages) of Euripides' *Μελανίπη ἡ δεσμῶνις*, identified by a quotation in Stobaeus. Graux refers the writing to the fourth century. B. with the aid of Weil, attempts a restoration of the broken verses, and then discusses the plot of the play with the aid of this new material.

¹ B. translates γῆν *auf Erden hier*, and understands with τις the words ἐπόπτης δίκαιος from the previous sentence. Justin would not have risked the implied limitation of God's power. καὶ νῦν is much better. B. L. G.

² Bernhardt in his *Gr. Lit. Geschichte* II 2, p. 550, also remonstrates against von Leutsch's conjecture on the ground that it does gross injustice to Archestratus thus to couple him with the notorious Philainis, whose name, by the way, as a type occurs repeatedly in Martial. Unfortunately they are so coupled by Chrysippos ap. Athen. 8, 13, p. 336 D: βιβλία τὰ τε Φιλαίνιδος καὶ τὴν τοῦ Ἀρχιστράτου Γαστρονομίαν—a passage echoed by Athenaios himself 10, 86, p. 457 D: κομίδῃ γὰρ ἔστι ταῦτά γε τινὸς τοῖς Φιλαίνιδος καὶ τοῖς Ἀρχεστράτου σιγηράμμασιν ἐνγκλητότος. It is evident that to severe moralists Philainis and Archestratus represented different phases of the lust of the flesh. My Christian friend Justin doubtless had no personal acquaintance with the productions of these famous writers, had never seen a σῆμα of the one nor read a recipe of the other. Justin was not a learned man in the proper sense of the word, but he certainly knew enough to make a literary allusion, and many of the lights of the second century knew little more. How many good people of my youth knew the name of Paul de Kock and nothing more, being wholly ignorant that there were numerous pseudo-de Kocks afloat? How many now quote Rabelais and Brillat-Savarin at first hand? Would it be a sheer impossibility to find *La physiologie du mariage* and *La physiologie du goût* cited side by side? The literary knowledge of Justin's time, I repeat, outside of a special class, was a mere sham. B. L. G.

9. pp. 298-301. A. Ludwich discusses Av-Av. 168 and proposes a transposition of words, thus: *ἔρει ταδί τις ὄρνις οὔτος ὁ Τελέας*, or, *ἔρει ταδί τις οὔτος ὄρνις ὁ Τελέας*.

10. pp. 301-305. K. J. Neumann discusses the time of Babrius. He recapitulates the reasoning by which Crusius (Leipz. Stud. II) has reached the conclusion that Babrius wrote in the third century of our era, and tries to answer the question who is meant by *παῖ βασιλέως Ἀλεξάνδρου* in the second prooemium. He makes it seem very probable that this is Elagabalus.

11. pp. 305-309. K. Dziatzko offers several critical remarks on Plato's Laws. 775, E, he punctuates: *ἀρχὴ γάρ, καὶ θεὸς ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἰδρυμένη*. "For the beginning, which also has its shrines as a divinity among men, etc." The divinity of *Ἀρχή* is shown by several citations. 856, E, *κοινὸς δ' ἔστι τρίτους εἰς*. 864, B, *δόξης τῆς ἀμαθοῦς περὶ*. 886, C, *τὸ παράπαν δεόντως εἴρηται*. In this connection D. gives a correction of C. F. W. Müller to 837, C, *ἐρὼν, τῇ ψυχῇ δὲ ὄντως τῆς*. 935, C, *θυμῷ, ἐταίρω κακῷ*. Epin. 990, C, *δυνατὸν ἔστι, χρεῶν*. D. further defends the traditional text of 709, E, and offers new arguments in favor of old conjectures in other passages.

12. pp. 309-312. E. Rohde offers seventeen conjectural emendations of the tract *περὶ ὕψους*. A selection may be given: p. 15, 13 (Jahn), *ὡς φῶρ ἰσὺ τινος*; p. 22, 5, *ἐχορήγησε κάξέφηνεν*; p. 49, 12, *ἰδωπτεῖται πω σημαντικῶς*; p. 57, 3, *τάχος, ὁ δὴ κύριον*; p. 57, 4, *θεόπεμπτα δὴ τινα δωρήματα*; p. 61, 3, *βέλεσιν, ὀρεῖς*.

13. pp. 312-313. A. Stachelscheid gives the corrections Bentley had made in the margin of his copy of Virgil, now in the British Museum. No scratch of Bentley's pen can fail to interest the philologist; and I have thought it best to report these emendations almost without omissions. Two of those which I omit were published by Bentley himself in his lifetime. G. III, 114, *insistere rector*; III 120-122 after 96 as Ribbeck, following Tittler, has placed them. IV, 203-205 after 196, 236-238 after 230. Both these changes Schrader also proposed. Bentley's note makes it doubtful whether they were original with him. A. I, 429 *decora apta*, sed vide II, 448; II, 532, *sanguine fundit*; III, 674, *Trinacriae curvisque*; IV, 168, *connubis*; IV, 294, *diverberet auras*; VI, 862, *deiecto nubila*; VII, 51. Bentley wrote the line: *nulla fuit, prima moriens erepta iuventa*; VII, 92, *hinc* et tum; VIII, 65, *Tusci* caput *amvisus*; VIII, 237, in *aversam*; VIII, 301, *proles, deus*; VIII, 408-9, *femina cui mos est tolerare*; IX, 22, *ea* sic; X, 386, *furit incautus*; X, 809, *detonet omnem*; XI, 171, *equitumque exercitus*, with a reference to 598; XI, 173, in *arvis*; XI, 659, *Thracia*; XI, 665, *deiecit, fundit*; XII, 482, *agmina longa*; XII, 830, *et germana*. On a blank page at the end of the book Bentley made a table of the days occupied by the action of the Aeneid. S. gives further a few emendations of Bentley to Servius: E. VI, 9, *te sine* nihil altum; A. I, 56, ut a *Cassio*; IV, 694, a *Pratina*, antiquo; VI, 725, *lucidum*, quod; IX, 79, fit *ficta* historia; IX, 291, participio *figuratum* Terentius; X, 797, *dextra* adsurgentis; XII, 568, *ὁμολογοῦσιν χαλκὸν λαβεῖν*.

14. pp. 313-317. O. Schmidt proposes and explains four emendations to Cicero: Ep. ad Att. XV, 3, 1, de *Montano* scripsi; XV, 4, 2, *Saufeium petis* celemus; Phil. I, 31, metu *veteranorum*; III, 28, possem *quod volui*, nec abiecte.

15. pp. 317-320. J. Klein discusses several inscriptions bearing the name Commodus, and tries to deduce from them the order and (in part) the duration of the offices held by a certain C. Julius Commodus Orfitianus under Antoninus Pius.

16. p. 320. Th. Aufrecht has a note on *maritus*. The formation is the same as that of *auritus*, etc., and the original meaning is determined by this analogy. In use the meaning has suffered a change comparable to that which *nubo* must have undergone before Tertullian could say *Pontificem Max. rursus nubere fas est*. The use of *maritus*, *maritare*, in connection with the marriage of the vine to the elm, etc., proves that *arbo*s and the names of the large trees (stems in *o* and *u*) must have been originally masculine in Latin.

J. H. WHEELER.

PHILOLOGUS. Göttingen. Vol. XXXIX, Part I.

This number, less valuable than usual, brings six essays of some length: by von Kleist on significance of Plato's Protagoras as example of scientific method; by Köstlin, on the text of various passages in C. Valerius Flaccus; by Unger on Polybios' account of the Gallic invasion of Italy; by Reuss on chronology of the times of the Diadochi; by Gladisch on the false tradition that connects Pythagoras with Egypt; and by Gilbert on the secretaries (*γραμματεῖς*) of the Athenian boulé.

Besides these, Müller gives, pp. 148-160, a continuation of his Report on the literature connected with Plotinus, going back as far as 1830. He speaks in warm praise of the account given by Kellner of Neoplatonism in his *Hellenismus und Christenthum*, 1866; and he describes the aim and method of his own recent edition of Plotinus' *Enneades*.

In two paragraphs, p. 90 and p. 130, the editor, von Leutsch, discusses the identity and the time of the Quintus Valerius Soranus mentioned by Cicero in *Orat.* III, 43. He corrects Teuffel's statement; and proves that this Soranus died some years before 708 a. n. c.

In textual criticism there is discussion of passages in Vergil, Ovid, Quintilian, Isidorus and Censorinus in Latin, and of Sextus Empiricus, Euripides, Plato and Demosthenes in Greek.

In Vergil, at pp. 173-175, Münscher tries by an elaborate study of the context to save from proposed change the text of the augury-scene in *Aen.* I 390-401. He argues that *reduces* in v. 397 means 'safe from danger,' and not 'brought back to former position.'

In Ovid, at pp. 175-178, Köstlein succeeds in destroying by one unhappy conjecture the poetical life of two beautiful passages in *Met.* IX 342 seq. and IX, 526. In *idem factura videbar* he denies the correctness of this use of *videbar*, and proposes to get rid of it in this fashion:

iterum factura—videbam,
namque aderam—vidit (Dryope) guttas.

Encouraged by this, he then attacks the like use of *videtur* in v. 526, and for the poet's line:

quid velit, ignorat : quicquid factura videtur
dispicet—

he gives as his own :

quid velit ignorat quicquid factura : videtur,
displicet.

What will be left of the grace and sparkle of poets' thoughts if such criticism as this invade the text? For two other conjectures, *somnia* for *omnia* in IX 488, and *si* for *di* in VIII 69, what he says is worthy of careful study.

In Quintilian, at pp. 181-2, Becker succeeds by an apt quotation from Verg. Aen. I 526 in establishing the correctness and meaning of the disputed text *propius audirent*, Inst. Or. X 1, 91. The short paper is very able.

As to Isidorus, Wagener, at pp. 178-80, proves by parallel passages, a point overlooked by Droysen, that his *Chronica* are taken largely from Eutropius.

As to Censorinus, Meuser, at pp. 180-1, makes some conjectural corrections to Hultsch's text of the fragment ascribed to him *de coeli portione*.

The hard lines of Valerius Flaccus are becoming for modern Latinists what the towns of the Low Countries used to be for the strategists of Europe, things of no great value in themselves, but admirable, as points of attack and defence, for displaying the skill of the assailant and the obstinacy of the defender. In a long essay, pp. 33-68, Köstlin brings forward conjectures and observations to a large number of disputed passages. In the main, K's criticism, though lacking in delicacy of taste, is thoughtful and prudent. While he sometimes blunders himself, he oftener succeeds in pointing out the blunders of the audacious Bährens. Of thirty-five passages discussed, only a few can be noted. In I 449 he changes *penderet* and *pingui* into *linqueret* and *lenui*. This is violent and unnecessary. Thilo's *perderet*, adopted by Nisard, gives the best sense with the least change. In VIII 8, the passage, feeble enough in itself, is made absurd by the amazing interpretation that converts *somni* into a god, with capital S, and *vestigia* into his shrine. In VI 238 he is right in defending the *non altior* of the MSS. against the *non tardior* of Heinsius; but the ground of his defence seems altogether wrong. *Abies—docilis—medios non altior ire per hostes* vv. 236-8, means simply that the spear, thus managed, did not go too high, not above the heads of enemies. Very beautiful, on the other hand, is in VII 551 the change of *in vellera in ipsa*, Nisard's *quin vellera, et ipsa*, into *in velleris, ipsa*, so as to make *velleris* depend on preceding *aspectu*. So too he is equally ingenious and right in changing the meaningless line, VIII 286, into

perque ratio supplex iterum vexilla magistris,

where by *vexilla* he understands the flags used for signalling orders through the fleet. Cf. Seneca Agam. 448 seq. Best of all is his correction, in II 201-2, of the impossible *ingens Thraca palus* into *angens Thraca palus*, with reference to the shallow Propontis, which hems in, as it were, the Thracian people. Very amusing is his defence of the text in VIII 230 *fessum Iunonia sustinet Hebe* against the wild absurdity of Bährens's conjecture *fessum Iuno iam destinat Hebae*. And he winds up his attack upon Bährens by a triumphant defence of the beautiful passage in II 556-564 against changes by which both beauty and sense would be destroyed. Here the method and the result of a sound conservative criticism are admirably exemplified. In conclusion, K. reasserts his own claim to have discovered and announced the practice of alliteration as an element in Latin poetry, and its value as a guide to criticism.

Polybius gives, II, cc. 17-35, the story of the Gallic invasion of Italy, first a rapid narration of events down to 225 B. C., and then a detailed account of the decisive years 225-222. For the latter part, his authority is admitted to have been the Roman, Fabius Pictor; but, for the former part, there has always been a question whether he followed Roman or Greek authorities, and, if Greek, who they were. On this question, Unger, as against Th. Mommsen, maintains, in a learned and clearly written essay, pp. 69-90, that his authorities were certainly not Roman, but Greek; and that furthermore, instead of following a single authority, Polybius compiled from two Greek authorities which are at times inconsistent with each other. The non-Roman origin of Polybius' statements about the earlier invasion is proved by the facts that he leaves out many highly colored stories of Roman victories, that the count of years is inconsistent with Roman chronology, and that the tone is often unfriendly to Rome and friendly to the barbarians. The further fact that Polybius compiled, and compiled carelessly, from two independent Greek authorities is proved by certain inconsistencies in the chronology and geography of the events recounted. This line of proof is worked out with spirit and insight. It leads to the conclusion that, for the first part of his narrative, Polybius followed Timaeus himself; but that, for the second part he followed Silenus of Kalakte, a friend and partisan of Hannibal, friendly to the Gauls, as allies of Carthage. The argument here is ingenious, but too slight to be fully convincing. According, then, to Unger's theory, the Gallic section of Polybius breaks into three distinct parts: (1) cc. 17-20, based on Timaeus; (2) cc. 21-23, 4, based on Silenus, and (3) cc. 23, 5-35, based on Fabius Pictor.

The tangled chronology of the obscure period between the death of Alexander and the end of his generals' wars, 323-306 B. C., has been the despair of successive historians. It is made once more the subject of a searching examination by Reuss, in his tedious and badly arranged essay on 'die Chronologie der Diadochenzeit,' pp. 91-112. In general, he disputes the conclusions of Unger, and maintains those of Droysen; and he strives to prove that Diodoros, our chief authority, in following his own authority, the correct and scrupulous Hieronymus of Cardia, treated questions of chronology with gross carelessness, fixing the beginnings of each year and the events of each year with utter lack of insight and of self-consistency. The proof is so badly worked out that it cannot be enjoyed, can hardly be understood, except by the few that have made special studies in this uninviting field of history. As interesting results of his argument, it may be noted that the authority of Cornelius Nepos, who drew directly and carefully from Hieronymus, is vindicated against the sneer of Unger; that the funeral-procession and burial of Alexander is put forward to at least the February of 321; that the death of Antipater took place not in 318 but in 319; that the death of Olympias must have preceded the death of Eumenes, and that Eumenes himself died, not in 315, but on 20th January 316.

The number, the mode of appointment and the duties of the Athenian secretaries (*γραμματεῖς*) is the subject of a somewhat confused essay by Gilbert, pp. 131-147. His facts are taken from the Attic Inscriptions, brought down to the latest discoveries. His argument is directed against certain parts of Böckh's theory, as adopted by Schömann and upheld in later treatises by Schäfer and Hille. The theory of Böckh is founded upon the direct statement of Pollux,

supposed to be taken from a lost work of Aristotle. But Gilbert shows that the statement of Pollux, in this part, is opposed to the facts revealed in the inscriptions, and that, instead of coming from Aristotle, it comes from a misunderstanding of Demosthenes XXIV 42 and 63. According to Gilbert's own view, ὁ γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς was one and the same officer with ὁ γραμματεὺς ὁ κατὰ πρυτανείαν. The one or the other title was used, even in the same document, according to the circumstances of the case. He was appointed, probably not by lot but by election, for a month at a time, and from a phylé that did not hold the prytany for that month. But, as he could be re-elected, he might be continued in office indefinitely. His duties were the recording and publication of public documents, and the care of the state-archives. He was aided in his duties by ὑπογραμματεῖς. This system lasted down to 322 B. C. From that time on to the end of the century, there was another independent officer, called ἀναγραφεὺς, charged specially with the record, by inscriptions, etc., of public documents. After that, the system of one γραμματεὺς, called γρ. τοῦ δήμου, lasted on into Roman times. The existence of a third secretary, as stated by Pollux, with the sole function of reading documents before the δῆμος, cannot be proved and is not probable. (See below, p. 137).

In Greek criticism, it is proved by Schanz, p. 32, that in Sextus Empiricus, Codex C. (Cizensis), used by Bekker in his edition, is only a bad copy of Codex R. (Regiomontanus), without critical value.

In Euripides, Vitelli, at p. 164, proposes a new plan for getting rid of the old trouble in Med. vv. 11-12. He changes τέκνοισιν ἀνδάνουσα μέν into τέκνοις χάνδάνουσα μέν, and takes the ὦν after πόλιτῶν as possessive, instead of relative, pronoun. He overlooks the fact, which is fatal to his interpretation, that the words form part of the unreal apodosis. The nurse is picturing not what is, but what might have been, had not the Argo sailed.

In Plato, Liebhöf, at pp. 165-170, proposes ten changes of text in books VIII and X of the Republic. Of these some are plausible; others are warning examples of unwise tampering with the words and thoughts of a great writer. In VIII 543, B, the change from οἶαι ἔσονται αὐτοῖς to ὅτι κοιναὶ ἔσονται αὐτοῖς is needless and disfiguring. It involves the confusion, so common among German critics, of the relative with the interrogative clause. Very bad too is the proposed change in VIII 544, D, of ἀνθρώπων εἶδη τσαῦτα τρόπων—ὅσαπερ καὶ πολιτειῶν to ἀνθρώπων εἶδη καὶ τρόπων. This destroys the balance of the sentence, and the parallelism of τρόπων and πολιτειῶν both limited by the preceding ἀνθρώπων. In VIII 566, C, he gravely proposes to destroy the witty innuendo of Plato's οὐ γὰρ ἂν δεύτερον αὐθις αἰδεσθεῖν by changing αἰδεσθεῖν into οἰκισθεῖν! In X 601, C, in proposing to change ἡμίσεως into μιμήσεως, he raises the old question whether the form ἡμίσεως as genitive exists in Attic. In X 675, A, he is probably right in restoring the δει which, though needed for the sense, has fallen out before διηγῆσασθαι. In X 609, C, the change of the unmeaning ὥδε ποιεῖ into ὥδε που οἶει gives a good sense by a small change of text. In VIII 551, C, he succeeds by minute changes in converting loose, conversational sentences into closely knit grammatical ones; but this looseness in grammar is often part of Plato's dramatic method. His best conjecture is made in respect of the famous passage in VIII 550, E, ὥσπερ—ῥέποντα. The ῥέποντα, already changed by Madvig into ῥέποντε, he now changes into ῥέποντα, so as to agree

with *ἀρετή*. This brings out the conditional force of the participle as *epodosis* to *κειμένον ἑκατέρου*. By one change more, by restoring the *ἀν* dropt out after *τοῖναντιον*, the construction and the sense would become altogether free from perplexity.

In Demosthenes, Wecklein, at pp. 170-173, gives us four suggestions that seem the most valuable part of this number of the *Philologus*. In VIII § 22, by the apt comparison of Soph. El. 678, he so changes the interpretation, without touching the text, as to make the sense much richer and more appropriate. *οὔτε τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν πράττειν ἐθέλομεν* means, he argues, 'we are not willing to mind our own affairs' = 'we are not willing to give up foreign politics, to be content with political insignificance in Greece.' The context makes this sense almost certain. In VI § 16, from the reading *τοῖς ἐκείνων ἐχθροῖς συνεχῶς ἐναντιοῦσθαι* he proposes to drop the *ἐχθροῖς* as repeated from § 15. By this we gain the true view of Philip's selfish policy as denounced by Dem. He means, 'in spite of present appearances, I do not at all believe that Philip will be permanently hostile to the interests of the Thebans.' By this change the obscure passage becomes luminous in meaning. In IV 43, *πάντ' εἶχειν οἶοιτε καλῶς*, again by comparing Soph. Ant. 498 and Eur. Med. 570, he proposes to improve both sense and construction by leaving out *καλῶς*. Here both turns of thought are so good that Dem. might well have used either: there seems no adequate reason for the change. Finally, in VIII 62, *ὅσα τοῖς Ὀλυνθίοις πρότερον δοῦν Ποτίδαιαν ἐξηπάτησε καὶ πόλλ' ἕτερα*, he proposes to leave out, as a foolish gloss, *Ποτίδαιαν καὶ π. ε.* The *ὅσα* is object not to *ἐξηπάτησε* but to *δοῦν*. Both sense and balance of construction require that Dem. should lay stress not on the magnitude of the deception, but on the magnitude of the gifts by which the deception was accomplished. Here Wecklein has evidently hit the truth and gives us back Demosthenes' own thought. These four criticisms show the hand of a master.

In Plato's Protagoras, the apparent inconsistency between Socrates' argument against the possibility of teaching *ἀρετή* and the Socratic doctrine as presented in Gorgias and elsewhere, has long distressed students of Platonism. On this point, von Kleist, in advocacy of Bonitz's theory, now comes forward with a long essay, pp. 1-32, often obscure and over-subtle, but rich in thought and suggestion. According to him, the Protagoras is not ethical at all, nor designed to establish any objective truth on the point discussed, but an essay in cunning dialectics, designed to teach by examples the difference between true and false logic in research. Its value is, therefore, as evidence of Plato's knowledge of the formal logic. The superiority of Socrates over Protagoras is seen in the ability of the one, the inability of the other, to use either the inductive or the deductive method with formal correctness. Full of interest and even of fun is the picture of Socrates' skill in using the syllogism, in fallacious forms of undistributed middle, to bewilder his unskilful adversary. Socrates is shown to be a perfect master in the logical arts of forming definitions and framing syllogisms. The truth or falsehood of the views expressed by the great debaters is matter of indifference; the accuracy of Socrates, and the shuffling inaccuracy of Protagoras, in the processes of reasoning are used by Plato to demonstrate the superiority of the Socratic method over those of the pretentious sophists.

Against the old traditions that connect the name of Pythagoras with the 'wisdom of the Egyptians,' as the disciple of Egyptian sages, and the disseminator of Egyptian doctrines, Gladisch makes, pp. 113-130, an earnest and very learned protest in his essay 'die Aegyptische Entstellung des Pythagoras.' He is the author of that singular book *Die alten Chinesen und die Pythagoreer*, 1865, and he leads this essay up to the support of his whim that, since Pythagoras did not draw his doctrine from Egypt, he drew it from China, along the great caravan-route through Central Asia. But, in spite of this hobby-riding, the essay is full of interest and of value. False traditions, according to his view, grew up in later ages as to the origin and nature of Pythagoras' doctrines from a wide-spread confusion of Pythagoras with Empedocles. Thus, as against Zeller, Gladisch tries to prove, by the authority of Aristoxenos of Tarentum, who represents the genuine tradition of the real Pythagoras, that the doctrine of transmigration of souls was never taught by Pythagoras at all, but by Empedocles. So too the avoidance of animal food formed no part of either the doctrine or the practice of Pythagoras. Very curious is the proof afforded by the advance of Aegyptology that the peculiar tenets of Pythagoras, the significance of numbers and of music as symbols of the cosmic harmony, were not contained in the system of Egyptian philosophy. Curious, if not convincing, is the attempted derivation of these doctrines from the ancient philosophic literature of the Chinese. According to Gladisch, the followers of Pythagoras were divided in the philosophic language of the Greeks into three classes, Πυθαγόρειοι, Πυθαγορικοί and Πυθαγορισταί. The first were the true disciples of Pythagoras himself: the second and third classes were the followers of Empedocles, who exaggerated his doctrine of transmigration and of vegetarianism into the form that excited the laugh of the later comedy. Aristotle, for example, speaks with contempt of Πυθαγορικοί, but with reverence of Πυθαγόρειοι. If Gladisch be right (p. 119), we have to reconstruct our ideas of history so far as to take into our minds a Pythagoras who, so far from forbidding the eating of beans, was uncommonly fond of them, and who, so far from eschewing all flesh, was especially addicted to the enjoyment of shote.

THOS. R. PRICE.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOGIE UND PAEDAGOGIK. Fleckeisen und Masius. 1880.

I.

1. (1-22) The composition of the groups in the Aeginetan Pediments by Docent L. Julius of Munich. C. Lange (see *Am. Jour. Phil.* I 374) endeavored to show that there were originally two additional standing spearmen in each pediment, and that to the moisture of the earth, after the statues had fallen, was to be ascribed the corrosion on which great stress had been laid as determining which side had been exposed to the weather and thus to which pediment the statue belonged, the situation of the statue in the pediment as well as the connection of fragments. J. calls attention to the effect of the weather on the sculptures of the Theseum and Parthenon, of which the latter, like the Aeginetan, are of Parian marble. Moreover, as the statues were buried three

feet deep they should have been affected by the earth equally on all sides. All the peculiarities of corrosion can be explained by the protection afforded by other statues or other parts of the same statue, by their inclination toward the roof or the wall of the pediment. Moreover, the space does not allow of the addition of the proposed two figures. The fragments which cannot be assigned to any of the statues of the group as now constituted, may have belonged to statues which stood near the temple. A catalogue is given of the fragments in the Munich Museum.

2. (22-24) Professor Rohde of Tübingen points out from Simplicius that the story of an eagle dropping a tortoise upon a bald man's head was as old as Democritus. R. supposes this to have been transferred to Aeschylus simply because of the poet's baldness.

3. (24-26) A. Daub of Freiburg offers emendations to Suidas' dates in the lives of Anaximenes and Anacreon.

4. (27-31) Professor Hultsch of Dresden determines the worth of the denarius of Diocletian, the standard of prices in the emperor's edict in 301 *de pretiis rerum venalium*, as equal to .02538 mark or 3.133 centimes. There were 36000 denarii to the gold pound as 36000 obols in a talent.

5. (31-32) Professor E. A. Richter of Altenburg desires to read *aperte* for *ante* in Cicero *de imperio Cn. Pompeii*, 13, 37.

6. (33-34) Notice by Professor E. Petersen (Prague) of Curtius' *The Excavations at Olympia III*. The work and discoveries of the winter and spring, 1877-78.

7. (44-48) Docent Conrad Lacher of Halle rejects Clemm's etymology of *προσελέω* (Aesch. *Prom.* 437, Arist. *Frogs* 730) from *προ-εσ-ελέω* (= *εἰλέω*), and supposes from the root *par* (*πορεῖω*) to be derived fuller forms *pru*, *prus*, meaning *penetrating* (cf. *διαπρίσιος*), **προυνσελος*, *painful*. Thence *προυνσελέω*.

8. (49-69) Critical notice by Professor R. Förster (Rostock) of Gardthausen's *Greek Palaeography*.

9. (69-70) H. Rönsch of Lobenstein presents evidence from the *Itala* of the loss of final *t* in verb-forms.

10. (71-80) Professor A. Eussner of Würzburg gives a commendatory notice of Ulrich's *Commentatio de vita et honoribus Taciti*.

II.

11. (81-106) *Protagorea*, by H. Müller-Strübing of London. In Aristoph. *Birds* 1072, the interpreters generally have understood by *Διαγόραν τὸν Μῆλιον*, the well-known atheist who was the contemporary of Pindar and Bacchylides. But he had left Athens and had been put under the ban long before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war. In the *Birds*, reference must be made to some one whom the name of Diagoras would call to the mind of every spectator. This was Protagoras. The accepted belief that he was driven from Athens during the rule of the Four Hundred rests solely upon an unnecessary interpretation of Diogenes Laertius. The Four Hundred had more than enough to do with the things of this world; they had no time to concern themselves with

philosophers and their theories *περὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ περὶ τῶν μεταρσίων*. (The case of Socrates and the Thirty was different.) In 415 the Athenians were at actual peace. *Διαγόρας ὁ Μήλιος* had become a generic name for atheist, as is shown by Aristophanes' expression *Σωκράτης ὁ Μήλιος* (Clouds 835). This same generic name, M-S believes, was here applied to Protagoras, but the original text was not understood and was corrected. *Πρωταγόρας ὁ Μήλιος* would be too simple an emendation. That hardly could have confused a copyist and would have been looked upon by the spectators as a worn-out joke. We may conjecture that the poet wrote *Διαγόραν τὸν Τήιον*, as Eupolis called Protagoras *Τήιος*, (and we may trust Eupolis that there was some good joke in assigning him to that island; the very use of the epithet shows that this was not his real home, as the comic poets add this designation only to prevent confusion). Of course the grammarians would leave uncorrected no such obvious blunder as *Διαγ. τὸν Τήιον* would seem to them; hence our present text. On the strength of this altered text, the text of Diodorus, or even of Ephorus whom he followed, may have been changed, for in Diod. Sic. XIII, 6, *Diagoras*, as Fritzsche rightly conjectures, is confounded with Protagoras. M-S also considers it probable that Protagoras is meant by *Aristagoras*, Schol. on Clouds 830. Remarks follow on the ridicule of the mysteries by the *ἐρμωκοπίδαι*, and on the parody on all religious ceremonies in the Birds where Pallas seems to be intended by the *βασίλεια*.

12. (106-108) Professor H. Flach of Tübingen. One word more on Suidas' lists of the Sibyls.

13. (108-112) Notice by Professor Menge (Gross-Glogau) of Heiberg's *Quaestiones Archimedae*; a dissertation which authorizes the confident expectation that the edition of Archimedes which Heiberg is preparing will satisfy the demands of modern philology.

14. (113-119) J. H. C. Schubart of Capel opposes the view that *ἀγαλμα* Paus. VII 5, 5, could mean a *raft* and not the god's statue. In Paus. I 27, 4, S. would read *Εὐήρις* and *Λυσιμάχη*. This statuette is not identical with the statue by Demetrius mentioned by Pliny XXXIV 76.

15. (119-120) Richard Arnoldt of Königsberg offers three conjectural emendations to Julian's orations.

16. (120) F. Rühl of Königsberg reads *Φιλαδέλφον καλουμένον* for *Φ. καὶ* in Athen. V 196 A.

17. (121) *Marginalia* to Plautus' *Curculio* by Emil Baehrens of Groningen. To these are added (121-124) other notes on the same play by Professor Fleck-eisen of Dresden.

18. (125-135) K. P. Schulze of Berlin reviews Catullus rec. Ellis, 1878.

19. (135) Max Nietzki of Königsberg in Catullus LV 11 fg. reads *nudum sinum recludens*.

20. (136) W. H. Roscher of Meissen in Caesar's *Bellum Civile* III 32, 3 inserts *singuli* after *singulis*.

21. (137-147) W. Friedrich of Mühlhausen on Cicero's *Brutus* and *Orator*.

22. (147-148) Professor Rühl of Königsberg opposes the view of Mommsen (see *Am. Jour. Phil.* I 380) that Porcia, the famed wife of M. Brutus, was not the daughter but the wife of Cato Uticensis, and was already fifty years old when she married Brutus. The testimony as to her father is unanimous. She may have contracted her marriage with Bibulus at an early age, as was not infrequent at Rome. Then when she married Brutus she would be not fifty but at most thirty years old, cf. *Plut. Brut. XIII κόρην οὖσαν ἐτι*.

23. (149-152) Professor Dombart of Erlangen makes critical remarks to three passages in his edition of Augustine, *de civitate dei*.

The paedagogical section of this number contains (65-78) an essay by Professor Conrad Hermann of Leipzig (son of Gottfried Hermann) in opposition to the prevailing view that ancient verse can be understood only from the standpoint of rhythmic. The relation of the artistic metrical form of the language to the rhythmic musical accompaniment was not the same in antiquity as in our time. As we succeed better in painting and music, so the ancients were more successful in sculpture and verse-formation, for which the climate and the language were with them most favorable. The metrical accent or verse-ictus is originally nothing but the common word-accent, and it is absolutely false to confound this with musical pitch which regularly and organically had nothing to do with language. The interrogative raising of the voice is an exception. Syllables may be longer or shorter, louder or softer, but not, in language, of higher or lower pitch, which belongs specifically to music in distinction from speech. The rhythmic element is considered in the purely metrical construction of the strophe; there is also an agreement between metrical and musical rhythm, brought about by the principle of pauses and of lengthening long and shortening short syllables. But the musical rhythm is only accessory to the metrical form which is decisive in every strophic composition. Hermann ends as he began with his father's words: *Metricam artem nondum satis esse explicatam*.

III.

24. (153-178) Professor O. Schneider of Gotha († Mar. 28, 1880). Twenty Emendations to Aristophanes. E. g. *Achar. 25 ἐθοντες* for *ἐλθόντες*. *Thesm. 24 προσμάθουν* (rarer form of the optative) *μή* for *προσμάθοιμι*. 236 *ἐκκίψας* for *ἐγκίψας*. 239 *ἐτι κύπτε* for *ἐπικύπτε*. *Clouds 963 φωνὴν γρήζοντος μηδὲν ἀκοῦσαι | ἐν ταῖσιν ὁδοῖς· εἰτα βαδίζειν εὐτάκτως . . | τοὺς κωμήτας ἀθρόους γυμνοῖς*.

25. (178-182) Professor E. Hiller of Halle, on the Birds of Aristophanes. *τὴν ὁδὸν ταύτην, 12*, refers to the path on which Euelpides had just suffered a tumble. The four single birds which appear 267-286, probably to serve as musicians, are adorned with crests (291 *ἡ λόφωσις ἡ τῶν ὀρνέων*) and may be supposed to have occupied elevated positions (cf. *ὀροβάτης*) which in jest were called *λόφοι* (cf. 279) with punning reference to the plumed crests which they wore.

26. (182-184) Dr. Th. Büttner-Wobst of Dresden would read in Gellius IV 1, 1 *Grammaticae rei peritior* (for *ditior*) (cf. XVI 10, 2 *Grammaticae rei peritus*). XIII 15 *magistratus ratus et iustus* for *magistratus set iustus* (cf. *Cic. de leg. III 3 quodque is qui bellum geret imperasset, ius ratumque esto*). XIII 16, 1 *nec advocare ab eo alii possunt, si contionem habere volunt, uti ne cum populo agat*.

27. (184) Dr. Heinr. Deiter of Emden gives the gleanings from a new collation of the Leyden codex Vossianus 86 of Martial.

28. (185-188) Professor A. von Gutschmid of Tübingen reviews Studies on the History of Semitic Religions by Wolf Wilhelm Graf Baudissin. Second part, Leipzig, 1878. The author is highly praised for his learning, caution, freedom from prejudice, reliability of citations, strictly methodical criticism, clear statement of the problems and results. The first essay is on the Old Testament idea of holiness. *Qbdesh* means properly *separate* (from what is common and unclean). The second essay is on holy waters, trees and hills among the Semitic races. These races saw in fountains and rivers only a figure of the life-giving power of the heavenly gods. Even the Phœnician worship of Poseidon he does not consider an exception. So in Melikertes he sees only the sun-god ruling over the sea. So he considers Dagon as perhaps a god of the sky, and later (though at an early period) transferred to the sea. So the trees are a manifestation of the life-power *in* the earth proceeding from the divinity *above* the earth. The sanctity of hills and mountains points most directly to the celestial nature of the Semitic gods.

29. (189-202) Dr. F. v. Stojentin of Breslau. The Senate's *γράμματεῖς* and the *ἀντιγραφεῖς* in Pollux and Harpocration. He calls attention to the danger of neglecting the grammarians' statements, though the material of the C. I. A. saves from some errors which were inevitable to Boeckh. S. insists on three clerks: *γραμματεὺς τῆς βουλῆς, — τῆς πόλεως, — κατὰ πρυτανείαν*. (See above, p. 131).

30. (203-216) Dr. Theod. Opitz of Dresden. Critical notes on the text of Florus. O. supports the authority of the Jordanis and Nazarianus codices against the Bamberg. Dr. Meiser of Munich adds four conjectures to Florus and considers how far proper names with Greek case endings are to be admitted.

IV.

31. (217-230) Docent Karl Brugman of Leipzig on the verb *φέρω* which Nauck derives from *ποίημι*, Curtius from root *bher* (*φερ*). Rejecting the former's root and the latter's arguments B. sets out from *bher*, to carry, and thus explains *επιφέρειν*, *ἐκφέρειν* κτλ., also an aor. ind. *ἔφην*. Since this verb in meaning is much like the entirely distinct *ἵμι* e. g. *εἰσῆμι* almost equals *εἰσφέρειν* the two words were confused, and after the analogy of *ἵμι* the forms *φῆς*, *φῆσθαι* κτλ. were created. Parallel examples are given from the German, and we are reminded of *ἡρίσταμεν* and *ἀριστάναι* which the Attic comic poets used for *ἡριστήκαμεν* κτλ.

32. (231-247) Dr. A. Viertel of Königsberg on Petrarch's discovery of Cicero's letters. V. and Professor Voigt of Leipzig had written simultaneously against the hitherto prevailing view that Petrarch discovered both collections of letters, the letters to Brutus, Quintus and Atticus, at Verona in 1345, and later the letters *ad familiares* at Vercelli. Voigt and Viertel agree that Petrarch found only the first collection and was ignorant of the other's existence. Hence the copy thought to be in Petrarch's handwriting, in the Laurentian library at Florence, cannot be his, and thus falls the evidence for P.'s hand in the other collection. As citations from Cicero's letters are found in some of Petrarch's letters which were written surely before 1345, and as the date of the discovery

is fixed by P. himself, it is probable that P.'s letters were revised and rewritten. The suggestion is offered that the *situations* in some of the letters are wholly fictitious. Especially may this be true with regard to the letter relating his discussion in Vicenza concerning Cicero. For the criticism of the text is noteworthy the view that, besides the Veronese archetype of C.'s letters, there existed another MS, from which the gaps of the Mediceus were filled, containing the letters to Brutus and Quintus and seven or eight books of the letters to Atticus. This Bruni must have applied to the correction of the Mediceus. These probably are the corrections marked *al*.

33. (247) Emil Glaser of Giessen cites Propertius III 32, 59 fg., 73 fg. and Apuleius Apol. X to show that Vergil's second eclogue was not intended as a simple Theocritean study nor as a poem of serious love.

34. (248) Professor J. Arnøldt of Gumbinnen would 'bracket' *fatali* in Velleius II 49, 1 (or 48, 6).

35. (249-258) Professor Moriz Schmidt of Jena on the tenth Satire of Horace's first book. H.'s satires had to meet a threefold attack. Some, accustomed to the artistic imitation of Greek models, doubted whether this unpretending chit-chat, though in hexameter verse, had a right to the name of poetry. Others called the poet a *lividus, mordax, niger*, who to raise a laugh would put his best friend in the stocks. But while H. went too far to please this second class of critics, he did not go far enough for the *aretologi*. To defend himself against these was the end and occasion of our satire. Analyzing the satire we see that verses 1-19 belong together, so 38-72, so 73-142, but there is no real connection between these last mentioned sections. The connection of 20-37 is still more obscure. The following order is confidently proposed: 1-19, 38-72, 29-37, 20, 24-28, 21-23, 73-142. Then the last 105 verses are in the best of order (emending 20 and 25) and the poet himself is speaking as in 1-19. But two words, *quid tu?* are left for the *aliquis* of 19. The misplacement in our MSS. of 20-37 indicates an original MS. of which each page contained nine hexameters divided in two columns. We may suppose that one leaf and thus eighteen verses have been lost which Horace put into the mouth of the *aliquis*.

36. (259-263) Professor A. Riese of Frankfurt adds to the MSS. collations in his edition of the Anthologia Latina.

37. (263-264) Professor Hultsch of Dresden remarks that in his Metrologici Scriptores II, p. 52 (Varro de re rustica) we should read *haec posita* (for *postea*) *centum centuria*, and it is noted that in all likelihood Varro's centuria (2400 feet square) was the normal measure for the Roman camp as described by Polybius, and no less for the camp of the imperial period.

38. (265-288) Emil Baehrens of Groningen, Studies in the Germania of Tacitus. After seven pages on the MS. foundation of our text (he is convinced that the Hummelianus is a direct copy by a German hand of the old Herzfeld [or Fulda] archetype) follow emendations.

39. (288) Professor Hultsch on the Fragmentum Censorino adscriptum.

T. D. SEYMOUR.

ARCHIV FÜR MITTEL- U. NEUGRIECHISCHE PHILOGIE. Herausgegeben von
MICHAEL DEFFNER. Athen, 1880. 25fr.

I desire to call especial attention to this publication, which is in the editorial care of Professor Deffner of the University of Athens, who has done so much for Greek dialectology, and whose studies of the Tsakonian dialect, a variant of the greatest interest to the philologist, constitute the most important part of this volume of the 'Archiv.' The simple story of Professor Deffner's heroic work for the last eleven years—his 'Neo-græca' bears date 1871—touches other than philological chords and gives this volume a pathetic interest. While much space is yielded to linguistic, the scope of the 'Archiv' is wide, and embraces the whole life of Greece for the mediæval and modern period. A detailed account of the 'Archiv' promised by a contributor to this journal has failed to reach me in time for this issue, and I wish it were in my power to make up by emphasis for the brevity of this notice, as the fate of the 'Archiv' may depend on the interest evoked among the friends of Hellenic philology outside of Greece. In the disturbed condition of the kingdom, help cannot be expected from the government, with its resources taxed to the utmost by the recent preparations for war. It would be a noble use of money, if some American Philhellenist would at once secure the pecuniary support of the undertaking.

B. L. G.

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I.—THE NEW REVISION OF KING JAMES' REVISION OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE PREVIOUS ENGLISH VERSIONS AND REVISIONS AND OF THE STATE AND TREATMENT OF THE GREEK TEXT.

In the preparation of this paper the following works were chiefly consulted, and their statements are often given with the language unchanged: *History of the English Bible*, B. F. Westcott, D. D., 12mo, 2d ed., London, 1872; *The English Bible: a Critical History of the various English Translations*, John Eadie, D. D., 2 vols., 8vo, London, 1876; *Michaelis' Introduction to the New Testament, translated from the German with Notes, etc.*, Herbert Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough, 6 vols., 8vo, 4th ed., London, 1823; *Bibliotheca Sacra seu Syllabus omnium ferme S. S. Editionum ac Versionum Jacobi Le Long*, II Partes, 8vo, Parisiis, 1709; *An Introduction to the Criticism of the Old Testament*, John Ayre, M. A., 8vo, London, 1860; *The Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*, S. P. Tregelles, LL. D., 8vo, London, 1854; *An Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament*, F. H. Scrivener, M. A., LL. D., 8vo, 2d ed., London, 1874.

For the first entire Bible in English we are indebted to John de Wycliffe, who was educated at the University of Oxford, and was Master of Balliol College in 1361. A certain sort of preparatory work, however, had in God's providence already been done. Caedmon embodied the historical part of the Scriptures in the alliterative metre of the Anglo-Saxon poetry; Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherborne, in the VIIth century translated the Psalter; the venerable Bede

translated the Gospel of St. John; Alfred the Great translated the four chapters of Exodus, xx-xxiii, as the basis of his laws, rendered portions of the Bible and some of the Psalms for the use of his own children; and a tradition exists, but only a tradition, that he translated the whole Bible. There is an Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospels interlinear with the Latin of the Vulgate, the Durham book, which is known to belong to the IXth or the Xth century; there is another of the same date in the Bodleian Library, called the Rushworth Gloss; there is another of somewhat later date in the Bodleian, and in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; we have the famous Ormulum, a metrical paraphrase of the Gospels, which is assigned to the latter half of the XIIth century; there is a prose translation into Norman French of about 1260, as if meant for the higher classes and perhaps for the court itself; three separate versions of the Psalms, that portion of the Bible which has always been most dear to the English people, were made in these early days: one toward the close of the XIIIth century, a second by Schorham about 1320, and the third by Richard Rolle, Chantry priest of Hampole, about 1349. All these parts of the Bible were made from the Latin Vulgate as well as the entire Bible of Wycliffe. The New Testament of Wycliffe, the greater part of which seems to have been his personal work, was finished about 1382. The translation of the Old Testament was undertaken by his friend Nicholas de Hereford, Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, an excellent scholar, and carried as far as Baruch iii. 20, and the remainder is ascribed to Wycliffe, who died in 1384. Wycliffe's work was very close to the Latin, and, like the Latin itself, sometimes smooth and happy, and again rough and obscure; Hereford's work was still more literal and rough. The Wycliffite translation therefore needed revision to make it smooth and consistent, which was accomplished about 1388 by the careful and patient labor of John Purvey, the curate and intimate friend of Wycliffe. Purvey has given such an account of his method of revision as shows him to have been an exact scholar, and this method, carried further in the subsequent revisions, has given the English Bible some of its best characteristics. The New Testament proper of Wycliffe was printed by Lea Wilson in 1848, his Four Gospels by Bosworth and Waring in 1865, and at length in 1850, about 500 years after it was translated, the whole Bible, both in the translation and the revision, was printed at Oxford in 4 vols., 4to, edited by Forshall and Madden after a comparison of 170 MSS.,

on which they had bestowed the labor of twenty-two years. A reprint of the New Testament of this edition was made by the Clarendon Press in 12mo in 1879, under the care of Mr. Walter Skeat. The influence of the Wycliffite versions, as they are now designated, on the subsequent English Bibles is thought by some scholars to have been only traditional and indirect, and even the Rheims translators are supposed not to have used them. But there are many remarkable coincidences between these and all the subsequent versions as well as the Rheims, and the matter of their connection with Wycliffe still needs to be critically investigated. So much for the first MS. English Bible from the Latin.

The first printed English New Testament from the original Greek was a work accomplished by William Tyndale in 1525. For in the meantime the entire Greek New Testament had been printed, and the great honor of first doing this belongs to the illustrious Roman Cardinal, Francis Ximenes of Spain. He was educated at Alcala and Salamanca, and specially studied the Oriental languages and divinity in his retirement at Castanel. He enjoyed the favor of Queen Isabella of Castile, and was made Archbishop of Toledo in 1498; he devoted the large revenue of his see to the worthiest objects, one of his first acts being the establishment of the celebrated University of Alcala. In 1502 he projected the Polyglot Bible known as the *Complutensian*, from *Complutum*, the ancient name of Alcala, where it was printed. It is in 6 vols., folio, the 5th vol. containing the New Testament, in double columns of the Greek and the Vulgate Latin on each page, being completed Jan. 10, 1514. This portion is carefully printed, the practised eyes of Dr. Scrivener having detected only fifty errors of the press. The Greek type is round and bold, and not unlike that of the Florentine and Milan press of that period; the Latin is printed in an elegant Gothic character. The Cardinal himself directed the work, for the execution of which he gathered as many MSS. as he could procure, and invited the coöperation of learned men, as Alphonso, Coronel, and Zamisa, Jewish proselytes, for the Hebrew; and Lopez de Stunica, Antonio of Lebrixa, Ducas of Crete, and Ferdinand of Valladolid, for the Greek. The expense of the work, which was said to have been 50,000 ducats or about £23,000, was defrayed from the income of the Archbishop himself. The entire work, consisting of 600 copies, was printed by 1517. The editors of this edition of the New Testament do not describe the MSS. they used, and though the Cardinal in his dedication to Leo X. acknowledges

the loan of MSS. from the Vatican, yet the readings and the peculiarities of the forms of the words show that the MSS. used were of the Xth century downward, and there is no evidence that any MS. of high antiquity, as *Codex B* or *Vaticanus*, was employed. This text never came into general use, and has had but small influence on subsequent editions.

Though the New Testament was printed, as we have said, in 1514, the Pope's license for its publication was not granted till March 22, 1520. In the meantime another edition was *first published*. Froben, the printer of Bâle, having heard of the Cardinal's edition, wished to anticipate its appearance, and knowing that Erasmus, who was at that time in England, had paid attention to the Greek MSS., he proposed to him, April 17, 1515, to edit the Greek Testament without delay. He undertook it, and in six months, March 1, 1516, it was completed and immediately published: *præcipitum fuit verius quam editum*, Erasmus himself says of it. This edition, as well as his others that followed, was in folio and very handsomely printed. It contained Erasmus' revision of the Latin Vulgate standing by the Greek in a parallel column, and also his annotations. Oecolampadius, afterward somewhat famous as a Lutheran, read the proof-sheets, but Froben's hot haste allowed him to do this office only very imperfectly. The MSS. which Erasmus used are still at Bâle, but with a single exception they were neither ancient nor particularly valuable. His *Codex Apoc.* 1 being mutilated in the last six verses, Erasmus himself turned these into Greek from the Vulgate, and some portions of his translation thus made still cleave to our *received text*. In 1518-19 (the edition bears both dates) he published more leisurely his second edition, correcting many of the misprints and amending not a few readings. In 1522, in exceedingly handsome style, he put forth his third edition, famous as the first one in which he consented to introduce the text of the Three Heavenly Witnesses, which he did from a Dublin MS. of the XVIth century, and which had previously appeared in the Complutensian as a translation from the Vulgate, which Stunica, one of the editors of the Complutensian, virtually confessed. In this third edition Erasmus made many improvements. In March 1527 he published his fourth edition with the text in three parallel columns, the Greek, the Latin Vulgate, and his own revision of it. He had now for the first time seen the Complutensian, and availed himself of its aid to improve his own work, especially in the Apocalypse. In 1535, the year before his

death at Bâle, he published his fifth edition, omitting the Latin Vulgate and making only slight changes in the Greek text. This work of Erasmus was the basis of many editions that followed. We pass over the *Graeca Biblia*, folio, 1518, Venice, from the celebrated press of Aldus, which professes to be grounded on ancient MSS. In this volume the LXX. appeared for the first time, but in the New Testament Aldus seems to follow the first edition of Erasmus even to the *errata*; and if any MSS. were consulted, we do not know what they were nor how they were employed.

It had now become possible to have a Bible founded on the Hebrew of the Old Testament and on the Greek of the New. In 1488 the Hebrew Bible entire had been first printed at Socino in Italy, where Hebrew was indeed cultivated, but Germany was rather considered as its home. The Hebrew could thus be used directly, and also indirectly through the close Latin version of Pagninus (4to, Lyons, 1527-28), and the freer translation of Münster (folio, Bâle, 1534-35). The knowledge of Greek, which was brought to Italy by Lascaris and other refugees from Constantinople at about this period, spread through Europe. It was pursued in Spain at the University of Alcalá about 1500; at Louvain in France about 1526; at Oxford in 1519; and at the same period in Germany and with great enthusiasm. In 1522 appeared Luther's New Testament from the Greek, and in 1534 his Old Testament from the Hebrew. In 1522, but before he could have heard of Luther's version, William Tyndale, who had been educated at the University of Oxford, had formed his purpose of translating the New Testament from the original. This he was compelled to undertake abroad, and when it was done he printed it at Cologne in 1525. He was, as is proved by his New Testament and portions of the Old, a competent Greek and Hebrew scholar. In making his version of the New Testament he rendered the Greek directly, with the help of the Vulgate, of the Latin revision of Erasmus, and of the German of Luther. He revised his work carefully in 1534 and again in 1535, making many important improvements as well as some very minute alterations that attest his scrupulous fidelity. He was engaged on this work while Luther was completing his own great labors in the same field. Tyndale was profoundly influenced by the great Reformer, and perhaps had personal intercourse with him at this period; for Sir Thomas More asserted, though without foundation, that Tyndale's work was a translation of Luther's. Of

the Old Testament he had translated the Pentateuch, which was published in 1531, and to the edition of the New Testament of 1534 he appended the Epistles from the Old Testament, beside which he did the book of Jonah, making about one-half of the Old Testament rendered by his own hand. So faithfully and learnedly was all this work done, that a true description of the forms of the English Bible since, is that they are revisions based on Tyndale's translation.

Miles Coverdale, born in Yorkshire, being fond of study, became attached to the Augustine Convent at Cambridge. He was admitted to priest's orders in 1514. He adopted the reformed views, but though he enjoyed the protection of Crumwell, the Prime Minister, he became alarmed for his own safety and fled to the Continent, where he may have met with Tyndale. Coverdale finished what Tyndale had begun. His translation and revision was made partly from the Hebrew and partly from the Zurich Bibles of 1524-29-39 and the Latin version of Pagninus; he also made use of Luther's translation and of the Vulgate. He himself describes his work as *faithfully translated out of Latin and Dutch* (German). Passing over Matthew's Bible, so-called, of 1537, which reprinted from Tyndale, with slight variations, the New Testament and the Pentateuch; from Coverdale, Ezra to Malachi and the Apocrypha; and from unknown sources in a new translation, the remaining books of the Old Testament from Joshua to 2d Chronicles, we come to the Great Bible of 1539, April 1540, and Nov. 1540, so designated as distinguished by its size from Matthew's and Coverdale's which preceded it. This work was a revision of Matthew's by Coverdale, and although it is commonly called Cranmer's Bible, yet the first of these three editions is properly called Crumwell's, because he arranged for the preparation and publication of it, which took place in Paris; the second is properly called Cranmer's, who, being favorable to Crumwell's undertaking, brought out a new edition in London, to which he himself contributed a preface; the third is properly called Tunstall and Heath's, who made a nominal revision of it at the instance of King Henry VIII. In 1534-35, as was intimated above, Sebastian Münster, Professor of Hebrew at Bâle, published a generally accurate Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible with notes from Rabbinical commentaries. It was by the aid of this work that Coverdale revised Matthew's Old Testament. The revision of the New Testament was more independent, and based on a careful study of the Vulgate and on

Erasmus' revision of the same. It cannot be without interest to note here that when the Prayer Book of the Church of England was last revised, in 1662, it was ordered that the other Lessons should be taken from King James' version, but that the Psalter, which had been taken from the Great Bible, should remain. King James' Psalter is a more scholarly and correct translation, but Coverdale's is superior in idea and in tone.

We must now resume the history of the Greek text. Robert Stephens of Paris, perhaps the most illustrious of the learned printers, though he had incurred the enmity of the Doctors of the Sorbonne by his editions of the Latin Vulgate, was protected and patronized by Francis I. and his son Henry II. The royal press was furnished with type cast at the expense of the king, and scholars are familiar with the words *Typis Regiis* on his title-pages. He published the Greek Testament in 1546 and again in 1549 in 16mo in elegant style, and from the opening words of the preface of both, *O mirificam Regis nostri—liberalitatem*, they are called the *O Mirificam editions*. He makes no mention of the learned labors of Erasmus, but says that the Complutensian had been of service to him, and that he had used MSS. of the Imperial Library. Dr. Mill says that the edition of 1546 differs from that of 1549 in only 67 places. In 1550 he published his third or folio edition, celebrated for the sumptuous style in which it was executed, and this is the earliest ever printed with critical apparatus, the various readings referred to in the *O Mirificam* being entered here on the margin. In his preface he states that his text was formed on sixteen authorities; that is, the Complutensian and fifteen MSS., one of which must have been the celebrated *Codex D* or *Codex Bezae*. The critical part of this work was done by his son Henry. Dr. Mill says again that the folio edition differs from the smaller ones in 284 readings, chiefly to adopt the text of Erasmus' fifth edition. This edition, with as critical a character perhaps as it was reasonable to expect at that early period, became the basis of the ordinary editions that followed, and was even adopted in 1859 by Dr. Scrivener, one of the two greatest names in these studies in England in recent times, as the basis of his edition, with the various readings of Beza, the Elzevir, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles; and this edition, it may be of interest to state, was in the hands of the British and American revisers while prosecuting the work just completed.

In 1551 Stephens published at Geneva, in 2 vols. sm. 4to, an edition celebrated as giving in the first instance the division of the text into verses as we now have it. This has become an exceedingly rare and costly book; and as it has been incorrectly described by one of our greatest scholars in his Commentaries, there is subjoined as good a *fac-simile* as the printer could conveniently make of a portion of the first page of St. Matthew. It was printed in three columns: on the left of the Greek is the Vulgate, and on the right Erasmus' revision of it. Three of the five verses of the page are here given.

V.	E.
EVANGELIUM secundum Matthæum.	ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ κατὰ Ματθαῖον.
Liber generationis IESV Christi, filii David, filii Abraham.	Βίβλος γενέσεως Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, υἱοῦ Δαβὶδ, υἱοῦ Ἀβραάμ.
Abraham genuit Isaac. Isaac autem genuit Iacob. Iacob autem genuit Iudam et fratres eius.	'Αβραάμ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰσαάκ. Ἰσαάκ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰακώβ. Ἰακώβ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἰούδαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφoὺς αὐτοῦ.
Iudas autem genuit Phares et Zaram de Thamar. Phares autem genuit Esron. Esron autem genuit Aram.	'Ιούδας δὲ ἐγέννησεν τὸν Φαρὲς καὶ τὸν Ζαρὰ ἐκ τῆς Θάμαρ. Φαρὲς δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἑσρώμ. Ἑσρώμ δὲ ἐγέννησε τὸν Ἀράμ.
	EVANGELIUM secundum Matthæum.
	I Ibergenerationis IESV Christi, filii David, filii Abraham.
	Har. 1. 5. Luc. 3. c. 24.
	2 Abraham genuit Isaac. Isaac autem genuit Iacob. Iacob autem genuit Iudam et fratres eius.
	Gene. 21. 2. 2. Gene. 25. d. 24. Gene. 29. d. 15.
	3 Iudas autem genuit Phares et Zaram e Thamar. Phares autem genuit Esrom. Esrom autem genuit Aram.
	Gene. 32. g. 29. 1 Par. 2. a. 5. Ruth 4. d. 13.

Theodore Beza (Theodore de Bèze) resigned his ecclesiastical preferments in 1548 and retired to Geneva, where he had the chief place among the French Reformers on the death of Calvin in 1564. He published five editions of the Greek Testament (1559, 1565, 1582, 1589, 1598) with his own careful Latin version (first published

in 1556 with Stephens' text), the Latin Vulgate, and annotations. He was a better translator and commentator than critic, and it was in the former capacity that he exerted his great influence over the succeeding English versions. He neither sought new material for revising the text nor made much use of what he had at hand. He had two ancient and valuable MSS. in his own possession, the *Codex D* or *Bezae*, containing the Gospels and Acts in Greek and Latin, now in the Library of the University of Cambridge, and the *Codex Claromontanus* from Clermont (whence it is said to have been brought), now in the Royal Library at Paris, containing the Epistles of St. Paul also in Greek and Latin; the papers containing the collations of Henry Stephens referred to above; and Tremellius' Latin version (1569) of the Peshito Syriac (first printed 1555), the first instance in which an ancient version of the N. T. beside the Latin Vulgate contributed to form the Greek text.

The work of English revision now goes forward and produces the celebrated Genevan Bible. Under the influence of Calvin Geneva had become the seat of devoted Biblical students, and the results of their labors were made available for the revision of the English Bible by the exiles under the persecution of Queen Mary, as well as of the French which was completed in 1588, and for the production in 1607 of the Italian version of Diodati. Circumstances made it possible for the Presbyterians to make a revision with great freedom, and the danger was that it would be the Bible of a party. But for the O. T. they took the Great Bible (probably the edition of 1550) as their basis and simply corrected the text; they did not make a new translation. In their changes in the O. T. they seem chiefly to have followed the Latin translation of Pagninus and Münster. In the N. T. they took for their basis Tyndale as given in Matthew's Bible, and in revising it they scarcely did more than apply Beza's translation and commentary. In the interpretation of the text Beza was singularly clear-sighted, but in the criticism of the text he was rash; but the cases in which Beza has corrected the renderings of former translators are incomparably more numerous than those in which he has introduced incorrect readings, and his Latin version is far superior to those that had been made before, and so consequently are the Genevan revisions that followed it. The N. T. was published in 1557 with an introductory epistle by Calvin, and again greatly improved in the entire Bible in 1560. The attractiveness of the Genevan Bible was enhanced by a marginal commentary, far more complete than any yet provided for the English reader.

On the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558 the use of the Scriptures was again conceded to the people, and the Great Bible was allowed its place as the authorized Bible for ecclesiastical use; but the wide circulation of the Genevan Bible made the defects of the Great Bible known, and Archbishop Parker, who was friendly to Biblical studies, took measures for a revision of the old translation. This was about 1563-64. The whole Bible was sorted out into parts, and these were distributed among able Bishops and other learned men to correct and improve; and the work amid some difficulties went forward and appeared in a magnificent volume in 1568. It is not known by whom the whole revision was actually made, but the Archbishop, to secure greater care on the part of the revisers, had their initials placed at the end of the books. Some names, however, are passed over; but of the revisers who can be probably identified, eight were Bishops, and from them the work took its title, *the Bishops' Bible*. The execution of the work is very unequal, and the Greek scholarship of the revisers is superior to their Hebrew. In the Old Testament improvements were made chiefly from the Genevan, but also from Pagninus, Leo Juda and Castalio. We have spoken of Pagninus above. Leo Juda, who had contributed to the Zurich German Bible, labored for many years at a new and somewhat free Latin version of the O. T., which after his death in 1542 was completed by others; Gualther revised Erasmus' Latin N. T.; and the whole Bible thus finished was published in 1544. Sebastian Castalio, Professor of Greek at Bâle, also translated the whole Bible into Latin, and carried this freedom to a far greater length, endeavoring to make the Hebrew and the Greek writers speak in pure and elegant Latinity. The new work of the revisers themselves can hardly be commended; for it was often arbitrary and inexact. The work on the New Testament was the more valuable. Among the revisers of this part was Lawrence, probably the head-master of Shrewsbury School, and famed for his knowledge of Greek, an excellent specimen of whose strictures on the old translation has come down to us. The changes made in the New Testament were partly from the Genevan version and partly the fruit of independent and exact scholarship. In 1572 a second edition of the Bishops' Bible was published, the Old Testament being unchanged and the New being carefully revised. The Genevan Bible still held its ground, but the Great Bible was speedily displaced by the Bishops', and the latter by order of King James was afterward made the basis of his revision. The

Bishops' Bible, like the Genevan, was accompanied with marginal notes or a commentary.

The wide circulation and great influence of the Reformed versions of the Bible made it impossible for the Roman Catholic scholars to withstand the demand for vernacular translations of the Scriptures, sanctioned by the authority of the Church of Rome. An English version formed part of that plan for winning back England to the Church of Rome which was formed by Cardinal Allen. The Cardinal established a seminary at Douai in France in 1568, and afterward transferred it temporarily to Rheims in 1578, and here the revision of the N. T. was finished in 1582, and hence took its name, *the Rhemish Testament*. It was made from the Vulgate; but the earlier English translations, especially the Genevan, were the groundwork of their version. The men who made it had great erudition; as, Gregory Martin, one of the original scholars of St. John's College, Oxford, and M. A. in 1564; Cardinal Allen, who had been a Canon of York, and Principal of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, in the reign of Queen Mary; Richard Bristow, M. A., of Christ's Church, Oxford, and afterward fellow of Exeter College, who is said to have made the notes to the New Testament; and Thomas Worthington, who also had studied at Oxford, and who is said to have prepared the tables and annotations to the Old Testament. When the New Testament was published the entire version had been delayed for want of means, and in fact the Old Testament did not appear till 1609-10 in 2 vols. 4to, at Douai, and hence the entire work is commonly called *the Douai Bible*. The Old Testament is said to have been compared with the Hebrew and the Greek, but this comparison must have been very limited. The Psalter, for instance, is given not from St. Jerome's version of the Hebrew, but from his revision of the faulty translation from the LXX., which commonly displaced it in Latin Bibles; and in general this version of the Old Testament is simply the ordinary, and not the pure, Latin text of Jerome in an English dress. Its merits and defects lie in its vocabulary, which has bestowed on our language innumerable Latin words, and offered us very many that we have refused to adopt. The translation of the New Testament is similar to that of the Old, and next to the Psalter, the Epistles are most inadequately done. One of their general principles was to adhere absolutely to the Latin; and while this course made much of their work awkward and obscure, they thus often reproduced the exact Latin order, and so the Greek, kept the phrase of the original

where others had abandoned it; and wherever the Latin failed, as in the matter of the article, or was ambiguous, they had the Greek at their command, which nice points of their work often show that they used. They had, as we have said, the Genevan Testament before them, and in many cases actually followed it. Here and there throughout the New Testament they have reproduced the original Greek in a faithful and happy manner not attained by any previous version, and we shall presently see the indebtedness of even King James' version to their work.

There were thus during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign two rival English Bibles, the Bishops', sanctioned by ecclesiastical authority for public use, and the Genevan, the common Bible of the people and even of scholars. This rivalry was undesirable, and in a conference on ecclesiastical affairs held at Hampton Court in 1603, soon after the accession of King James I., the then authorized version was brought up as a matter to be amended. The king desired that pains should be taken for one uniform translation, forbidding that any marginal notes should be added, and complaining of such as accompanied the Genevan Bible. He matured his scheme for the translation, and the list of the revisers was complete by June 30th. Precisely how this list was made up does not now appear, but the king announced to Bancroft, Bishop of London, that he had appointed four-and-fifty learned men for the work, of whom, however, only forty-seven appear in the list that has come down to us, but among them, we may add, there was no Nonconformist or Scottish or Irish scholar. They were divided into four companies for the Old Testament and two for the New, with a fixed portion of the work appointed for each company, to be done at Oxford, Cambridge, and Westminster, two companies working at each of these places. Their duty was carefully defined in a series of rules, fifteen in all, probably drawn up by Bishop Bancroft with the approbation of the king. They were required in general to follow the Bishops' Bible, but on occasion they might adopt the renderings of Tyndale, Matthew, Coverdale, Whitchurch (that is, *the Great Bible*, printed by Grafton and Whitchurch), and the Genevan. When the revision was completed at the different places of assembly, two members from each place, six in all, were chosen to superintend the final preparation for the printing in London. The work of the revision seems to have been actually undertaken in 1607, and Dr. Miles Smith, who wrote the preface, states therein that they were occupied with the work two years and nine months.

It appeared from the press in 1611 in one thick volume folio, and is a splendid monument of art. It is printed in elegant Gothic type, with the supplied words in small Roman, which are now given in italic letter, a practice introduced to some extent in the Genevan, but which had been wholly neglected in Luther's version. Careful researches have made it very probable that there were two issues in folio in 1611, and in the same year there was published an edition of the N. T. in 12mo. In 1628 the N. T. of the Authorized Version was first published in Scotland, at Edinburgh, and in 1633 the whole Bible there in 8vo. In 1638 the University printers of Cambridge printed an edition in folio, which bears clear marks of representing very exactly the true form of the Authorized Version, being more leisurely and carefully printed than the editions of 1611; in particular the matter of the supplied words is far more consistently given.

The printing of the Bishops' Bible was stopped when the new revision was undertaken, and no edition of it appears later than 1606, though the N. T. was printed as late as 1619. But the Genevan version, which was now chiefly confined to private use, competed with the Royal Bible for many years and was not displaced till about 1650. The king's revisers, it has always been admitted, were very competent to their work, and availed themselves of all the new apparatus within their reach. The appearance of the Rhemish Testament in 1582 had again called attention to the Latin Vulgate, which had been thrust aside by the revision of Erasmus and by the new Latin version of Beza, which had so largely influenced the Great Bible and the Genevan respectively. In the meantime Hebrew and Greek studies had been pursued with great care and zeal, and two important contributions had been made to the interpretation of the O. T. In 1572 Montanus, a Spanish scholar, added to the Antwerp Polyglot, which was published under the patronage of Philip II., an interlinear translation of the Hebrew based on that of Pagninus; and in 1575-79 Tremellius, a converted Jew, in conjunction with Junius, his son-in-law, published at Frankfurt-on-the-Maine an original Latin version of the O. T. with a commentary, which had an extensive circulation. Beside these works intended for scholars, three important vernacular translations had appeared. In 1587-88 a revision of the French Bible was published at Geneva, mainly it is said by Bertram, a distinguished Hebrew scholar, assisted by Beza and others; and at the same place in 1607 an Italian version by Diodati, who was

Professor of Hebrew at Geneva, but formerly of Lucca. Meanwhile two Spanish versions had appeared; one at Bâle in 1569 by Reyna, and a second based on Reyna's by de Valera at Amsterdam in 1602. And when in the preface to the Authorized Version Dr. Miles Smith, to the Chaldee, Hebrew, Syrian (which had become accessible by Tremellius' translation of the Peshito version at Heidelberg in 1569), and to the Greek and Latin authorities, adds the Spanish, French, Italian, and Dutch (Luther's German or a Dutch proper of 1560), he probably refers to these versions of Bertram, Diodati, and Reyna.

The Royal revisers did their work carefully and honestly. They differed from the Rhemish translators in seeking to make an intelligible translation, and from the Genevan in leaving Scripture uncolored by expository notes, though these two versions contributed most largely of all to the changes which King James' revisers introduced. The fourteenth of the king's rules allowed them to consult the Genevan, but the Rhemish was not on that list, and yet it was freely used. In the O. T. most of the changes are due to the Genevan Bible, to Pagninus' and Tremellius' Latin versions, but some are original. In the Prophets they followed chiefly the Genevan, while in the historical and poetical books they differ less from the Bishops' Bible. In the Apocrypha they are nearer to the Bishops' than to the Genevan, but here also there is much work that is new. They also drew from Leo Juda's and Münster's Latin versions. The revision of the New Testament was a simpler work than that of the Old, and consisted mostly of a careful examination of the Bishops' Bible with the Greek text, inferred to be mainly that of Beza's editions of 1589 and 1598, and with Beza's Latin and the Genevan and the Rhemish versions. The chief influence of the Rhemish on the Authorized Version was in its phraseology; that of Beza and the Genevan, on its interpretation. Many words and phrases are common to the Rhemish and the Authorized alone, or if found also in Wycliffe, some scholars incline to regard them as natural coincidences in two versions made independently from the Latin Vulgate. The whole work was so well executed as to prove itself in general a far better and more correct version than any that had preceded it; and it could never have held at all that place in the admiration and affection of English-speaking people which it has held for wellnigh three centuries, if it had not had great excellences. Its excellences are a general fidelity to the original Hebrew and Greek; a majesty and simplicity of style, now

energetic and spirited, and again easy and calm, according to the character of the passage; and much of the whole so precisely and so happily rendered that the wit of man seems unable to mend it. Some of its defects are a want of due care about the particles, sometimes rendering them inexactly, and again quite omitting them; here and there the neglect of the article, or the needless insertion of it, or the exaggeration of it by the use of the demonstrative pronoun; the retaining of certain Hebrew and Greek idioms, and more frequently Greek than Hebrew, which are harsh and unnatural to us, and which remain so even after our long use of them and great familiarity with them; the use of italics where they are wrongly placed or better omitted altogether; and, what is perhaps its chief fault, frequently, but with some admirable exceptions, rendering the same word or a cognate word or phrase differently in different places and sometimes even in the same sentence, which the revisers did on set purpose and even defended in their preface. Some of its defects are the work of time and inevitable in any version. Thus, some words and forms have become wholly obsolete, and some have changed their meaning; some new words and forms have been developed which more exactly and adequately express the sense of the original. Its greatest imperfection was due to the circumstances themselves under which the revisers did their work. There was down to that time no really critical treatment either of the Hebrew or the Greek Scriptures. The means of verifying and improving the Hebrew Bible were then very scanty, and the matter has not much improved since; but in the case of the New Testament, the MS. authorities, the ancient versions, the quotations of the early Fathers, even those that were accessible at that time, were not fully and carefully used, nor indeed was it the habit of the period to do this in a high degree with any ancient writers whatever. The settling of an ancient text by the examination and comparison of the best MSS., by the study of contemporary or the earliest possible records, by researches on whatever subject and in whatever direction is connected with the writings in hand, all this is a great modern achievement, the fruit of the studies and explorations of the last two hundred, and especially of the last hundred years. We have seen that the first edition of the Greek Testament, the Complutensian, was a representation of modern MSS. perhaps exclusively; that Erasmus' text, though helped by a few good MSS., differed but little from

the Complutensian; that Stephens followed Erasmus with an imperfect examination of a few other MSS.; and that Beza, whose text the revisers, as we have said above, seem chiefly to have relied upon, could have been improved by only two important MSS. and one ancient version, and even these he appears little to have used. And when the English Bible, reckoning from Tyndale, had been so often revised during the first hundred years, that a great nation like the English people, and the American people after them, should have remained comparatively content with their Bible uncorrected and unimproved for two hundred and seventy years, amid all the rich material—especially of the most ancient MSS. discovered or made accessible—which has been gathered by the providence of God and the unwearied diligence of great and good and learned men, this might well seem incredible, were it not a known and familiar fact.

Let us now consider what has been done for the text since 1611. The two editions published by the Elzevirs, the celebrated printers of Leyden, are historically of importance, though not critically. They were in 16mo, and executed with the grace and elegance that belong to this renowned series of publications. The first edition was published in 1624. It is without preface, and the text is broken only by paragraphs, the verses being indicated in the margin. The editor is unknown, but the printers themselves are supposed to have taken Stephens' edition of 1550 as their basis, introducing only slight changes, which they considered to be corrections, using for this purpose one of Beza's editions. In 1633 they brought out in the same convenient form their second edition, which is regarded as the best. The text is broken up into verses; care was taken to free it from typographical errors, and a high character was assumed for it. *Textum ergo habes*, they say in the preface, *nunc ab omnibus receptum; in quo nihil immutatum aut corruptum damus*, and hence the expression *the Received Text*, though this expression as now used denotes no precise text whatever. The Greek Testament in Walton's Polyglot in 1657 followed Stephens' text, as did Mill's in 1707; and in England *Stephens' is the Received Text*, and on the Continent the *Elzevirs' is the Received Text*. It is interesting to know how these texts stand toward each other. Mill (Proleg. 1307) reported twelve cases of variation, Tischendorf (Proleg. p. 85, 7th ed.) gave a list of 150, and Dr. Scrivener has detected even 287. Though thoughtful and scholarly men from this period down to the present time have been interested in the state of the Greek

text, and though certain scholars have bestowed much time and the most careful labor on matters contributing toward the settlement of it on a sound and permanent basis, yet after the appearance of the texts of Stephens and Beza the great body of Protestants ceased from all inquiry on what ground the Greek text rested; and what the Council of Trent did in 1545 in declaring the Latin Vulgate authentic and ultimate, the Protestants themselves tacitly did in regard to the received Greek text.

It is to English industry that we owe the first important efforts for the critical treatment of the text. The first large and important collection of various readings, drawn from MSS., is that contained in the 6th vol. of *Walton's Polyglot*, called also *the English or the London Polyglot*, 6 vols. folio, 1657. In the 5th vol., which was devoted to the New Testament in six different languages, the readings of *Codex A* or *Alexandrinus*, presented to Charles I. in 1628 and now in the British Museum, had for the first time been given; they were entered under the Greek text. Walton had also a collation of sixteen authorities, of which only three had even been used before, gathered by the care of Archbishop Ussher. That Walton did not try to form a corrected text is not at all to be regretted; for the time for that attempt had not yet arrived.

In 1675 Bishop Fell of Oxford published an edition in 8vo, with various readings at the foot of the page, with the authorities subjoined, and in his appendix he added the Barberini readings, collected about 1625 in the Barberini Library at Rome by Caryophilus of Crete, who had permission from Paul V. and Urban VIII. to use MSS. in the Vatican, including the precious *Codex B* or *Vaticanus*, for a projected edition of the Greek Testament.

At Oxford in 1707 appeared in one volume folio the Greek Testament of Dr. John Mill, the learned Principal of St. Edmund's Hall. To this great work he had cheerfully devoted the last thirty years of his life, dying only a fortnight after its publication. His purpose was to reproduce the text of Stephens' edition of 1550 and to bring together all the accessible critical materials existing. He gathered all the various readings which had previously been used, collated such Greek MSS. as were available, and first made general use of the ancient versions and of the writings of the ancient Fathers as witnesses of the ancient text. His Prolegomena are a monument of learning hardly to be dispensed with even now. Wetstein said that Dr. Mill had achieved more than all who had preceded him; and Herbert Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough,

the most accomplished Englishman of his time in these studies, said that in all his great labors he adhered strictly to the truth, never designedly misrepresenting any matter of criticism. He was not studied as he deserved to be by the later editors, and many of the best readings he adduced were overlooked by Wetstein, Griesbach, and Scholz. In 1709-19 Dr. Edward Wells of Oxford undertook to apply the results of critical investigation in his Greek Testament, which was accompanied with a revised English translation. This was the first attempt to supply a critically revised text.

In 1720 the illustrious Bentley of Trinity College, Cambridge, issued proposals for his edition of the New Testament in Greek and Latin, with the last chapter of Revelation as a specimen. This work was not accomplished, but the mere project was one of the most important steps ever taken in connection with the text of the New Testament. St. Jerome had stated that he revised the Vulgate according to the best Greek MSS., adding that even the order of the words was important in translations of Holy Scripture; and from this statement of St. Jerome, Bentley inferred that the oldest Greek MSS. ought to agree with the oldest Latin of St. Jerome both in words and in their order. This was the first proper appreciation of the old Latin versions, and the great critics of recent times, as we shall see, have acted upon Bentley's idea. Dr. Bentley's plan was to use all the authorities of the first five centuries, the Greek MSS., the oldest Latin MSS., the ancient versions, as the Syriac, the Gothic, the Coptic, and the Aethiopic, and all the Greek and Latin Fathers of the first five centuries, utterly disclaiming conjecture in the text itself. This great project of one of the greatest scholars the world ever saw was made near two centuries ago, and failed through the opposition of ignorance and of envy.

These sacred studies now passed from England to the Continent, scarcely to return till the middle of the present century. In 1734 appeared at Tübingen, in one vol. 4to, the edition of the learned and thoughtful and pious Bengel, Abbot of Alpirspach in the Lutheran communion. He gathered for his work such critical materials as he was able to gather himself, and made applications to others for collections. He placed in the margin those readings that he considered genuine, and at the end of his volume in his *Apparatus Criticus* he gave the various readings known to him with critical observations upon them; and, what was very important, he distinctly gave the evidence *for* as well as *against* each reading.

It was he that first enounced, among his rules of criticism, the great distinction between various readings: *Proclivi scriptioni praestat ardua*, *The more difficult the reading, the more likely to be genuine*; for a copyist, if he makes any change, is more likely to change the more difficult into an easier form. We owe Bengel much for his improvement of the punctuation of the text and its more correct division into paragraphs, and with him originated the idea of *families* or *recensions* of the MSS., which was afterwards developed by Semler, Griesbach, and Scholz, and which contains reasonable and true elements, however difficult it has proved to be to adjust any form of it. He himself wished to divide all the documents into *Asiatic*, written in or about Constantinople, which he less esteemed, and *African*, the few which he thought to be of a better type.

In 1751-52 appeared the great edition of John James Wetstein in Amsterdam, in 2 vols. folio, the critical portion of which places the author in the very highest rank, leaving him inferior, if to any, to only one or two of the very highest names. Wetstein was born at Bâle in 1693, and studied at the University and became a minister. His taste for Biblical studies showed itself early; and when he was ordained in 1713 he delivered a disputation *De variis N. T. Lectionibus*. In 1714 his search for MSS. led him to Paris; and in 1715-16 and again in 1720 he visited England, and was employed by Bentley in collecting materials for his projected edition, for which Wetstein first made a complete collation of the great *Codex C* or *Ephraemi* in the Royal Library of Paris, which he also used for his own edition. In 1730 he published at Bâle *Prolegomena ad N. T. Graeci Editionem accuratissimam*, etc. Some divines, dreading his unsettling the text by his studies and publications, had a decree of the Senate promulgated against his undertaking, and he was deposed from the ministry and driven into exile. He was invited to Amsterdam by the College of the Remonstrants, and succeeded the famous Le Clerc as Professor of Philosophy and History. He here died in 1754, two years after he finished his edition of the Greek Testament, the result of the arduous labors of about forty years. Never before had there been given so full and so methodical an account of the MSS., ancient versions, and Fathers, by whose aid the text of the N. T. may be revised, as was given in his *Prolegomena*. The number of MSS. which he had himself collated, if we reckon separately every distinct portion of the N. T. contained in a MS., was about 102,

and about eleven were examined for him by other hands.' He collected the collations of Mill and others, and reexamined many of the ancient versions and Fathers. The upper part of the page of his edition contains the text, the Elzevir of 1633; below this stand the variations, if any, that were approved by Wetstein, which amount to about 500, and those chiefly in the Apocalypse, no conjectures whatever being admitted into the text, though often quoted in the notes; then followed the various readings of the MSS.; and below were illustrative passages from the classical authors, Talmudical and Rabbinical extracts, etc., and so full is this that many a scholar falling in with a striking passage illustrating the form or thought of Holy Scripture, and imagining that he was the first to notice it, will find it already laid up in this rich storehouse of Wetstein. His principles of revision were for the most part excellent, but he failed himself in applying them. In one of his theories he was quite wrong. It had long been noticed that some of the Greek MSS., which are accompanied with a Latin version, as *Codex D* or *Bezae*, *Codex E* (of the Acts and Cath. Epp.) or *Laudianus*, and *Codex D* (of the Pauline Epp.) or *Claromontanus*, remarkably agreed with the readings of the Latin; and the suspicion arose, but now regarded as unfounded, that the Greek of such MSS. had been conformed to the Latin, and hence the term *Codices Latinizantes*. Wetstein carried the charge of Latinizing to every one of the more ancient MSS., and this view damaged his labors; but as his critical and illustrative matter has never been reproduced as a whole, his Greek Testament is one of the few books that remain invaluable in their original form. His *Prolegomena* were reproduced at Halle in 1764 in 8vo by the learned J. S. Semler, Professor of Theology, with excellent notes and certain MSS. in *fac-simile*.

The vast mass of materials collected by Wetstein remained to be arranged, and steadily and consistently and critically used to emend the text. This was undertaken by John James Griesbach, Professor of Theology at Jena, with whom in a high sense texts really critical begin. In 1775-77 appeared at Halle, in 2 vols. 8vo, what is called his *first edition*. In this he used Wetstein's materials, examined many MSS. himself, and also fully collated a few. He differed from Wetstein in his estimate of the more ancient MSS. and agreed with Bentley and Bengel. He approved of the division by Bengel of the MSS. into *African* and *Byzantine*, but subdivided the former into two parts, maintaining that there were three classes

of text, two ancient and one more modern, thus agreeing with the view of Bentley that the MSS. have come down to us from three sources, *the West, Egypt, and Asia*. Griesbach named these three classes *Western, Alexandrine, and Constantinopolitan*. The first he conceived was the early text, but much marred by the errors of scribes; the second a revision of the same; and the third flowing from the other two, calling them all *recensions*; and he believed that the two former existed distinct toward the close of the II^d century. He ranged his critical authorities under his three recensions, and in forming his text he placed more reliance on the agreement of the recensions than on any other external evidence. Twenty years after the publication of his first edition, during which period important critical materials had been amassed by the labors of Matthiae of Moscow, of Alter of Vienna, and especially of Birch of Copenhagen, and the publication of the *Codex Laudianus*, the *Codex Alexandrinus*, and the *Codex Bezae* had taken place, Griesbach, availing himself of all this aid, published at Halle the first volume of his *second edition* in 1796, and ten years later, in 1806, the second volume completing the work. His plan in this edition was enlarged, corrected, and improved; and he no longer insists on the refinements of theory about the additions and peculiarities of *the three recensions*. The weak point of his theory was the impossibility of drawing the line between the Western and the Alexandrian recensions, and in his *Commentarius Criticus*, published in 1811, the year before his death, though still clinging to his theory of a triple recension, he shows that Origen does not support him in this view, as he had once anticipated. As to the text he formed, where he differed from *the received text*, he generally gave a reading better attested, though in many cases not the best supported, and on the whole made great improvements. In the adjustment of conflicting probabilities he has scarcely been surpassed by any Biblical critic. Mill and Bengel approached him in this; Wetstein and Scholz were very far behind him.

In 1830-36 appeared at Leipsic in two vols. 4to the critical edition of John M. A. Scholz, Catholic Professor of Theology in the University of Bonn. He too had a recension theory, according to which all the MSS. were divided into five families, two *African* (Alexandrian and Western), one *Asiatic*, one *Byzantine*, and one *Cyprian*. This theory at a later period he rejected, and reverted to the theory of Bengel, that there were only two families, *the Alexandrian and the Constantinopolitan*; but he adopted the view

that the earlier text is to be sought among the Constantinopolitan MSS., and that the Alexandrian are less important, a view precisely the reverse of what is now known to be true. The labors of Scholz found many advocates in England among those who had not carefully studied the subject and among those who deprecated the application of criticism to the Greek Testament, and his text was accordingly reprinted there as a manual. Scholz did indeed good service as a traveller and explorer after MSS., and he has in the first instance pointed out where many are preserved; but his own collations as printed in his edition have turned out to be very inaccurately done.

This brings us to the three greatest names of this century, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles, names so great that no other is associated with them in authority in the present constitution of the text.

In 1831 a duodecimo volume appeared in Berlin, with the title, *Novum Testamentum Graece ex recensione Caroli Lachmanni*. Lachmann was a professor in the University of Berlin, well known for his critical labors on the masterpieces of German literature, on the Latin poets, and above all on Lucretius, his edition of whom placed him in the foremost rank as a critic and left an impress on Latin study which has been productive of the highest results. This small edition of the Greek Testament was the result of his close labor and study carried on through five years. His purpose was to give the text the form in which the most ancient MSS. have transmitted it, and he professed implicitly to follow such MSS. so far as the then existing collations made them accessible. The oldest Greek MSS. compared with the citations of Origen formed the basis of his work; the readings of the old Latin versions, as found in unrevised MSS., and the citations of the Latin Fathers were his subsidiary aids. It was thus that his text was formed, not necessarily giving what he would consider to be the true text, but the transmitted text of about the IVth century. This text he considered would be a basis for criticism, delivered from the readings of the XVIth century, and bringing us back to a period a thousand years or more nearer to the time when the several books of the New Testament were written. In constructing the text he did not follow his own judgment, but the use of the most ancient Oriental Churches; and when this was not uniform, he preferred what was supported by African and Italian consent; and where there was great uncertainty, he indicated this partly by putting the

word or words in square brackets in the text, and partly by putting a different reading at the foot of the page; and in St. Matthew, for instance, there are forty-five cases of such bracketing, and twenty-seven readings added at the foot of the page. At the end of the volume, pp. 461-503, a list is given of the readings wherein he differs from the Elzevir edition, about 5000 in number. Lachmann thus intended by his labors to place the Greek Testament wholly on the ground of actual and early documentary authority. As this edition was altogether without preface, and the only account he had given of his purpose and plan consisted of a few words at the head of his list of the Elzevir readings just mentioned, and of an article in the *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1830, his work was much misunderstood or misrepresented. But when it became better appreciated, as it did, he was urged to undertake an edition which should fully set forth his authorities for all his readings, and to this he consented. In 1837 he obtained the aid of Philip Buttmann, son of the great Greek grammarian and critic, to arrange the authorities for the Greek, on which Buttmann was engaged for seven years. In 1839 Lachmann and Buttmann went to Fulda, in Hesse Cassel, to examine and copy the *Codex Fuldensis*, of the ante-Jerome or Old Latin text, of about A. D. 550, for the use of the new edition. In 1842, at Berlin, in 8vo, appeared the first volume, containing the Four Gospels; and to this volume a preface of 56 pp. was prefixed. The variations in the text from the small edition are not many, and they are thus explained: the text of the small edition is wholly based on the Oriental sources, as he designated them; and where these sources differ, the text is based on the consent of the Italian and the African sources; while in the larger edition, Lachmann used the combined evidence of Eastern and Western authorities. In the upper part of the page stands his recension of the text, brackets being used as before to indicate what was of doubtful authority, and below readings are placed as to which the authorities differ; the middle part of the page contains the authorities, the Greek arranged by Buttmann and the Latin by himself; and the lower part of the page is occupied with the Latin version edited mostly on the authority of the *Codices Fuldensis* and *Amiatinus*; but for the latter Buttmann was able to use only the very imperfect and inaccurate collation of Fleck (Lips. 1840, 12mo). This edition thus accomplished much that Bentley himself had projected so long before. The Greek MS. authorities which Lachmann admitted were very few; thus, in the Gospels he used only A, B,

C and D, and the fragments P, Q, T and Z; the only ancient version he used was the Latin; and the only Fathers he employed were of the Greek, Irenaeus and Origen; and of the Latin, Cyprian, Hilary of Poitiers, Lucifer of Cagliari, and in the Apocalypse Primasius. In some places he follows none of the Greek authorities on which he avowedly relies, as in the latter chapters of the Apocalypse; in these cases, though he omitted to give the authorities, he considered that the combined text of the other authorities warranted him in giving the readings which he adopts. The printing of the second volume was completed as to the text in 1845, but it was not published till 1850, about a year before his death. To this volume he prefixed notes on some passages in regard to which he had been censured, and gives here and there his own conjectures as to the true readings of other passages, using the traditional reading of the IVth century as the basis. But it is not to be forgotten that at that time it was possible for him to have but one MS. of the IVth century, *Codex B* or *Vaticanus*, and only an imperfect collation of that. The rest of the MSS. that he used date from the Vth century (A, C, T) to the IXth (G), and of these Buttmann's representation, though made not without care, was not full and exact. His Greek text seldom rests on more than four *codices*, very often on three, and not unfrequently on two; in St. Matt. vi. 20-vii. 5, and in 165 out of the 405 verses of the Apocalypse, on but one. His edition, while founded on too few documents and authorities even for his own time, has the merit of restoring the ancient Latin versions to their proper rank in the criticism of the New Testament, and of presenting an admirably revised text of the Vulgate; of giving, as Bengel had done before him, an improved punctuation of the text, which received the commendation of Tischendorf; and above all, of exerting great power over candid and inquiring minds, which will not hereafter claim for *the Received Text*, as such, any more weight than it is entitled to as the representative of the few and mostly late MSS. on which it was actually constructed.

Constantine von Tischendorf, having studied theology and philology in Leipsic, there published in 1841, in square 12mo, his first edition of the Greek Testament. Though this was greatly inferior to his subsequent critical editions, it merited the encouragement it procured for him, and the commendation of the learned Professor Schulz, of the University of Breslau, who had himself in 1827 published the first volume of a new and greatly improved edition

of Griesbach's N. T. This first edition of Tischendorf added to the text some of the authorities on which it was based, and contained *Prolegomena* partly explaining his own principles of procedure, and partly discussing the matter of *recensions* with special reference to the theories of Scholz. It is evident that the smaller edition of Lachmann had influenced Tischendorf to adopt readings according to ancient authority, though he did not do this in a uniform manner. Soon afterwards he set out on his first literary journey, and while engaged on a collation of *Codex C* or *Ephraemi* in the Royal Library of Paris, he was induced to prepare three book-seller's editions, which appeared in Paris in 1843: one dedicated to Guizot, one having the Greek in a parallel column with the Vulgate and somewhat altered to suit it, and a third containing the Greek text of the second without the Latin Vulgate. In addition to his subsequent critical studies at home, he undertook other journeys to examine, collate, and publish MSS., chiefly of the N. T. He was in Italy in 1843 and 1866; four times visited England in 1842-49-55-65; three times visited the East, where his chief discovery, that of the *Codex x* or *Sinaiticus* in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai, was made partly in 1844 and completely in 1859.

In 1849 appeared at Leipsic his fifth (2d critical) edition in square 12mo, in which the text was given as he then thought it ought to be revised after his further studies and researches. This was an advance upon his edition of 1841, but still defective, especially in the earlier portion of the work. In the *Prolegomena* to this edition he gives an account of his own labors since the appearance of the first edition, the critical principles he now adopted, the dialect of the N. T., the subject of *recensions*, etc. In this edition the various readings in the Acts, the Epistles, and the Revelation are given less sparingly than in the Gospels. His view in regard to the formation of the text was that the text was to be sought only from ancient evidence and especially from Greek MSS., but without neglecting the testimonies of ancient versions and Fathers, thus adopting Lachmann's fundamental principle. He adds that when testimonies differ, the most ancient Greek MSS. deserve special confidence, and by these he means the MSS. from the IVth to about the IXth century, but with this qualification, that the authority of the older of these is much the greater. He admitted, however, many modifications of this principle, which might in application materially interfere with a recurrence to the oldest class

of MSS. As to *recensions* he thinks the MSS. may admit a four-fold division, and be called Alexandrine and Latin, Asiatic and Byzantine; not however as four classes, but as two pairs, the first pair comprehending the more ancient MSS., the latter the more recent; but he did not allow this theory to influence his judgment in applying his critical rules. Where the text of Tischendorf and that of Lachmann differ from the common text they often agree together, from the circumstance that both editors ascribed the highest value to ancient authorities; and where Tischendorf differs from Lachmann, he commonly follows some other of the ancient MSS.

Tischendorf's seventh (3d critical) edition, published in parts at Leipsic 1856-59, is in 2 vols. 8vo, pp. vol. 1, Prol. 278, 696, vol. 2, 681, and in a smaller form in 12mo, an almost unparalleled monument of learning and diligence, but having the fault of being constructed almost without reference to the cursive MSS. A very interesting feature of this edition is the fact that in it he returns to the Received Text in 595 cases in which he had previously departed from it. Even this edition was eclipsed by the amazing work that followed, his eighth (4th critical) edition, also published in parts 1865-72, in 2 vols. 8vo, pp. vol. 1, 968, vol. 2, 1044, and a smaller form in 12mo, the text of both of which was complete; but before he had written the Prolegomena to the larger edition or the Preface to the smaller, after and probably in consequence of his great and unceasing labors in these sacred studies for some thirty years, he was smitten with paralysis and died in December, 1874. This eighth edition was the most full and comprehensive edition ever published by any editor, containing down to the time of its publication an account of the latest collations and discoveries, and as copious a body of various readings as was compatible with the design of adapting the work to general use, but the notes of the readings of the cursive MSS. are not sufficiently minute. To the general accuracy of Dr. Tischendorf's collations, Dr. Tregelles and Dr. Scrivener, the two scholars best qualified to follow him critically over a portion of his vast field of labor, bear cheerful testimony. So great is the excellence of the *Codex Sinaiticus* and the *Codex Vaticanus*, which seem to be of nearly equal antiquity, that Tischendorf and Tregelles and Dr. Scrivener are often divided in their judgments about the true readings where these MSS. differ, and those competent to form an opinion on the subject judge that Tischendorf was carried too far in his preference for the *Codex*

Sinaiticus, who follows it sometimes when all other high authority and even his own principles are against it ; for in his edition of this MS. (Leipscic, 8vo, 1865) although the last verse of St. John's Gospel xxi. 25 has the express testimony of Origen, Tischendorf excludes it because in that MS. this one verse seemed to him to be written with fresher ink and so perhaps by a later hand. His reputation as a Biblical scholar rests less on his critical editions of the N. T. than on the chief uncial texts which he has given to the world. His examination, collation, and discoveries of Biblical MSS. surpass those of any scholar that ever lived. In 1854 he published in Leipscic in 4to a critical edition of the *Codex Amiatinus* found in the monastery on Monte Amiatino and now in Florence, written about 541, and considered as the very best MS. of St. Jerome's version. He also paid more attention than any other scholar to the MSS. of the LXX., and published four editions of it in 2 vols. 8vo, the last in 1869.

In 1865, Dr. Tischendorf, in acknowledgment of his great and learned labors, received honorary degrees from the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford ; and in 1869, in consideration of his illustrious services in the matter of the *Codex Sinaiticus*, which through his influence passed into the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, the Czar by imperial ukase bestowed on him the rank of an hereditary noble of the Russian Empire.

Samuel Prideaux Tregelles, LL. D., was born at Falmouth, England, in 1813, of Quaker parentage, and educated at Falmouth Classical School. As early as 1838 he formed the purpose of preparing a critical edition of the Greek Testament, and pursued this object throughout his life. In 1844 he first became generally known as the editor of *The Book of Revelation in Greek, edited from ancient authorities ; with a New English Version ;* and this attempt was received by the scholars of the Church of England with great gratitude and respect for his earnestness and his independent views. In this work he gave some account of the critical principles on which he had proceeded, and announced his intention of editing the Greek Testament with various readings. He had a just admiration for Lachmann and defended him against many objections and misconceptions, and he adopted himself essentially the plan of this great critic, withdrawing from it those features that were manifestly indefensible. It consisted in resorting to ancient authorities alone ; that is, to those uncial MSS. which are not Lectionaries, except the cursive MSS. 1, 33, and 69 of the Gospels and 61 of the

Acts, which he admits among his authorities because they preserve an ancient text; and to the ancient versions and Fathers, especially Origen and Eusebius. Beside his examination and collation of MSS. in Great Britain, he undertook several foreign journeys for the same purpose. In 1845 he went to the Continent chiefly to collate the *Codex Vaticanus*, the most important, as he considered, of all the N. T. MSS.; he was in Rome five months, and though he repeatedly saw this MS. and enjoyed the favor and sympathy of Cardinal Acton, he was not allowed to transcribe any of its readings. He inspected several other MSS. in the Vatican, among which was the *Codex Basilianus*, one of the only three unciala that contain the Apocalypse, and this contains it entire. At Florence he collated the *Codex Amiatinus* of St. Jerome's version and Tischendorf's excellent edition of this MS. is based on the combined collations of Dr. Tregelles and his own. He made collations also of MSS. at Modena, Venice, Bâle, and Munich, returning to England in 1846. In 1849 he visited Paris and collated the *Codex Claromontanus*; and again in 1850 he visited Paris, Hamburg, Berlin, Leipsic, and Dresden. During these visits he made the acquaintance at Bâle of the learned de Wette, the disciple of Griesbach; in Berlin he saw much of Lachmann and discussed with him many points of N. T. criticism; and in Leipsic he visited Tischendorf and compared some of his own collations with those made by him. Before he went abroad in 1845 he saw in England the celebrated explorer Scholz, who informed him where certain MSS. were then to be found. In 1860 the present writer carried some memoranda on these studies to London for Dr. Tregelles, from Dr. Abbot of Harvard University, and at that time Dr. Tregelles was absent in Spain to consult certain MSS. there; these memoranda were placed in the hand of Mr. William Chalk, whose services in reading the proof-sheets of his Greek Testament Dr. Tregelles mentions kindly and honorably in the introductory notice to the second part of the work. In 1848 he remodelled his translation of the Book of Revelation, omitting the Greek, but conforming, as he was now able to do, the text more closely to the ancient MSS. In 1849 he became acquainted with the *Curetonian Syriac* Fragments of the Gospels, which was a MS. found by Dr. William Cureton among the MSS. in the British Museum, brought in 1842 from the Nitrian Monasteries. This hitherto unknown version, altogether ancient in its readings, served to confirm the critical views which Dr. Tregelles had previously formed and published. In 1854

he published a volume in 8vo replete with exact and valuable information, and intended as a full and formal exposition of his own critical principles, entitled *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*. In 1856 he rewrote rather than reëdited the fourth volume of *Horne's Introduction to the Scriptures*, under the special title of *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*.

At length, after all this faithful preparatory work, he put forth in 1857 the first part, containing the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, of *The Greek New Testament, edited from ancient authorities; with their various readings in full, and the Latin Version of St. Jerome*. It was published through the Messrs. Bagster of London, and in every way in their best style, surpassing in beauty every edition of the Greek Testament that had preceded it. The form is a 4to, with the Greek text in a large Porson type, and with the Latin of St. Jerome (after the *Codex Amiatinus*) in a narrow column on the right in small type, and below in three columns the authorities for the Greek, and the readings of the Clementine Vulgate or authorized edition of the Church of Rome. In 1861 appeared the second part, comprising the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John. In that year he was struck with paralysis, but so far recovered that he was able to publish the Acts and the Catholic Epistles in 1865, and the Epistles of St. Paul down to 2d Thess. in 1869. Early in 1870, while revising the concluding chapters of the Apocalypse, he had a second and very severe stroke of his disorder. The rest of the Pauline Epistles were sent out in 1870 as he himself had prepared them, and the Apocalypse in 1872, in as good a state as Dr. Tregelles' papers could enable them, by his friends Mr. Bloxside and Mr. Newton. Dr. Tregelles lingered in a helpless condition, and died in 1875. The seventh and concluding part, containing the *Prolegomena*, *Addenda*, and *Corrigenda*, was compiled and edited in 1879 by the Rev. Prof. Hort and the Rev. Mr. Streane of the University of Cambridge, who seem to have entertained the kindest and most considerate regard for the memory of this most devoted Christian scholar.

The authorities that Dr. Tregelles adduced for his text were much less copious than those of Tischendorf, but far more abundant than those of Lachmann. They were collated by himself or by Tischendorf, and in only a few instances by others. That his great work was most thoroughly and conscientiously done, no one has denied; in some parts of his collations, wherein he has since been followed

by others, he was found to be scrupulously exact, and where Tischendorf and Dr. Tregelles differ in their account of British MSS., Dr. Tregelles is seldom in the wrong; in the discussions between these great critics about personal accuracy, which sometimes took place, Dr. Tregelles always appears in an amiable light. It must be admitted that he investigated the character of his authorities more than Tischendorf found time and opportunity to do, and on the basis of this investigation he undertook (Horne's Introduction, IV, p. 106 sqq., edited by Dr. Tregelles), at least for the Gospels, to group the uncials according to their quality and affinity, which he accomplished in a masterly manner.

It was the purpose then of Lachmann to form an ancient and diplomatic text. His purpose was a great conception, but his authorities were too few, and the Greek MSS. he employed were imperfectly collated by Buttmann. The MSS. B, C and D, out of his four primary documents (A, B, C witnesses for the East, and D for the West), were, as Tischendorf, N. T. 7th ed. Prol. p. cix., has shown, not as yet properly edited, and the *Codex Sinaiticus* was not yet known. Tischendorf and Dr. Tregelles followed Lachmann, with the same general purpose in view. Tischendorf's explorations and discoveries and reproduction in permanent form of uncial MSS. are, as has been said, his chief merit, and this is immense; and his examination and collation of MSS., both uncial and cursive, were extensive, and his critical apparatus the most copious yet brought together. But it was not to be expected that he would have the requisite time and strength left to form a text of the highest authority, and he was too much swayed by some of the documents which he had himself discovered. Dr. Tregelles, diligent, persevering, conscientious, while admitting authorities far beyond the limits of Lachmann, yet founded his work on too narrow a basis, and throughout the Gospels was without the *Codex Sinaiticus*, and in St. Matthew and St. Mark without the full collation of the *Codex Vaticanus*. For the rest, he had all the most important apparatus that Tischendorf used, and it is a matter of great satisfaction that they agree so far as they do in the results of their labors. But it is no disparagement to these great men to say, that they could not collate and also edit the vast materials which had become accessible. For the materials for editing the New Testament are more abundant than those of any other writings that have come down to us; and it was the very abundance of them that seemed to perplex the mind of Tischendorf, and

brought upon him the charge of fickleness for the changes he made in his work. Let us add a word on this matter of documentary evidence in the case of the New Testament and elsewhere.

The number of MSS. of the whole N. T., or of parts, which we now possess, have been computed as follows: *Uncials*, or those executed in capitals and designated by capitals, as α , *A*, *B*, *C*, etc., and written from the IVth to the Xth century, 127; *Cursives*, or those executed in small letters and designated by numbers, as 1, 2, 3, etc., and written from the Xth to the XVth century, 1456, making in all 1583. The earliest dated MS. of the N. T. is *Codex S* of the Gospels or *Vaticanus*, which was written in A. D. 949. In the case of the Old Testament the whole number of Hebrew MSS. collated by Dr. Kennicott and De Rossi was 1200, almost all of these having been written between A. D. 1000 and 1457, and almost every one of those written before the VIIIth or the VIIth century of our era having been lost or destroyed. The earliest with a certain date was written A. D. 1106, but one (Pinner No. 1, at Odessa) has a subscription stating that it was corrected at a date corresponding to A. D. 580; and if this statement is true, then this is the most ancient Hebrew MS. now known to exist. But both the Greek Testament and the Hebrew Bible rest on far more numerous, and the Greek Testament on more ancient, documents than the generality of the Greek and the Roman writers. The oldest MS. of Aeschylus, the *Codex Medicus* in Florence, is probably of the Xth century, and the oldest of Euripides of the XIIth. There is but one MS. of Demosthenes of the first class, the *Codex Z*, in the Royal Library of Paris, of the XIth century. Ennius, the father of Latin poetry, exists only in fragments, his entire works being supposed to have been lost irrecoverably in the XIIIth century. Of the twenty-one plays attributed to Plautus by Varro, one utterly disappeared during the Middle Ages, and at the beginning of the XVth century only the first eight were known to exist, the other twelve being discovered about 1428; and the two best MSS. of this author are very imperfect. Cicero's letters to Atticus and to his brother Quintus, some of the most precious remains of profane antiquity, exist only in a MS. made by Petrarch from an ancient copy since lost, and his *Brutus* and *Orator*, two of his elaborate rhetorical works, have come down to us in the same way by another modern hand. Only a single MS. of Velleius Paterculus is now known to exist, and that is a modern copy of an ancient MS. now lost. The first six books of the Annals

of Tacitus exist only in a single ancient MS., and that incomplete.

Undoubtedly a large number of the changes of Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Dr. Tregelles, in which all three agree, have been made on adequate authority and will stand approved; but there are still many that seem to rest on insufficient evidence and that are in themselves very unsatisfactory, not to persons ignorant of these matters, but to scholars most competent of all men living to form a judgment about them, as Dr. Scrivener in England and Dr. Wieseler in Germany. What we still need for the settling of the uncertain and unsatisfactory readings is a long and careful and laborious searching among all the documents known to us, cursive as well as uncial; and while the most ancient MSS. and the citations of the most important Fathers, both Greek and Latin, will naturally have the highest interest and often the greatest weight, yet wherever they differ or give exegetically an unsatisfactory reading, we must have recourse to every proper source of every period to help us reach the true reading and form a settled text. The providence of God has created here an occasion for the most patient and the most laborious efforts of Christian scholars. Such a text is sure to be formed at some time, though it may be done only by degrees; and it is worth the waiting for, even if it requires another century or more to accomplish it. In the meantime, and after this long period of waiting, it seems expedient to have a revision of the English New Testament conformed as well as may be to the results of the study and research of these great critics, but still subject, as of course it must be, to the modifications and corrections required by further study and research in regard to the original text.

CHARLES SHORT.

II.—ON THE CONSONANT DECLENSION IN OLD NORSE.¹

II.

Let us pass to the n. pl. The Gothic endings *-jus*, *-eis* come from *-a₁ua₁s* *-a₁ja₁s* as above stated; from these we have the following forms in the other dialects: O. N. *hellir gestir*, *hend(i)r floeðir* (?), O. E. *fēth(e) byre*, *byrig* (for *byrg(e)*), O. H. G. *fuozzi belge*, *hendi ensti*. Most plurals of the Old Norse *i*-stems, however, cannot come from the ending *-a₁ja₁s* without assuming that they have either suffered 'rückumlaut' as Leskien. Dek. 79 explains them,² or we must explain their umlaut and non-umlaut as a matter of caprice or accident in the coloring or non-coloring of the suffixal vowel, which of course is only a makeshift. A third explanation of the umlaut is suggested by Blomberg through the influence of the *-ja(-jā)* stems. All of these explanations are very unsatisfactory.

What kind of an ending, then, may pertinently be asked, must that have been which produced no umlaut? For the umlaut is inevitable if we retain the regular ending *-a₁ja₁s*.

The forms to be considered here are: 1. Masculine n. pl. like *bragir*, feminines like *ástir*; 2. The pronouns *-þeir* *-þær*, the numeral *tvær* *tvær*; 3. The adjectives masc. pl. *blindir*, fem. *blindar* (if this form is to be regarded as belonging indeed to the pronominal declension, and not analogous to the *ā*-declension).

If we analyse this ending *-ir*, we shall get an *-^hja₁s* or *-a₁j^hs*, i. e. one of the *a*'s must be of a different quality than *a₁*; for *-a₁ja₁s* would give, as we have seen, an umlaut-producing *-ir*. Where, then, is an *-^hja₁s* or *-a₁j^hs* to be found from whence these forms could borrow their exceptional ending? The case seems difficult, and yet I believe these forms to be remnants of a much older

¹ This article resumes the discussion at the point at which it was broken off in the first article in Vol. II, p. 30-49, and therefore preliminary remarks are considered unnecessary.

² Cf., however, Heinzel Endsilben 413, 427, whose reasons are a complete refutation of this theory.

method of forming the n. pl., which, except in these forms, has disappeared in the Teutonic family, and also in most of the other cognate languages.

We know that the *a-* and *ā-* stems in Greek and Latin borrow their endings *-oi* *ai-*, *-i-* *-ae* (= *-ai-*) in the n. pl. from that of the pronoun, as it still appears in the Sanskrit *tai* (*tās*), Greek *τοὶ τᾱί* (Dorico-epic), Lat. *is-ti is-tae*, Gothic *þai* (*þās*). That this ending, however, was not the only one is sufficiently shown by the Italic forms with *s*, thus *Romanos*, the Oscan *Nivlanús*, the Umbrian *Ikuvinus* and the near eighteen examples of plurals of the second declension in *-es*.¹ It was not even the only ending of the pronoun as is proved by the Lat. n. pl. *his-ce quis*, the Old Baktrian *vis'pes'-c'a* omnesque (i. e. *vis'pay-as'-c'a*; cf. examples in Bücheler 42 sq., Bopp § 228^a). From these examples we may conclude that the ending of the n. pl. both of the substantive and of the pronoun had at one time an *-s* which was lost at an early period. Another element was introduced into the composition of the nominative plural of the pronominal stem *ta-* (m.) *tā-* (f.), viz. the enlargement of the stem by *i* (cf. Bopp § 228), a frequent addition, which the Greek forms *τοὶ τᾱί* confirm. The full n. pl. of the pronominal stem *ta- tā-* would therefore be *tajas tḥjas* (cf. Bopp as above, Schleicher Comp.⁴ 516, 517, 611, 612), from which after apocope of the *s* we have Skr. *tā* (*tai*) (*tās*), Greek *τοὶ τᾱί*, Lat. *is-ti is-tae*.

Returning to the Teutonic, we find these primitive forms peculiarly adapted to an explanation of the pronoun. From *tajas tḥjas* we should have in primitive Teutonic *þeiz þāiz* (or *þāz*) according as the *j* should be dropped or retained. We find in Gothic *þai*, where the *s* was dropped either at an early date, as in Sanskrit *tai*, Greek *τοὶ*, Lat. *is-ti*, or possibly, not till the primitive Teutonic time, which latter opinion the Old Norse *þeir þær* favors. This would account for the retention of the *i* in *þai*. *þās* may reflect the Skr. *tās* without the *i* enlargement, or may come from *tḥjas* by dropping the *j* between two vowels. *þeiz* gave Old Norse *þeir*, which probably remained uncontracted into *þir* after the analogy of the g. pl. *þeir(r)a*, d. pl. *þeim* (= Skr. *tīsham*, *tībhyas*), or perhaps the tendency in Teutonic monosyllabic stems to lengthen their vowel would account for this uncontracted form, thus early *þeir* (cf. Sievers in P. B. II 122). The Old Norse fem. *þær* confirms a dropping

¹ Cf. Bücheler, Grundr. d. l. Dek. herausg. von Windehilde, pp. 36, 37, Kühner Ausf. Gramm. d. l. Spr. 1877, p. 289, 18; but against this explanation cf. Leskien, Dek. 81, Corssen, Kuhn's Zs. xvi, 296 sqq.

of the *j* in the Gothic *þōs*: the primitive *tājas* would give in the first period (cf. Heinzel c. l. 7 (347) *þājar* of which the *þær* of the MS. period is the regular reflection, the *j* having left its trace in the umlaut of the *ā*.¹ In the same manner *tveir* and *tuær* are to be explained from the stem *dva-* *dva-*.

The ending of the nom. plur. masc. of the Old Norse adj. has also, in my opinion, employed this pronominal ending *-ajas*: thus from the stem *blinda-* we have **blinda-* + *ajas* **blindājas* **blindeir* **blindir* *blindir*, though there would be no objection to Scherer's (G. D. S. 401) explanation that it is formed from the n. pl. of the pronoun *i*. The n. pl. of the fem. adj. offers the same choice as the fem. pronoun did; it comes either directly from Gothic *blindōs* or from **blinda-* + *ājas* **blindār* *blindar* by dropping the *j*, contraction and shortening of the vowel, if Gothic *blindōs* itself is not rather from **blinda-* *ājas*.

In the preceding discussion of the ending *-ir* we have left our first class *bragir* and *dstir* entirely out of the question, and before we proceed to the discussion of their n. pl., which, on account of the confusion into which this declension has fallen in Old Norse, is the most difficult question of our whole investigation, we will establish a test by which we can decide whether a given form is a regular *i*-form or whether its course of development has been affected by causes outside of those common to these stems, *i. e.* whether analogy or form-association has had an influence upon them. *Belgr* and *bragr* indicate only too plainly that causes have acted in the development of the one which did not act, or were counteracted, in that of the other, and by going back to the point where a divergence in their development first manifested itself, and tracing the farther progress of the two words step by step, assuring ourselves of the true cause of each divergence, we shall be able to decide whether their present form is the result of inner or of outside influences, and to what extent in each case.

We have already seen that the Gothic g. sg. *balgis* is possibly not formed after the analogy of the *a*-stems, but that there is a great probability that it comes from a primitive **balgi^as*, *i. e.* is formed by the addition to the simple stem *balgi-* of the regular genitive ending *-^as* without vowel augmentation, a conjecture which I am all the more ready to accept because other forms also show

¹Cf. Bugge Tid. for fil. og paed. vii 320-321, who explains the umlaut as caused by the influence of following *r*. However, the form *þajar* of the inscriptions is conclusive of the presence of the *j*.

traces of the unaugmented vowel. **Balgi*¹s would give in Old Norse **balgjar*, then in the umlaut period *belgjar*, which is the regular form of the genitive singular; the form *belgs*¹ is a later imitation of the g. sg. of the masc. *a*-stems, as *arms* from *armr*. The d. sg. *belg* is formed according to our first method, i. e. from *-a₁ji*; **balg-a₁ji*, **balg-iji*, **balgi belg(i)*. The dropping of the *i* will be considered later. The n. pl. *belgir* is the regular reflection of the Gothic *balgeis*, i. e. **balg-a₁ja₁s*. In the g. pl. the Gothic and the Old Norse differ widely. Gothic *balgē* can only come from a **balg-aj-ām*, which by dropping the *j* between vowels gives **balga-ām* **balgām balgē*; on the other hand, the Old Norse *belgja* can only come from the form with the unaugmented vowel **balgi-ām*. In Sanskrit some *i*-stems show this unaugmented g. pl. as *sāty-ām*, which also appears again in the Greek g. pl. *πολί-ων* beside *πόλεων* (i. e. *πόλεων*), and in the Lat. g. pl. *avi-um* (cf. Benfey, Vollst. Gramm. §750, 4 Ausn., Bopp Vergl. Gramm.¹ §247). Our form *belgja* is therefore most easily explained as a direct reflexion of this unaugmented form of the g. pl. which is also found in other Teutonic dialects: O. H. G. g. pl. *gest-o*=*gesti-o* on account of the umlaut, *kesti-o* (cf. Graff IV 268), *tāti-o* (ib. V 328); O. S. g. pl. *gesti-o* (Hel. 2045), *ensti-o* (ib. 261), all of which cannot be reflexions of the Gothic *gastē* and *anstē*, but must be the form with the unaugmented vowel; the coincidence of this form with the g. pl. of the *-ja-* (*-jā-*) stems having led to the confounding of these two classes of words. The ac. pl. *belgi*=*balgi-ns*. The Gothic d. pl. *balgim* is from **balgi-ms*, O. H. G. *pelkim*, O. H. G. *enstim*, O. S. O. Frise *liodim* being formed in the same manner. In Old Norse and Old English the *i*-stems have lost their own d. pl. and taken that of the *a*-stems, hence *burð-um* *stōð-um* *sōtt-um*, in which the radical *i* has been dropped. It is difficult to decide whether O. S. d. pl. *gestiun* *anstiun* *enstiun*, O. N. *belgjun* *bekkjum* are to be ascribed to the influence of the g. pl. and the *-ja-* (*-jā-*) stems, or whether they have simply retained their radical *i* in the d. pl. after gutturals (after dentals it seems to have been regularly dropped). An explanation of the *um* in these cases as arising from *m* sonans would only be admissible on the supposition that the semivowel *j* retained its consonant nature after gutturals, but dropped out after dentals. Thus we see that the umlaut is regular in the g. d. sg., n. g. d. (in those cases retaining the *i*) and ac. pl.,

¹Cl. Vig. have in g. s. only *belgjar*, cf. however Fritzn. 45, Wimm. §41 b.

from whence it penetrated into all cases. To this class belong *belgr*, *gloępr*, *gestr* and others.

Bragr represents that class of *i*-stems which retained the augmented vowel in all possible cases and arrived at the opposite result from *belgr*. The g. sg. *bragar* arose from **brag-aj*-^s by the dropping of the *j* between vowels; the d. sg. *brag* has employed the second method, i. e. **brag-aj* which would give in the first period **bragai*=early Gothic *balgai*, later *balga*, in the second *brage*, in the third *bragi*, later after the analogy of the other stems *brag* (cf. below for the dropping of this dative ending). The g. pl. *braga* reflects the Gothic *bragē* from **brag-a(j)ām*. The d. pl. *bragum* (we should naturally expect here *bregjum*) has undoubtedly followed the *a*-stems, unless we assume an early dropping out of the *j*. The ac. pl. *bragi* instead of *bregi* is at first sight quite surprising, and is generally explained as 'rückumlaut'; perhaps, however, another explanation is admissible. Accusatives like πόλεας γλυτέας (then πόλεις γλυτεῖς after the analogy of the n. pl.), Lat. *oveis fructūs*, Old Bulg. *synovy*, i. e. *πόλεϊας *γλυτέας, **ovejās* **fructavās*, **sunavās* indicate an augmented vowel in the formation of the ac. pl., and we may conclude that the ending -*ajans* -*avans* was once employed as well as -*ins* -*uns* (cf. Leskien Dek. 79, Heinzel Endsilben 413 sq., Schleicher Comp.⁴ 520, Bopp Vergl. Gramm.⁵ §236 towards the end, Bücheler 54 sq.). An ending -*ajans* would explain very neatly *bragi*; from **brag-aj-ans* we should have after the dropping of -*ns*, the rule in Old Norse, **bragaja*, then **bragai* **brage bragi* regularly without umlaut. In the n. pl. *bragir* we should naturally expect umlaut, though we can here assume 'rückumlaut' after the analogy of the other cases unless we prefer an explanation to be given later.

The feminines have also employed the two methods, the one in *floęðr ermr*, provided these are really *i*-stems, which seems very doubtful, the second in *dst dstar dst(i) (dstir) dsta dstum (dstir)*. The n. pl. *dstir* has been variously explained. Leskien, Dek. 79 assumes 'rückumlaut' caused by the influence of the large number of the non-umlauting *ā*-stems which have passed into the *i*-declension, but Heinzel's just objection that the Old Norse never gives up the umlaut which has once shown itself renders this theory untenable. Heinzel himself resorts to Scherer's method of non-coloring of the vowel in -*ajas*, which we have already rejected, as an -*ajas* which does not weaken its vowel to -*ijis* cannot be our -*a₁ja₁s*; this would certainly give in the first period -*eir*, in the second -*ir* with umlaut.

It is true that many *ā*- stems have in addition to the ending *-ar* (which is the prevailing form in the oldest MSS. cf. Wimmer § 33 B. I.) in very early times the ending *-ir* in the n. pl., and this became the prevailing ending of later times. But if this was a real transition into the *i*- declension, why did they not take the umlaut also? Or can these *ā*- stems, which have an ending completely dissimilar to that of the *i*- stems and no umlaut, have so affected the *i*- stems, to whose influence they are supposed to owe their n. pl., as to have caused them to forfeit their own umlaut? Certainly not. This non-umlauting *-ir* of the *ā*- and *i*- stems (for it is here also a strange appearance) must be explained in another manner. If, then, the ending *-ir* of the *ā*- stems is not borrowed from the *i*- stems, we must assume an independent development. The Greek *χῶραι*, Latin *terrae* (*ai*) are rightly explained as being borrowed from the pronominal declension (*ται*, *is-tae*). But the Skr. feminine has in the n. pl. *tās*, the Gothic *þōs*, and we were doubtful whether these forms arose from **tājas* by dropping the *j* or rather from *tā+as*. However, as the Greek *ται*, Lat. *is-tae* cannot possibly be a reflexion of the Sanskrit *tās*, or O. N. *þær* (on account of the *þajar* of the older inscriptions) of the Gothic *þōs*, moreover as Greek *ται*, Lat. *is-tae* must come from a primitive *tāi*, O. N. *þær* from a primitive *þājar*, and as furthermore on the other hand the Sanskrit *tās*, Gothic *þōs* can easily be explained from a primitive *tājas* by dropping the *j*, Greek *ται*, Lat. *is-tae* by apocope of the *s*, I do not hesitate to consider **tājas* the primitive form of the n. pl. of the fem. pronominal stem *tā-*. The *s* of the Sanskrit *tās*, Gothic *þōs*, O. N. *þær*, Lat. *his-ce quis*, Old Baktrian *vis'pes'c'a* proves the presence of the same at an early age of the language, which has been dropped in the prehistoric time both of the Greek and Latin pronoun and substantive. This removes the necessity of assuming that the *s* of these pronouns has been borrowed from the substantive. The *j* of the Greek *ται*, Lat. *is-tae*, O. N. *þājar* proves the early presence of this element in the ending. This pronominal ending *-ai-* has in Greek and Latin completely suppressed the regular substantive ending *-ās* of the *ā*- stems. Whether it has also suppressed the regular one in Old Norse must remain undecided, as the ending *-ar* of the *ā*- stems can come as well from *-ās* as from *-ājas* by the dropping of the *j*. However we may explain the *-ar*, the *-ir* of these stems can only be explained as a direct reflexion of the primitive form **-ājas -āir -ēir -ir -ir* which accounts satisfactorily for the non-appearance of the umlaut.

The Old Norse used both these endings, many nouns taking indifferently *-ar* or *-ir*, as *jarðar jarðir*, *barar barir aldar aldir sólir sólir*. The fact that the ending *-ar* is the older ending leads to the inference that the pronominal ending *-ir*, provided we regard *-ar* as coming from *-ās* and not from *-ājas*, had already at this early period begun the contest for supremacy.

From the foregoing it becomes evident that the *ā*-stems borrowed their ending *-ir* in the n. pl. from the pronoun, and not from the *i*-stems, as the *-ir* of the *i*-stems must necessarily have produced umlaut. Let us now see where the *i*-stems got their non-umlauting *-ir*. We were tempted above to explain *bragir* as 'rückumlaut' through the influence of the other cases which regularly have no umlaut, but were deterred by the fact that the Old Norse is extremely sensitive to the umlaut, which always appears in every case where there is a cause for it, as a glimpse at its *ā*-declension will suffice to show. The above fact and the still more important one that we find old *i*-stems (as *gestir gloepir* and others) with the umlaut leads inevitably to the assumption of another ending here. The feminine *i*-stems also lead to the same conclusion, and here the inducement to a change of ending in the n. pl. was much greater. We have already seen that the g. sg. (*-aij^ās*, later *-ar*) finally coincided by dropping the *j* with that of the *ā*-stems; moreover in the d. sg. the *ā*-stems early lost in most cases their *u*- (cf. Wimmer § 48) and the *i*-stems their *i*- (cf. Wimmer § 43), so that, as the ac. sing. in each case naturally became the same, the entire singular of both classes was nearly alike, which naturally had the effect of confounding the two classes of words. The ending *-ir*, which coming from the pronominal ending **-ājas* produced no umlaut, now began to appear in the n. pl. of the *ā*-stems, a novelty here, and soon became confounded with the umlauting *-ir* of the *i*-stems. The coincidence of the singular and the confounding of the two distinct endings in the n. pl. completed the confusion of these two classes of words. The result of this interchange of endings and identity of the singular is the present form of the *ā*- and *i*-declension in Old Norse. We shall see, however, that not all *i*-stems gave up their umlaut. The non-umlauting masculine plurals of the *i*-stems like *bragir* are undoubtedly also formed after the analogy of the n. pl. of the pronoun, as in Greek *ἱπποί*, Lat. *equi*, Lit. *vilkai*. The masc. pronominal ending was originally **-aija^ās*, but became lengthened to **-ājas* in monosyllabic words (cf. above), hence *-eir -ir* without umlaut. As

we find both umlauted and non-umlauted forms in the masc. we must accept a later transfer of the pronominal ending than in the case of the feminines.

For the sake of clearness we will give a tabular view of the endings which have been employed in the formation of the declension of the *i*-stems in Old Norse:

Sing.	Plur.
n. -s	<i>a₁jā₁s</i> (- <i>ājas₁</i>)
g. - <i>a₁j^hs</i> (- <i>j^hs</i>)	- <i>a₁jām</i> (- <i>jām</i>)
d. - <i>a₁jī</i> - <i>a₁j</i> - <i>a₁jāx</i>	- <i>mis</i>
ac. - <i>im</i>	- <i>ins</i> (- <i>a ja₁ns</i>).

All the peculiar forms of the *i*-declension both of the masculines and feminines arise from these endings; from these we can explain *belgīr* (*floēðir*), *bragīr dǫtir*. Let us employ the facts gathered in this investigation in the explanation of our stems, which, as we have already seen, were primitively, or became by an inner change in the course of their development old *u*- and *i*- (resp. *ā*- and *n*-) stems. It will, however, first be necessary to examine the other groups in order to see if they, too, show a disturbance in their development. If these groups, which were beyond question primitive consonant stems, have not been disturbed in their course and yet show the umlaut, then the theory of *u*- and *i*-stems will be shaken; on the other hand if they, too, have suffered inner change, or passed into another class, this theory will be greatly strengthened.

GROUP II.—THE WORDS OF RELATIONSHIP.

The declension in primitive Teutonic was: n. sg. *fadār*, g. sg. *fadar^hs*, d. sg. *fadari*, ac. sg. *fadarm*, n. pl. *fadara₁s*, g. pl. *fadarām*, d. pl. *fadarm(i)s*, ac. pl. *fadarūs*. This regularly gives in the Gothic singular *fadar fadrs fadr fadar* as the *m* being here behind a sonor is *m* consonans and therefore drops off, cf. Osthoff Morph. Unters. I 227¹). The history of the plural is different. The *m* of the d. pl. and the *n* of the ac. pl. are sonantes, being protected by the mutes following, so that we therefore have d. pl. *fadrum*, ac. pl. *fadruns*, which two cases cause a transition of the plural into the *u*-declension: n. pl. *fadrjus*, g. pl. *fadrē*, d. pl. *fadrum*, ac. pl. *fadruns*, thus giving us a mixture in the declension of the nouns of relationship in Gothic, a mixture which we

shall find more or less in all the other dialects. Leaving the *a*-forms out of consideration, we find in O. H. G. for the most part consonant forms in the singular and plural, an indication that the dat. and acc. pl. did not cause a complete transition into the *u*-declension. We also find *u*-forms in the n. pl., *bruodere* (*bruodere*: *brōprjus* :: *fuoizzi*: *fōtjus*) Diut. III 237; in the d. pl. *bruoderen*, *tohteren faterin* and frequently in O. H. G.¹ The Old Frise has the same development of consonant and *u*-forms side by side; n. pl. *brōther brōthere*; the d. pl. offers no corresponding form. The O. S. shows only consonant forms. In O. E. *u*- and consonant forms stand side by side: n. ac. pl. *brōðor brōðru*, *dohtor dohtru dohtra*, *mōðor mōðru mōðra*, *sveostor sveostra* (*brēðer* is a conjecture of Grein's to Gen. 12281). The singular of the O. E. shows, however, a peculiarity not found in O. H. G., O. S. or O. Frise, viz: umlaut in the d. sg. *brēðer mēðer*, and what is more surprising *dehter* as well as *dohter*, the only form justifiable.² We shall return to these forms again. The Old Norse shows a peculiar development of this class of words. Throughout the whole plural we find umlaut and in the n. ac. pl. loss of suffixal vowel. The singular has n. *faðir*, g. *fǫður*, d. *fǫður*, ac. *fǫður* as its general declension. The oblique cases owe their present form to the ac. sg. which has dropped a final *u*, as we see from the coloring of the vowel (cf. Sievers P. B. V. 161). This **faðaru* can only be the reflexion of our **fadarm* above where the *m* has performed the function of an *m* sonans after sonors, a function which it generally performs only after mutes. Here the example of the *m* after mutes has been followed. From the ac. sg. this form has passed into the g. and d. sg. Besides this so-called regular d. sg. *fǫður* we find another, *feðr*, which stands in the best MSS. and in the earliest times (for instance in the Homilies and early Sagas it is the prevailing form). This form has been compared with the d. sg. *foeti*, and justly, for starting from the ac. sg. **faðaru* these stems must also have once passed into the *u*-declension in the singular. The *u*-forms were, however, not entirely able to drive out the later analogies of the ac. sg. *fǫður*. To this fact we owe the almost total disappearance of this form in later times. In O. E., however, it is the only one. *Feðr* then reflects the old *u*-dative **fadravi* **fadrivi* **faðri* *feðr*.

¹It must be remembered that the *u*-stems in O. H. G. have developed from Gothic n. pl. *-jus* an *i*, thus n. pl. *sunī*, and then form g. pl. *sunjo*, d. pl. *sunim* and *sunum*.

²Cf. however, Stratmann in Kölbing's Englische Stud. III 473.

These words also show *i*-forms in the Lithuanian (cf. Brugman in Curtius' St. IX 400).

GROUP III.—THE PARTICIPLES.

The theory of the umlaut of consonant stems finds its greatest support in the present participles, as these formerly belonged in all languages to the consonant declension. The Old Norse n. pl. *fraendr*, Old English *frýnd* is made to correspond to Gothic *frijōnds*, Old High German *friunt*, Old Saxon *friund*. This appears in fact to deal the death-blow to the theory of *u*- and *i*-stems, an inorganic umlaut being here altogether inadmissible. Let us make these stems, then, the test of the two opposing theories, but first review the forms and see if outside influence may not have been at work even here.

The participles show in Gothic, Old High German, Old Saxon, Old Frise (an exception here, as this dialect has hitherto shared the peculiarities of the Old Norse and Old English) mostly consonant forms, while on the other hand they are mostly umlauted in Old Norse and Old English. A closer inspection of these words will show quite a different story. In Old Norse the singular, having passed into the *n*-declension, will here be left out of consideration. The n. pl. has the ending *-r* with umlaut of the vowel immediately preceding, save a few remarkable exceptions, a fact all the more important as even these words umlaut in most cases. They are the following: *fjandr*¹ *gefandr* (cf. Gislason Tid. for fil. og paed. VI 253, Leffler, ib. n. r. II 292¹. I have not been able to find the form myself), *sjandr*: *þeir menn sem eigi verða asatter um gíolld skulo taka tva logseandr a meðal. sin.* Dipl. Isl. 315. *eðr hafi þér nökkura lögsjandr til kvadda.* Eyrb. 22. *veriandr*: *svat sokendr oc heyrendr (veriandr Fr.) come til.* Post. 224. In Old English the examples of umlaut and non-umlaut are about equally divided in the d. sg. and n. ac. pl. of these stems, one author preferring one form, another the other, and sometimes we find one author using both indifferently. Here follow passages from different authors showing their preferences: Aelfred; Boeth. *hū þā ðyre friend cumanð mid þām vėlam. xvi. For þām yfele þegnas beðp symle heora hlāfordes fiend . . . he him ondraed*

¹ I have only found this one passage with umlaut of this word, viz., *ok kvað fát verra enn við fjandr [fjanda, K., fjendur, M.] slíka at eiga.* Fms III 214 in the Icelandic, but in Old Swedish the umlauted forms often occur, cf. Rydquest II 207.

monigne feond (Cott. *fýnd*). 46. *he gegæderað frind and gefëran*. 74. *Ac þa frýnd þe hine ær for þām vëlan lufiað, þa gevitað eft mid þām vëlan*. 106. *þa friend cumað*. ib. Aelfric: *þā þā gehwā mihle his leofostan frýnd forgylan* Hom. I 50. *þā betæhte he his fýnd gōde*. ib. *forðan ðe god hi hredde við heora fýnd*. I 312, 314. *he gelaðode his frýnd and his nēhgeburas*. *His frýnd sind Engla-hedþas*. I 340. *benam his feond friðo, gaudio omnia suis abstulit inimicis*. Ps. p. 4 in the glossary to Aelfric Grammatica. *þæt þā þinum frýnd ne helpe*. Deut. 15, 10, *Rituale Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. by Jos. Stevenson, Edinburgh, 1839, has only the *a*-forms, *feondas = inimicos* 44, 1. St. Ps. always has the unumlauted forms: *sve sve spearva se anga in timbre alne deg edvittun (l hyspton) me feond mine* 4, 8. *ofer feond his = super inimicos ejus*. 22, 24. *and svencton hic fiond heara*. 34, 42. *freond þine = sunt amici tui*. 146, 16. Maning's Supplement to Lye: *frýnd fundon* (in the Test. of Eadgifu). Laws (Schmidt's second ed.): *þonne beo he fāh við þone cyng and við calle his fréond*. p. 142. *sý he gefāh við þone cyning and við calle his frýnd*. p. 175.

Thus Aelfred and Aelfric employed constantly the umlauted plural (the unumlauted by Aelfric stands only in the Glossary in a citation). In Stevenson's Psalter and in the Rit. Ec. there is no umlaut, though sometimes the *a*-form. The laws have both umlaut and non-umlaut, the latter being the common form in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; in short, umlaut and non-umlaut stand side by side. From these forms we can draw but one of two conclusions: either the umlauting forms are the true reflexion of the Gothic *frijōnds*, O. H. G. *friunt*, O. S. *friund*, in which case the non-umlauting forms can only be explained by rückumlaut, a feature quite contrary to the nature of the Old Norse and Old English, both of which languages are quite sensitive to the umlaut; or the non-umlauting forms are the regular reflexions of the Gothic, Old High German and Old Saxon forms, in which case the *a(i)* of the ending *-as* disappeared before the umlaut period. If this be so, then the umlauting forms must be explained by a transition of these stems into the *i*-declension, to the same declension to which we have seen that so many of the simple words primarily belonged, and are therefore subject to the same explanation as these. One or the other of these conclusions is inevitable unless we admit that caprice has played an important part in the development of the language, an element which has been rejected in regard to the

coloring or non-coloring of the vowel in the ending *-ajas* and which must also be ruled out here. We must also exclude rückumlaut, as there is no reason whatever for its appearance here except caprice. We have, therefore, only one choice, viz., transition into the *i*-declension. Let us see what evidence we can find for such a transition.

Even the Gothic shows signs of the beginning of a transition into the vowel declension; the g. sg. and d. pl. have here passed into the *a*-declension, and the Old High German, Old Saxon and Old Frise show a growing inclination for these forms, which finally carry the day over all others. The Old Norse, though rarely, also shows *a*-forms: *eigandar* (cf. List II 2), *gefandar* (cf. Gislason Tid. for fil. og paed. VI 253), *fjandar*, *Falli niður fjandar illir*. Ísl. þjóð. 454, *komandar*, ac. pl. *komanda* (cf. List II 65 for *komandar*, *Bidium ver alla vara æfterkomanda at halda*. Dipl. Norv. 85, 210), *smíðandar* (cf. List II 101), *skerðandar* (List II 98); *striðandar* (List II 107) *veitandar* (List II 117); in the *boendarnar vitendar* and others of Dipl. Norv. the *a* is only the svarabhakti. Other forms show a transition into the *i*-declension. In O. H. G. and O. Frise we find O. H. G. *fianti* in the n. ac. pl., *fiantim* in the d. pl.; O. Frise n. pl. *fiande*, d. pl. *fynden*; O. H. G. n. pl. *friundi*, d. pl. *friundim*; O. Frise n. pl. *frionde*, *frionda*, *friond* (cf. List II 25, 35, and Graff 3, 382). Some of the O. H. G. forms rest on the authority of Graff, others are found in Notker; therefore there can be no doubt about the correctness of the reading. Thus two of the Teutonic dialects bear witness of an inclination to assume *i*-forms, and one of these (O. Frise) is one of the three dialects which have constantly shown the same peculiarities in the declension of their consonant stems. They both show besides, it is true, consonant forms, also a peculiarity of Old Norse and Old English. Moreover we have also evidence of *i*-forms in Old Norse: *búendir*, og *urðu þá ekki leingur búendir dalsins útlegu-menn*. Ísl. þjóð. II 204. *at þer waerir ok styrkir korsbroeðr till at halda þessa tyund sem nu er sagt ok oll annur sin rettynde sua ok æigsiðr þa boender sem tiundena luka þæim*. Dipl. Norv. 77, and perhaps we can also cite here the two forms of *fyrnæmfdr menn* and *fyrnæmfndir Arnfinr ok Anondr* in Dipl. Norv., the first 149, the second 150. Both forms occur often in this work. *Loekendir* is found in ABC (cf. List II 53), but changed by the editor to *loekendr*, and is another example of an *i*-form. Moreover, the West Teutonic group shows a transition into the *ja*-declension

(cf. Sievers PB V 141). This transition of the participles into the vowel declension is not confined to the Teutonic alone; other members of the Aryan family shared the same peculiarity with it. In Pāli we find some cases formed after the analogy of the *a*-declension, in Old Slavonic and Lithuanian they passed into the *ja*-, in Old Prussian and Latin into the *i*-declension (cf. Bopp Vgl. Gramm.² §§ 779-780, Curtius' Stud. 5, 47, Brugman in Curtius' Stud. 9, 336).

GROUP IV.—THE T-STEMS.

The formation of these stems is still very obscure, the most popular explanation being by Kuhn in his Zs. I 372, Aufrecht ib. II 149, with which may be compared that of Leo Meyer in his Greek and Latin Gram. II 98, 99, and Corssen Ausspr.² II 209. These stems are supposed to have been originally consonant, belong, however, in Teutonic mostly, if not entirely, to the vowel declension. In this class are generally included such words as *haubiþ*- (= *caput*), *liuhaþ*-, *miliþ*- (= *μελιτ*-, Lat. *mel*, *mellis*), and others, all of which now belong to the *a*-declension. In list III of the first part of this work I have placed for convenience the following six words, without any regard to their real formation, simply because they have consonant forms and do not belong to any particular class, viz., *bajðþ*-, *halap*-, *magapi*-, *mānāþ*-, *mitap*-, *vitubd*-. It is not my intention to attempt an explanation of these stems, as some of them have baffled thus far all attempts at an explanation, and even their solution would throw but little light on the present question of the umlaut. *Bajðþs* (for explanation of its formation cf. Curtius Grd.² 293, Fick VII 196, Bopp Gl. 52) has consonant forms only in Gothic, in the other dialects it follows the adjective declension with the exception of *ok þeir badr i hia uaro Besse ok Eioľfuer*. Dipl. Norv. 211, where we probably have simply an instance of the dropping of the *i* after dentals, as *badir* is the regular form even in this work. In the same manner we can explain the consonant forms of the stem *mānāþ*- by the dropping out of the *i* behind dentals; it certainly has mostly vowel forms in all the dialects (cf. List III 4). *Mitap*- and *vitubd*- are found only in the Gothic and cannot aid in our discussion. *Halap*- is connected with the root *hal* (*helan*, *hal*, *hālum*), to cover, to conceal (Lat. *oc-culum*, *cēlare*), and is probably formed by the suffix *-ta*- (*-ti*-) and therefore an *a*-stem. The forms of the O. N. *höldr*, O. S. *helið*, pl. *heliððs*, O. E. n. pl. *hæleðas* still retain their old declension,

while O. H. G. voc. pl. *helede*, d. pl. *heleden*, O. E. n. pl. *hæleðe* show a transition into the *i*-declension, probably on account of the near relation of the suffixes *-la-* and *-ti-*. The O. E. n. pl. *hæleð* has thus lost its final vowel. *Magapi-* is an old *i*-stem and has preserved its declension in all the dialects except O. E. *mægð*, O. S. *magað*, and once in O. H. G. d. pl. *uuoroldmagadon* O. I 6, 7 (here on account of the metre cf. Ingenbleek in Q. F. 37, p. 23). The correspondence with Sanskrit *mahatī* (cf. Leo Meyer, Got. Spr. II 353) is rendered very doubtful from the fact that *mahatī* is without doubt the participle (fem.) of the praeterito-presens of Sanskrit *mañh*, thus standing for *mahuti*, from which we can not possibly get a Gothic *magaps* unless we assume that a change of *n* sonans to *a* took place at a very early date and its connection with the verb was forgotten before the Teutonic family separated from the sister languages, so that the treatment of this *a* (from *n* sonans) was the same as all other *a*'s of the primitive language. Leaving out, therefore, the three stems *bajōps*, *mitaps* and *veitvōds*, which are found only in the Gothic and have no real bearing on the umlaut question, the others all show a primitive vowel stem and only in a very few instances consonant forms.

We can now sum up the testimony given by all the groups before returning to the final decision of the umlaut question. We constantly find in all those cases in which the primitive stem was consonant a disturbance in the development of this primitive consonant stem, a constant transition into the vowel declension; in many nouns usually classed among the consonant stems we find old *u*- and *i*-stems, sometimes also *a*- (*ā*-) stems, so that in no case are we justified in asserting that an umlauted n. pl., even though belonging originally to a consonant stem, results from the influence of the *a* (*i*) in the ending *-as*; nay, more, the participles have shown beyond all doubt that the real reflexion of a consonant stem in the n. pl. cannot be an umlauted n. pl., and this testimony is further confirmed by the following n. pl. of the *Tar*-stems: *brōþr* Leif. forn. (Cod. A. M.) 83, 124, 133, and in the Hom. (we also find once in Leif. forn. the n. pl. *fōtr* and once *bōkr*, where this *ō*, however, may be the orthographic sign of the umlaut of *δ*).

Finding the primitive consonant stems incapable of clearing up satisfactorily this problem, let us try to explain the singularities of these stems considered as *u*- and *i*-stems, which, as we have already seen, give at first sight a much more unsatisfactory solution of the problem than even the consonant stems. Employing

the regular endings of the *u*- and *i*- declensions we should have in the singular :

n.	<i>fót-r</i>	<i>nótt</i>
g.	<i>fót-ar</i> (- <i>au^{as}</i>)	<i>nótt-ar</i> (- <i>aj^{as}</i>)
		<i>noett-r</i> (- <i>j^{as}</i>)
d.	<i>foet-i</i> (- <i>ai</i>)	<i>nótt</i> (from - <i>aj</i> which has then been developed like the <i>ai</i> in the d. sg. of the <i>á</i> - declension ?)
		<i>byrig</i> (- <i>aji</i>)
ac.	<i>fót</i>	<i>nótt</i>

In the Plural :

n.	<i>foet-(i)r</i> (<i>a₁ua₁s</i>)	<i>noett-(i)r</i> (<i>a₁ja₁s</i>)
g.	<i>fóla</i>	<i>nólla</i>
d. pl.	<i>fót-um</i>	<i>nótt-um</i> (from the <i>a</i> - declension)
ac.	* <i>fót-u</i> (- <i>uns</i>)	* <i>noet-i</i> (- <i>ins</i>)
	<i>foet-(i)r</i> (= n. pl.)	<i>noet-(i)r</i> (= n. pl.)

The two endings -*aj^{as}* -*j^{as}* serve to explain double genitives like *nóttar noetr*, *burge byrig* (the umlauting forms are rare in Old Norse and Old English, *byrig* being the poetical form of this word. The other words have only unumlauted genitive singulars, as *göse*, *gäte*, etc., cf. List I). The d. sg. in Old Norse has been retained by the masculines intact. Thus we find *foeti*, *fingri*, *nagli*, *manni* (following the *a*- declension in the singular), *vetri*, and by one feminine *hendi*, yet *hönd* occurs once (*til hoegri handar* [*d hoegri hönd Anm.*] Fagr. 140). The old *á*- stems, d. sg. *mörk*, *rönd*, etc., have lost their *u*, though it is sometimes retained (cf. List I), and these old *á*- stems, forming as they do the great majority of the nouns belonging to this category, have caused the *i*- stems to become flexionless in the d. sg. In Old English and Old Frise, however, we find regularly *téth*, *byrig* (= -*ai* -*aji*). The loss of the final *i* will be considered in connection with that of the n. ac. pl., both of which cases show the same peculiarity, due to the same cause. The ac. pl. early became like the n. pl. (cf. Scherer G D S, 418 sq., Blomberg, *u*- omljudet 70), for we must assume this assimilation of the ac. pl. to the n. pl. even if we consider these stems consonant, as the ending -*as* of the ac. pl. is not the same as the -*as* of the n. pl. (cf. Greek *πόδας πόδες*).

Thus far the endings which we have seen to have been used by the *u*- and *i*- stems in the formation of their cases have satisfactorily

explained the declension of our stems: the umlaut of the genitive singular is explained by the ending *-j^hs*, the dative *tēth byrig* by the ending *-auī -ji*, the n. pl. by the ending *-a:ua:s -a:ja:s*, whereas we have explained the failure of the umlaut in the n. pl. of the *i*-stems by the pronominal ending *-ājas*. Only the loss of the suffixal vowel in the d. sg. of the Old English and Old Frise and of the n. pl. of all three dialects awaits a satisfactory explanation on the supposition that they are old *u*- and *i*-stems. The evidence of the foregoing investigation bears out this supposition, which is further strengthened by the fact that we often find side by side not only these peculiar forms without the suffixal vowel and the forms according to the more general declension, but also forms in which the vowel has been retained. Thus we find *merkr markir* (originally with a difference of meaning, *merkr* signifying pieces of money and *markir* a wood, a boundary), *spengr, spangir, rendr, randir* and others. Add to these *fýtir, hendir, noettir* (*Fostu daga eigum ver at fasta i iola fosto oc neternar*. Dipl. Ísl. 375, and often in N. G. L.), *botir* (*biðom wer ærfwingium hins dauða at taka sætler oc bōter af þeim*. Dipl. Norv. 350), *frender* (ath therra *frender* bidia them orloff, Dipl. Norv. 313, 21 of Feb. 1371 in Bergen), *broeder* (Ollum monnum þeim sem þetta bref sea eda hoeyra senda *broder* Asulfwer superior ok aller adrer *broeder* af predicara lifnað i Oslo. Dipl. Norv. 188. *Væitum mer fyrnemdir broeder vidergonghu*. ib. 6 of Sept. 1335 in Oslo. cf. ib. 353 on the 11th of Aug. 1383 *korsbroeðer*), *merkir*. These latter forms are indeed mostly dialectical and are not to be found in the best MSS. of the Icelandic, but yet they must have been current in the mouths of the people, as the forms of the later Old Norwegian, Old Danish and Old Swedish sufficiently prove (cf. Rydqv. II, and Wimmer, *Navneordenes Bøjn*. p. 81 sqq.). They show, moreover, the close connection of our stems with the old *i*-declension. Add to this testimony just given the former testimony of the participles in their umlauted and unumlauted forms and their identity as old *u*- *i*-stems becomes complete; the unumlauted form shows positively the form which consonant stems would inevitably have, had there been no disturbing influences at work. The Old High German and Old Saxon show in the earliest MSS. and constantly forms of the *i*-declension in all the simple words; thus we find d. pl. O. H. G. *eichin*, d. sg. *eiche*, n. pl. *enti, burgi, mûsi*, and the same in O. S. One needs only to compare the words in List I and II to see that these stems are *i*-stems in these two languages (O.

H. G., O. S.). On the other hand the participles and names of relationship show mostly consonant forms in these same languages, with now and then an *i*-form.

Let us now consider the reason for the dropping of the suffixal vowel. Two causes have combined to bring about this loss, firstly the tendency of the Teutonic to drop the *i*, the lightest of the vowels, after dentals, a tendency which the Greek and Latin also share (cf. Curtius Grdz.⁵ 643-4, Leo Meyer Gr. u. Lat. Gramm. II 331, 532, Corssen Ausspr. II 542 ff.). And this is especially true of the Gothic, an indisputable fact as already shown in the case of *nahts*, where the evidence of five languages (cf. Curtius Grdz.⁵ 162 and above) leaves not the least doubt of a primitive *i*-stem. *Spaurds* is also another case; it occurs only three times: d. sg. *spaurd* Cor. 1, 9, 24, g. pl. *spaurð* and d. pl. *spaurdim* John 11, 18. In O. H. G. the d. sg. is *spurt* and *spurde* (cf. List I 72), d. pl. *spurdim*. In O. E. I find in the Durham book only g. or ac. pl. *spyrdo* John 6, 19, *spyrð* Luc. 24, 13, d. pl. *spyrðum* John 11, 18, where the context gives no key to the gender. The *y*, however, (*i*-umlaut of *u*) indicates a primitive *i* in the ending. Grimm Gr. 2, 57 and Ettmüller derive our word from *spairan*, in which case we have here also a *-ti*-stem, to which the frequent *i*-forms also point. *Vaihts* bears further evidence of this tendency, showing in but one passage ac. pl. *vaihts* (cf. List I 86), in all other passages we find regularly *vaihtins*. This word belongs exclusively to the *i*-declension in the other dialects. *Dulps* is a further example, if the derivation of Delbrück Zs. f. d. phil. 1, 9 and Leo Meyer Got. Spr. § 113 from Skr. *dhṛti* is right. When we therefore consider that of the fifteen words in Gothic (*alhs bajōths baurgs brusts dulps* [gyp] *mēnōths miluks mitaps nahts reiks spaurds vaihts veitvōds* [pruts]) which show the peculiarities of the consonant declension, eleven of them end in a dental, and moreover that almost all of them have also in many cases retained the old forms beside the new ones: d. pl. *baurgim*, g. sg. *dulpais*, d. sg. *dulpai*, d. sg. *gupa*, g. sg. *mēnōpis*, d. pl. *mēnōpum*, g. sg. *reikis*, d. pl. *reikam*, d. pl. *spaurdim*, *vaihts* has almost always its *i*-forms, we need not hesitate any longer to consider these consonant forms as syncopated and not primitive ones. This tendency of dropping the vowel after dentals is also a peculiarity of O. H. G. and O. S. as seen in the following examples: O. H. G. *deoheit* (g. d. sg.), *werolt* (g. sg.) (and Wm. III) d. sg. Ct. 70 cf. Graff 1, 938 *kewonaheit teilnumft* (d. sg.), *cht* (g. sg.), *kitaat* (n. ac. pl.)

(cf. Seiler in P. B. I 439 sqq.); the following are taken from the O. H. G. Glosses ed. by Steinmeyer and Sievers: *gratiae(a) anst* 160, *potestate maht* 216, *vi maht* 265, *affinitate nahwenticheit* 433, *lesiones ungedulli* f. 225^t *ungedult* k 229^a, 471, *mit eocouuelihera deoheit untaruuorfannii cum omni humilitatis subjectione*. Hat. Denkm. I 41, *potestate maht* ib. 196, *vanitas (uppigkei) ist uuideruuertig uerilate (uuarheit)* ib. II 104, 167, but 186 *uuerilate (uuarheite)*, ac. pl. *stat* = *ripas* (cf. Graff 6, 644), d. sg. *luft* R., ac. pl. *luft* Diut. II 340 (cf. Graff II 208), d. sg. *lust* N. 124 (cf. Graff. II 285). The g. pl. *gesto*, as the umlaut and the form *gestio* show, can also be added. The examples in Old Saxon are less frequent but yet we find the following: ac. pl. *dād* for *dādi* (Hel. 3236, 3480, 4420, 5153), d. sg. *hand* (once Hel. 1851 for the common form *hendi*), d. sg. *mid theru maht godes* (Hel. 4162, 4381), g. sg. *tīd* for *tīdi* (Hel. C. 4184), d. sg. *thiod* for *thiodi*, *undar theru thiod* Hel. 1891 and often, d. sg. *werold* (Hel. 136, 1132, 1658) for *weroldi* which is the common form, and the flexionless forms of our stems like *naht* g. d. sg. n. ac. pl., which indeed had already lost its *i* in Gothic, and *magað* = O. E. *mægð*. The Old English and Old Norse offer fewer examples of the dropping of a vowel after dentals; however, the following in Old English prove that it was not altogether unknown: d. sg. *hand*, *on anre hand* Hy. 7, 119 (cf. Grein), *tō fredn hond* Gn. Ex. 91; *miht* d. sg. *būtan þære miht* Ps. 138, 10, *dryht*, d. sg. *fram þære sciran dryht*. Sat. 177, *mid þære meniscan gecynd*, but immediately after *mid þære meniscan gecynde*. Blick. Hom. 121, *from þære tīd d oð æfen*. Alfred's Beda 391, *be þære ceorliscan bōt* Alfred's laws in supplement to Beda 35 (p. 31) and *heafod punde to bot*. ib. 40. In Old Norse this tendency manifests itself chiefly in the d. sg., which, together with the dropping off of the *u* in the d. sg. of the *ā*-stems as already noticed above, serves to account for the frequency of the flexionless dative singular in Old Norse (see examples of both kinds in Wimmer § 52, 1, § 33, 2).

It is not only after dentals that we find this disappearance of the characteristic vowel. It occurs also after other consonants though less frequently. Thus we find a few cases where it has disappeared after gutturals, a feature which the Greek and Latin also share, though many of the examples given need to be considered with care, being of a very doubtful nature. For the Greek we refer to Curtius Grdz.^a 171, who gives *αῖξ* as an example of this kind, coming according to him from **αῖγ-*, but Möller K Z 24, 482, 512 rejects

this as impossible and considers *ag-* the stem, explaining the *ay* as *i-* epenthesis. Other examples are to be found in Curtius St. 5, 77 f., Kühner ausf. Gr. Gram. I 383, 387, Bopp Vgl. Accentuations sys. 172: ἀλκ- for ἀλκι (cf. Curt. Grdz.⁵ 132, Delbrück Zs. f. d. Phil. I 133), χρόξ for χρόκι- πτόξ, Hom. πτόξες (cf. Curt. Grdz.⁵ 529) and others, all of which are very doubtful. For the examples in Latin I need only refer to Corssen Ausspr. II 204, 589 sq., where the question is thoroughly discussed, and Gustav Meyer in Curt. St. 5, 55 sqq., who devotes some space to the investigation of this question. The Teutonic furnishes but few examples of this nature, as the vowel clings with greater tenacity to its existence after gutturals than after dentals. In Gothic it is exceedingly rare where we can with any degree of certainty conjecture that a vowel has dropped out after a guttural, yet the following stems may have lost their characteristic vowel: *ahs* (cf. O. N. *ax*, O. E. *aechir*, O. H. G. *ahir*; cf. Leo Meyer Got. Spr. § 180, Brugman K. Z. 24, 10), *hugs* (g. sg. *hugsis* for **hugasas*, from an *s-* stem **hugas*?), *veihs* (Skr. *vêṣa-s*, Gr. *ῥίζο-ς*, Lat. *vicu-s*, O. H. G. *wîch*, pl. *wîcha*=*vicos*, O. E. *vic* (n). Kelt. *fich* (cf. Curtius Grd.⁵ 749), *peihs* (cf. Leo Meyer Got. Spr. § 46). To these doubtful examples we can add the following, which the forms of the other dialects seem to render more certain: *alhs*? (Lat. *arx*, stem *arc-* or *arci-*? cf. Delbrück Zs. f. d. Phil. I 133, Curt. Grd.⁵ 132), *baurgs* (all the other dialects show an *i-* stem; cf. List I 12), *miluks* (O. N. *mjólk* is also consonant, but in O. E. and O. H. G. the *i*-forms prevail; O. E., however, has sometimes *meolc* instead of *meolce* in the d. sg.), *reiks*? (n. pl. *reiks*=Old Indian *-râḡas*=Lat. *rêgês* [cf. Leo Meyer Got. Spr. § 191] occurs twice; see List I 63). This word seems to defy all explanation (cf. Corssen Ausspr. I 448 sqq., Curt. Grdz.⁵ 185, and Müller K. Z. 24, 455). The connection with Skr. *râḡan-* ruler, Lat. *rêx* is evident, whether we explain the *i* as an *i*-epenthesis with Müller (ib.) or in one of the numerous other ways proposed, the only question here being the original declension of the word in Gothic. In Skr. are to be found the three stems *râḡan-*, the form of the simple word. In compounds we find *-râḡa-* and *-râḡ-*, the latter occurring occasionally independently (cf. B. R. 6, 313; Grassmann wb. z. Rgv. 1157). In Latin we also find two stems: *rêg-* and Osk. *rêgo-* (cf. Corssen II, 448), and the *regi-* used in compounds which is probably weakened from *rego-*. The difficulty in Gothic lies in determining which was the original stem, the *reika-* of the g. sg. and d. pl., or the *reik-* of the n. pl. The absence of this word in the other dialects cuts off

all means of a comparison, and we must leave the question still undecided. And yet one might conjecture from *baurgs* and *miluks* that *reiks*, which has more vowel than consonant forms, had also lost its characteristic vowel. It may, however, be an original consonant stem just passing into the vowel declension. We shall touch upon this point later. The Old High German offers still fewer examples: *pruah* (cf. List I 18), the d. sg. *burg* beside the regular form *burgi*, g. pl. *burgo* beside *burgio*. If Paul's conjecture (P. B. VI, 115) is right, O. H. German *fahs*, Gr. *πέλος*, also belongs here. The only example afforded by the Old Saxon is n. pl. *wik* for *wiki* (Hel. 3700, Cot. *wiki*), probably here on account of the following vowel. The only case of the kind in O. E. would be the above mentioned d. sg. *meolc* for *meolce* and *ricu ricum*, *sêc* (cf. Sievers P. B. V. 13), *to daeg* Alfred's Beda 261, *oð to daeg* ib. 275. In the d. sg. of the Old Norse, however, we find a great number of examples: *mög* for *megi* S. E. I, 268, *lög* for *legi* S. E. I, 694 (probably here to avoid hiatus), *styrk* for *styrki*, *streng* for *strengi*, *serk* for *serki*, *rykk* for *rykki*, *reyk* beside *reyki*, *merg* beside *mergi*, *fnyk* beside *fnyki*, *belg* for *belgi* and others. We find this same peculiarity also in the imperative (2 sg.) of the weak conjugation, where the *i* of dissyllabic stems with long vowels has been dropped (cf. Sievers P. B. V, 132, Heinzel Endsilben 54 (394), Leffler Tid. for fil. og. paed. N. R. 2, 268, Bopp Vgl. Gramm.³ § 719). Thus *berg* (**bargi*) *fylg* (**folgt*) and others (cf. Wimmer § 142). The same principle is seen at work in the n. sg. of words like *loekr*, *ylgr*, *sprengr*, which have dropped their *i* (from *ja-jâ-* stems cf. Sievers P. B. V, 129) after gutturals (cf. Heinzel Endsilben 51 (391)).

We see by the examples that this peculiarity of the loss of the vowel after gutturals manifests itself in the various dialects, though sparingly, and we may justly ask under what conditions, for most of the cases point to the same general cause. Its frequent occurrence in the d. sg. of the Old Norse might lead to the supposition that the analogy of the *i-* stems as in d. sg. *gloep gest* and others where loss of vowel seems to be the rule (cf. Wimmer § 46, 51, 2 and often) had been at work here, were it not for the strangeness of this feature even in the *i-* stems. We must, therefore, seek the cause in a more general law and one that will cover all cases, and this we shall find by admitting that the auslautsgesetz, though only in a very small number of cases as we have already seen, has overstepped its prescribed limits. It is well known that in dissyllabic words with a long radical syllable (accented) followed by a syllable

containing *a e i*, this short vowel disappears. Furthermore, if a long vowel stands in the ultima after a long radical syllable (accented), it becomes shortened. Now an *a e i* which has become shortened in this manner may be, though it rarely is, dropped, as we have seen in the case of *bend* (*bandi*), *sêc* (*sôkt*) and the other examples of the disappearance of an *i* after dentals and gutturals as cited above. It is to this transgression of the law that these so-called consonant stems owe the loss of their characteristic vowel, for by comparing list I it will be seen that all the words have a long radical syllable with the exception of *dyrr* (pl.) *hnót stôð*, which are surely analoga. In the same manner the final unaccented *a e i* of trisyllabic words disappear (cf. Sievers P. B. V, 155) and a final long vowel (unaccented) of such a trisyllabic word would become shortened and finally disappear, as in the case of the dissyllables, so that the nouns of relation and participles could also be brought under this rule, unless one can imagine that the few dissyllabic words among them have been able to draw the rest into their analogy. The Old High German also shows other instances of this same transgression of the law after *r*, *s* and *l*; *gîr*=*vultures* Diut. II, 286, *gîri* Diut. II, 85, *steingeisz*=*ibices* Bib. 7, *steingeizi* Ma. (Graff IV, 286), *hornuz*=*scrabones* beside *hornissi* (cf. Graff IV, 1039), ac. pl. *nagal*=*clavos* A. (Graff II, 1017). A second reason why this transgression might take place is the consideration that most of these words are either the names of domestic animals or of members of the body, or in fact words that are of most frequent use, a fact that must have greatly facilitated the shortening of their vowel in time to render them liable to fall under the working of the *auslautsgesetz* before its activity had entirely ceased. The above investigation clearly proves that all the Teutonic dialects have joined in overstepping the primary limits of this law.

In conclusion we can say that this inclination to drop this light vowel *i* (shortened from *î* and weakened from *a*) still continues in Icelandic, for instance we find in the n. pl. of *brú* *brýr* (formerly *brúar* though *brýr* occurs once in the XIVth cent. cf. List I 17), *gnit*, pl. *gnitr*, kind pl. *kindr*. Yet on the whole the Icelandic has retained the old declension of these words, whereas the Danish and Swedish have entirely driven out the syncopated forms, so that we now find only *mærker*, *hænder næter* etc, which should cause no surprise, since as far back as the XIVth cent. we find the unsyncopated forms

in quite general use and the syncopation in these dialects has not been as general as in the Icelandic.

The question now naturally arises whether there still remains even a small remnant of the old consonant stems among the simple words as we have seen that there is among the participles and words of relationship in several dialects. There are a few words in which we might justly doubt whether they were primarily consonant or vowel stems, viz., guttural stems like *flík spík lík vík* and the Gothic *reiks* above discussed. The most common forms in the declension of these words conform to every requirement of the consonant declension, and the collateral forms of some of the cases (cf. these words in List I) could easily be explained as beginnings of a transition into the vowel declension. It is the same question touched upon in the discussion of *reiks*; there is no possibility of deciding whether the vowel or consonant forms of these words are primary, and, as we have seen, an explanation is possible on the assumption either of consonant or vowel stems. The other dialects throw no light upon the question, and perhaps we should be justified in assuming in most if not in all cases a later analogous formation after the model of *noetr*, etc. It is, however, different with the forms of the n. pl. *mēðr* (*teðr*) *kīðr* which Tamm in P. B. VII 448 claims as consonant forms; for if the conditions for the transition of *v* to *ð* be immediate contact with the following *z*, we could not possibly explain the umlaut unless we assume that this transition took place very late (i. e. after the umlaut period had begun its activity), which Tamm himself denies. This did not, indeed, escape Tamm, who finally concludes that these rare and mostly poetical forms are only later formations after the analogy of *buðr ruðr* etc. (cf. ib. 452 sqq.).

The results, then, of this investigation can briefly be summed up as follows: (1) the consonant stems are still retained (partly at least) in the names of relationship, in some forms of the -ND-stems, and with less certainty in some *Tar*-stems; (2) there arose in Teutonic a peculiar declension caused by the twofold diversity in the development of its *i*-stems which resulted in Old Norse, Old English and Old Frise in forming two distinct classes of words; the loss of the characteristic vowel, in which some *u*-stems joined, widened the breach and created such a divergency between these two classes of words that they were no longer to be recognized as belonging to the same original declension. The old consonant stems, which had already suffered an inner change by which they

had passed into the *u*- or *i*- declension, now joined the latter class, and thus a declension was formed showing characteristics not to be reconciled either to a regular development of the consonant declension, nor yet to that of the *u*- or *i*- declension, but only to be explained by first accepting for the old consonant stems a transition into the vowel declension, and, then, for all, syncopation of the characteristic vowel.

. S. PRIMER.

III.—TÓUKVÆDHI.

AN ICELANDIC POEM FROM C. 1650.

The accompanying poem, now for the first time published, is contained in numerous paper manuscripts preserved both in Iceland and in the library of the Icelandic Literary Society at Copenhagen. The present text is transcribed from a series of manuscripts in Reykjavík, one of which states the author to have been Hallgrímur Pétursson (1614–1674), the celebrated divine and psalm-writer, to whom it is also assigned by popular report. In the biographical account of Hallgrímur Pétursson contained in vol. III of the *Hist. eccles. Isl.*,¹ where he is described as “*Omnium iudicio poëta et orator eximus, cujus ingenii foetus, praesertim poëmata, quamdiu Islandia durabit, pariter durabunt,*” the list of his published works, entirely of a religious character, concludes with “*Ut et multa alia profana, quae inedita adhuc latent,*” to which class the present poem doubtless belongs.

The poem is a rhymed fable in which the *dramatis personae* are a fox—variously called *tóa*, *skolli* and *rebbi* (diminutive of *refr*),² a cock—*hani*, and a cat—*kisa*, or *ketta*. The fox trotting along the road sees a cock, whom he greets, imploring him, at the same time, to remove with his bill a straw from his eye, telling withal a plausible story as to how it had gotten there, and flattering the cock's appearance, voice, and skill as a physician. The cock, however, flies up into a tree, from where he avows his distrust in the friendly intentions of the fox, but is finally persuaded to come down by the latter, who welcomes him and quietly bites off his head. At this instant a cat comes along, who greets the fox and asks the news. The fox suggests that they hunt together, but the cat says that on the way she had seen some berries just out of reach in a high tree ;

¹ F. Johannaëus. *Historia ecclesiastica Islandiæ*. Havniæ 1772–78.

² The fox has a multiplicity of names, as will be seen from the following verse cited in Maurer's *Isl. Volkssagen* :

Refr og hóltapórr, melrakki, dratthali, bítr,
blóðdrekk, tortrygg, lágfæta, skolli, tóa.

hereupon the fox asserts his superior strength and skill, and offers to assist in getting the berries. In the midst of the conversation dogs are heard barking and the cat climbs hastily up into the tree, from which, crouched on a limb, she sees the fox killed by the dogs, but finally manages, herself, to run home. The moral of the story stated in the last verse is in effect the Biblical aphorism of the wicked falling himself into his own pit.

LANGUAGE.

The language had already materially assumed the form characteristic of modern Icelandic. Viewed from the stand-point of classical Old Norse, the language of the poem exhibits the following universal changes:

I.—Vowel-changes.

ó with preceding *v*, representing an earlier *vd*, is shortened: *vonum* 14 *voru* 24 *svo* 29 for O. N. *vónum* (*vðnum*), *vóru* (*vðru*), *svó* (*svð*). *ó* is shortened in the personal pronoun *honum* 1, 14 for O. N. *hónum* (*hðnum*).

í in the possessive pronouns *mínn*, *þínn*, *sínn* is shortened before *nn* and *tt*, but remains before a single *n*: *minn* 21 *mitt* 11, 23 *sinni* 17 *sitt* 1, 8, but *mínum* 3, 18 *þínu* 2.

e, *ø* (and also *a*, *i*, *u*, *y*) are lengthened before *ng*, *nk* to *ei*, *au* (*ú*, *í*, *ú*, *ý*): *skeinkt* 3 *ölfaung* 3 *gaunga* 18 *laungum* 25 for O. N. *skenkt*, *ölföng*, *gönga*, *lóngum*.

Adjectives in *-ligr* and adverbs in *-liga* change the *i* to *e*: *mjúklega* 16 *fallega* 26 for O. N. *mjúkliga*, *falliga*.

Adjectives (and pronouns) in *-igr* change the *i* to *u*: *geðugum* 5 from *geðugur* for O. N. *geðigr*.

ú- = negative, is everywhere replaced by *ó*: *óvart* 2 *ódygg* 10 *ólat* 21 for O. N. *úvart*, *údygg*, *úlat*.

A *u* is inserted in the new language before every *r*-final preceded in O. N. by a consonant: *gæddur* 5 *frægstur* 5 *tregur* 9 *sjaðfur* 12 *daufur* 15 *kemur* 16 *grunur* 22 for O. N. *gæddr*, *frægstr*, *tregr*, etc. This new *u* does not work umlaut, *i. e.* does not change a preceding vowel: *angur* 1 *aptur* 21 *kraptur* 21 *falskur* 29 not *öngur*, *öptur*, etc. In *fagurt* 8 the new *u* is retained throughout the flexion.

II.—*Consonant-changes.*

Old Norse *k-* and *t-* final are softened to *g* and *ð* in the following instances: (1) *k* becomes *g* in the pronouns *eg* 2, 3 etc., *mig* 4, 9 etc., *þig* 2, 9 etc., *sig* 26, in *og* (and) 3, 6 etc., and in *mjög* (very) 28 for O. N. *ek*, *mik*, *þik*, *sik*, *ok*, *mjök*; (2) *t* becomes *ð* in the pronoun *við* 19 (and *pið*) for O. N. *vit* (*pít*), in ntr. *-að*, *-ið*, *-uð* of adjectives (participles) and pronouns: *augað* 2 *það* 4, 14 etc., *galað* 8 *hóað* 24, *rekið* 2 *logið* 11 for O. N. *augat*, *þat*, *galat*, etc., in *að* 2, 3 etc., as adv., prep. and conj. and its compounds for O. N. *at*.

Old Norse *rr*-final is everywhere simplified to *r*: *ber* 29 for O. N. *berr*.

j is retained before *i* where it was previously dropped: *hverjir* 11 for O. N. *hverir*.

Dual and plural of the personal pronoun coincide, the plural forms being used indiscriminately of a duality: *okkur* 12 *við* 19 are correctly used dual forms; *oss* 19 *þeir* 22 are plurals used as duals.

Er 9 1, pers. sing. pres. indic. of *vera*, esse, for O. N. *em* is formed after the analogy of the other forms sing. and plur. of the indic. pres.

Tókvæði.

1. Tóa tólti um stræti
til þess hana sá,
honum heilsar þá
bað sitt ángur bæti:
2. "Eg í augað hefi
óvart rekið strá
bið því burt¹ að ná
þig með þínu nefi.
3. Kom eg að kaupstað einum,
keypti eg ölfaung þar,
skeinkt á skálir var
mér og mínum sveinum.
4. Þá vèr þaðan fórum,
það eg ekki dyl,
þá bar þetta til,
mig eg meiddi stórum.

¹i. e. *brant*—*brott*—*brot* finally by metathesis *bort*—*burt*.

5. Þú ert gáfum góðum
gæddur, utan skrum,
frægstur af fuglunum
með geðugum¹ gildum hljóðum.
6. Veiztu eiktir² allar
einkum morgna á
raust þín hvell og há
fólk á fætur kallar.
7. Læknislist³ frábæra
lært hefir þú, er sagt,
á því hefi eg akt⁴
kongs með krónu⁵ skæra.”
8. Haninn fjaðrir hristi,
hátt í eik⁶ þar sat
fagurt galað gat,
lof sitt heyra lysti :
9. “Tregur er eg að trúa
tóa mín á þig,
senn þú svíkur mig :
við heilt er bezt að búa.
10. Af því sumir segja
sèrtu fáum trygg,
lymsk í lund, ódygg,
vön til vèla⁷ að teygja.”
11. “Hverjir þvætta þetta?
þeir hafa orðskemt⁷ mig,
en logið því í þig,
á bak mitt brigzlum sletta.
12. Þú munt sjálfur sanna
svikalausá trú,
kom og kyss mig nú ;
gjörum okkur gamna.”

¹ *geðugur*, engaging, winning. ² *eikt* i. e. *eykt*, trihorium; the sense of the line is “thou knowest all times of the day.” ³ *læknislist*, medicine, the art of medicine.

⁴ *akt*, act, certificate. ⁵ *króna* = O. N. *króna*.

⁶ *eik* literally *oak*, but as is usually the case so also here generically *tree* [20, 25].

⁷ *orð-skemma*, to word-damage, slander.

13. Haninn heimskur trúði,
háleitur og gól,
hennar þóknast hól,
í skjól við skolla flúði.
14. Fór það víst að vonum,
veik sèr tóa að,
"kom þú sæll,"¹ hún kvað;
höfuð beit af honum.
15. "Aví,² ertu dauður,"
annsar³ tóa þá,
"falílalíla,⁴
beint sem bitinn sauður."
16. Þá hún er þetta að tala,
þar sem haninn lá,
kemur kisa þá,
mjúklega tók að mala.
17. Heilsar systur sinni
svipljót kisa þá,
frèttir mörgu frá,
grett í gráu skinni.
18. "Alt var heilt á hófi
heima á mínum stað";
tas-vig tóa kvað,
þreytt af gaungu þófi :
19. "Við skulum frænka⁵ fara
að fá oss villibráð,"
það fær kisa tjáð :
"eg mun ei það spara.
20. Fann eg á förnum vegi
fagra eik og há,
uxu⁶ ber þar á,
en þeim náði' eg eigi."
21. Annsar rebbi aptur :
"ólat kann eg ráð;
fæ eg fljótt þeim náð,
minn er meiri kraptur.

¹ *kom þú sæll* = "welcome!" the usual address to one who comes. ² Interjection. ³ i. e. *ansar* [21]. ⁴ Interjection. ⁵ i. e. *frænka*. ⁶ For older *dxu* [*vdxu*].

22. Á því er mèt grunur,
að yður sè meira veitt,
en eg kann ei utan eitt ;
það er mikill munur.
23. En ef ráð mitt eina
orkar meira' en þín,
það er meining mín,
þá skal þetta reyna."
24. Sem það voru að segja
sín á milli tvær
hóað heyrðu þær ;
hvellir hundar geya.
25. Ketta klærnar þandi
klyfrar¹ hátt í eik,
laungum lymsk í leik,
laus frá lífsins grandí.
26. Hún sig þar upp halar ;
hundar tóu ná,
—fallega fór hún þá—
drepin var án dvalar.
27. Kisa upp á kvisti
köldum spent var móð,
ýlgð og stuttleit stóð,
hala og eyrun hristi.
28. Hrædd var mjög við hunda
í hnipri saman lá ;
fekk því færi á
heim til húsa að skunda.
29. Er það einginn vafi,
einatt² svo við ber,
" falskur sjálfum sèr
grefur³ gróf, þó grafi."

WILLIAM HOWARD CARPENTER.

¹ i. e. *klyfrar*.² i. e. *einart*.

IV.—THE NEGATIVE PARTICLE “MIE” IN OLD FRENCH.

In the earliest known monuments of the French language the negative used to qualify the verb is the simple particle *non* or *ne*. Up to the close of the Xth century this particle had the same force as the Latin negative *non*; but owing to causes which as yet have not been satisfactorily explained, it seems in the XIth century to lose part of its first vigor, and requires in many cases a complementary particle to make it a full and complete negative. The particles so used, of which *mie*, *pas*, and *point* are the most important, were originally positive, as is evident from their derivation. Their signification, which indicates a very small quantity, made them especially appropriate to strengthen the idea of negation contained in the *ne*, and the one chosen most frequently by early authors to fill this position is the particle *mie*. *Mie* is derived from the Latin *mica*, a crumb, which already in Latin had received an extended meaning and was used to denote a very small quantity of anything, e. g.

Nullaque MICA salis, nec amari fellis in illis
Gutta sit; . . .

MARTIAL, lib. VII, epig. 25.

The first example of this word in French, as far as I have been able to ascertain, is in the “Fragment de l’Alexandre d’Albéric de Bésançon,” a work attributed to the latter part of the Xth century, and given by Bartsche in his “Chrestomathie de l’ancien Français,” p. 18, line 32. In this sentence, viz.

S’il toca res qui MICHAL peys
tal regart fay cum leu qui est preys.

mica is used as an adverb and *positively*. This circumstance, although it is only the second one of its kind I have been able to find, seems to indicate that these particles *mie*, *pas*, *point*, etc., originally substantives, were used as *adverbs* in a *positive* sense, and under this influence lost their distinctive meaning, and were then joined to the negative to strengthen its influence. Another argument in favor of this supposition is the fact that from their

earliest appearance in the language as complements to the negative, these particles are joined to any verbs indiscriminately, and not to those alone which express the same generic idea; as "ne manger mie," "ne marcher pas," etc. This, however, is not the opinion of grammarians in general. Gilles in his work on the negation in French (Bruxelles, 1877), p. 38, says: "Ce mot (mie) sans doute figura d'abord dans des propositions négatives dans lesquelles ce substantif se rapportait à un corps solide et particulièrement à du pain," and gives in illustration of this the following example taken from the "Livre de Job," "se' ele ne sospiret ne manjout mie." Now this work is attributed to the XIIth century, and in the Ch. de Roland, which belongs to the XIth century, *mie* is used indiscriminately with any verb. Also the example quoted above from "l'Alexandre" shows that *mie* was not necessarily joined to the negative and that it was not a substantive. To this may be added the following from the Chanson de Roland, v. 3897:

Tut seie fel se io mie l'otrie,

where *mie* is used as an *adverb* and unaccompanied by the negative. In the absence therefore of proof positive to the contrary I should be strongly of the opinion that *mie*, *pas*, *point*, etc., were used as adverbs positively at first, and then added to the negative when through some cause or other its full force was not conveyed by the particle *ne*.

In this respect it may be interesting to follow the development of the use of *mie* as a complementary negative from its first appearance in the XIth century down to its disappearance from general use about the close of the XVth century. For this purpose I have taken three works as representatives of three periods, viz. "La Chanson de Roland" for the XIth, Villehardouin's "Conquête de Constantinople" XIIIth century, and "La Farce de Maître Pathelin" for the XVth century, and compared the use and frequency of *mie* in each of these works. The "Chanson de Roland," as every one knows, contains about four thousand lines of ten syllables each. The "Conquête de Constantinople" put in the same shape would number about six thousand lines, and the "Farce de Maître Pathelin" about sixteen hundred lines of eight syllables. In the "Chanson de Roland" *mie* is found about forty times and is used five times before a noun, as v. 3182:

Il nenat mie de Roland sun nevoid;

three times before an adjective, as v. 140:

De sa parole ne fut mie hastif;

twice before an adverb, as v. 2724:

Dist, Clarien Dame, ne parlez mie itant;

six times with a participle, as v. 3563:

Lor enseignes niunt mie ubliees;

four times followed by an infinitive, as v. 1973:

L'enseigne Carle ni uolt mie ublier;

twenty times with a verb alone, v. 494:

Altrem't ne mamerat il mie.

Carles se dort mie ne sesueillet—v. 736.

In the "Conquête de Constantinople" *mie* is found one hundred and twenty-eight times, and is used fifteen times with a noun, e. g. p. 72-128:

Et ce ne fu mie mervoille;

eleven times with an adjective, e. g. p. 118-205:

Et ne furent mie pou;

forty-one times with an adverb, e. g. p. 128-223:

Ne dura mie longtemps;

eighteen times with an infinitive, e. g. p. 104-183:

Ne convient mie a parler;

thirty times with a verb alone, e. g. p. 112-194:

Qui ne m'aiment mie;

thirteen times with a participle, e. g. p. 156-266:

n'ere mie eslongniez.

In the "Farce de Maître Pathelin" *mie* is only found twice, viz. in the following examples:

He deu, se vous avez mesprises

Une fois ne souffit-il mie.

(p. 43, ed. Jacob.)

Or n'en croyez rien

Car certes ce ne suis-je mie.

(p. 78.)

From this it will be seen that *mie* was fast coming into general use in the XIth century, and had risen to its greatest popularity in the XIIIth, only to give way from that time down to *pas* and *point*, and finally in the XVth century to be on the point of disappearing completely from the written language.

B. F. O'CONNOR.

NOTES.

JE NE SACHE PAS, AGAIN.

In the second number of this Journal (Vol. I, p. 197), I published a note on the French so-called dubitative subjunctive, *je ne sache pas* in the principal clause; and in the fourth number (Vol. I, p. 460), Mr. A. Lodeman criticized my theory, which claimed an indicative origin for this *sache*. My reply, prepared several months since, has been kept back by press of other matter.

Mr. Lodeman first takes me to task for saying by implication that *je ne sache pas* was equivalent to *je ne sais pas*, and adds: "but whoever has observed how Frenchmen use the phrase in question, knows that such is not the case." When I gave it to be understood that I regarded the two expressions as virtual equivalents, I acted on the authority of the French Academy, in whose dictionary the following note occurs, under *savoir*:

"*Je ne sache personne, je ne connais personne; je ne sache rien de si beau, je ne sache rien de mieux écrit, etc., je ne sais rien, je ne connais rien*" . . .

To assure myself, however, that I had put the right interpretation upon these words, I consulted a native professor of French, whose opinion is paramount to all non-native speculation. He coincided with me in my understanding of the Academy's teaching, and added further that he himself could not feel any difference between *je ne sache pas* and *je ne sais pas*; that the former was an indicative in force, if subjunctive in form, and he did not believe that any one could really say there was an appreciable difference between the two.

This is implied in the fact that *je ne sache pas* is rarely, if ever, heard in every-day life, although Mr. Lodeman would lead us to infer that the expression is daily heard from the lips of natives. The need of it is not felt and its use is considered pedantic. These circumstances seriously militate against his words that "this distinction is universally felt and recognized by Frenchmen," and that "in the case of this verb [*savoir*] French-speaking people feel the need of a still milder form of expression."

In the second place, Mr. Lodeman thinks I did not do justice to Littré, when criticizing his teaching with reference to the derivation of the form *sache*. Let us see whether such is the case.

According to Littré, some one had maintained that *sache* was the indicative "représentant *sapio*." And his rejoinder to this was: "L'explication (namely, that *sache* represents *sapio*) ne peut être admise, car *sapio* a donné *sai*; et *sache* vient de *sapiam*," which is a mere assertion and no proof. I, therefore, can not see what violence I did to Littré's words by taking them in the most obvious sense. Moreover, we are by no means so certain that *sapio* gave *sai*. My reasons for doubting this may be partially found in my former article. I briefly sum them up here with some additions. The common resultant in French of a lip-sound followed immediately by a palatal *i* is a *consonne chuintante*; we should consequently expect *sache* from *sapio*; whereas *sai* was formed on the French infinitive *savoir*, or on a Romance form *sapo*, which probably went through *savo*, *sav*, *saiv*, to *sai*. *Sapo* is not merely hypothetical; it occurs in early Italian, and gave *so* through *savo* (I have found *savere* and *savete*), *sao*.

Again, Mr. Lodeman is "inclined to think" that in pronouncing purely conjectural Mr. Littré's explanation of *je ne sache pas* by a preceding *j'ose dire*, I "overlooked" the quotation from Paré: "Aussi osé-je dire que je ne sache homme si chatouilleux," etc. To this I reply that I considered the explanation so trivial as not to be worth noticing. If any "overlooking" has been done, Mr. Lodeman is the offender, not I; for Littré expressly says, when referring to the sentence in Paré: "*On peut conjecturer* que ceux qui les premiers l'ont employée ont sous-entendu: *j'ose dire*," etc. Consequently what I said was only a translation of Littré's own words.

Further on, Mr. Lodeman declares that the uniqueness of the construction *je ne sache pas* is not very startling to him, and that its peculiarity consists in the tense and not in the mood. But it is precisely in the latter that the difficulty lies. If the expression were *je ne susse pas*, it would not be so hard to explain. Being a present tense, I fail to see its analogy with *non dixerim*, Greek optative with *äv*, etc.; for *non dixerim* and *οὐκ ἂν λέγοιμι* have their analogy in *je ne dirais pas*, where there is suppressed some such protasis as: *si on me demandait mon opinion*. And so German: *ich wuesste nicht* (i. e. *wenn man mich fragte*); whereas it would be no more logical to understand a protasis with *je ne sache pas*

than with *je ne sais pas*. If we could say in German *ich wisse nicht*, the analogical argument might have some force ; as it is, it has none.

Mr. Lodeman continues : "In French too, the conditional (according to Diez, a tense of subjunctive mood) of various verbs is used to express an affirmation doubtfully," and cites as one of the examples : *Je ne saurais vous le dire*. Then right in the next sentence he contradicts himself by saying that *je ne saurais* has the meaning of *je ne puis, je ne peux*, which certainly is not a doubtful affirmation.

And again, I do not understand Diez to teach that the conditional is a "tense of the subjunctive." My edition of Diez at least reads : "Vermoege derselben methode schuf man ferner mit *habebam* ein zweites tempus, *das seiner bedeutung nach ungefaehr dem lat. imperfect des conjunctivus entspricht*"; and that practice had established the name *conditional*, "weil es im bedingungssatz eine rolle spielt, wiewohl dieser name nichts weniger als zutreffend ist."

In treating of the conditional Mr. Lodeman says that the use of *sache* and *saurais* (= *je ne puis, je ne peux*) seems to have originated about the same period, *i. e.* in the XVIth century, as he accepts Littré's theory. Here I am sure Mr. Lodeman stands alone ; and he may continue to believe he is right ; what I object to is that he should use his own oversight as an argument against me. If he had given himself a little trouble, he might have ascertained that, in more than one of the Romance languages, from a very early date, *savoir* in most of its moods and tenses has been interchangeable with *pouvoir*.

Examples :

Ahi Dio, che sembra quando gli occhi gira ?

Dicalo Amor, ch'io nol *saprei* contare.

(Guido Cavalcanti, XIII cent.)

Assez en *sauroie* nommer.

(Guiot de Provins, *La Bible*, bet. 1203 and 1208.)

Here *saprei* and *sauroie* are used exactly as they are at the present day. In lines 1431 and 2138 of *La Bible*, *sauroie* has the force of *porroie*. The same usage in Joinville's *Histoire de Saint Louis* (chap. 134) : . . . se il ne savait aussi hardiement et aussi durement escondire comme il *sauroit* donner.

And so in Provençal :

Que fesson devezir,

A cui que mielh taisses,

Que cascus nom n'ages

Per so que *saupra* far.

(Guiraut Riquier, XIII cent.)

As instances of *savoir* for *pouvoir* in other tenses may be noted :

Une chalur ki pas ne se *sœt* atemprer.

(Math. Paris, Vie de Seint Auban.)

A si *sabe* dar omildança a Alfonsso so señor . . .

(Poema del Cid, l. 2024.)

A se lograr da paz com tanta gloria

Quanta *soube* ganhar na dura guerra.

(Camoens, Os Lus. III 118.)

Take it all in all, I have not been able to discover what bearing this whole discussion of the conditional has on *je ne sache pas*. I have only referred to it, in order to expose the fallacy of Mr. Lodeman's reasoning, and to show him that with the early Romance peoples, as with the Teutonic (Goth. *kunnan* and *kannjan*, Eng. *ken* and *can*, Germ. *kennen* and *koennen*, etc.), our trite adage, 'knowledge is power,' was a deep-felt reality.

Mr. Lodeman seems to attribute to the verb *savoir* some peculiar meaning. What this meaning is he does not tell us. What is there specially significant or mysterious in *savoir* that is not contained in *connaître*? If Frenchmen so universally feel the necessity of toning down *je ne sais rien* into *je ne sache rien*, by the "softening" process, so much insisted on by Mr. Lodeman, I can not see why the same necessity has not been felt of putting *je ne connais rien* through the softening mill and making it *je ne connaisse rien*. Moreover, if Mr. Lodeman's theory be true, why is not *nous ne savons pas* softened to *nous ne sachions pas*? There would be more reason in this; for a speaker in giving his own opinion could be more sure of his knowledge than when representing the thoughts and feelings of the individuals contained in *nous*, and consequently a less direct mode of expression could be reasonably expected.

I come now to the closing paragraph of Mr. Lodeman's communication. As I distinctly stated, in summing up, that I laid no great stress on what I said in respect to a double inflection of the present tense of *savoir*, it was hardly worth his while to criticize it. However, in his eagerness to score a point against me, he puts down *sappia* as the imperative of the Italian *sapere*, apparently not knowing that it was not the imperative, but the third person of the subjunctive, which, in Italian proper, is the polite form of address of all verbs. Without entering here into this subject of imperative and subjunctive, it is sufficient to remark

that in view of the multitude of forms and of the uncertainty as to the origin and growth of these forms, it would be rash in any one to express a too decided opinion regarding any individual form, without a careful and prolonged study of its history.

In the next sentence Mr. Lodeman makes a statement which, I am sure, will prove a new revelation to most scholars, namely, that "not a trace is left" in Italian of a second form of the indicative present. The early oracles of the language, as seen in the following citations, tell a different story:

Questo è mio giuoco ed altra giuocar non *sappo* (= so).
(Guittone d'Arezzo.)

E che si fesse rimembrar non *sape* (= sa).
(Dante, Par. XXIII 45.)

E *sapemo* (= sappiamo) che amore privato ismisuramente chiude l'occhio del cuore.
(Ammaestramenti degli Antichi.)

Lo Trebuno lo mandò in Cesaria, *sappiendo* (= sapendo) ch'egli era voluto torre da' Giudei.
(Domenico Cavalca.)

Same form of the gerund in Boccaccio, Nov. 42. Nay more, the very form I had assumed as the natural Gallic outgrowth of *sapio*, I find to be quite common in early Italian.

Non *saccio* (= so) vero consiglio alcuno che il vostro.
(Guittone d'Arezzo.)

Temo morire e già non *saccio* (=so) l'ora. (Boccaccio.)

Con un *saccente* (=sapiente) barattiere si convenne del prezzo. (Boccaccio.)

These surely may be called traces of a second, and even a third form of the present indicative of *sapere*.

Continuing his theme of the identity of the imperative and subjunctive of *savoir*, *sapere*, Mr. Lodeman asks if this exception is not attributable rather to the meaning of this verb, "which," he says, "does not admit of an imperative in the same sense as the majority of other verbs." Unfortunately for this theory, it seems never to have occurred, even unconsciously, to the French people, to fit whose delicate sensibilities it was created; for at the time they were making their language, when only it would apply, we find them using the regular indicative form.

Saives ke deus ait an covant
A ceaz ki se vorront creusier.
(Chanson de Croisade, XII cent.)

Seignor, ce dist li rois, *saves* que je vous di.
(Berte aus grans piés, 2598.)

On the other hand, is the subjunctive a milder imperative than the indicative? I think not. The Latin subjunctive had already acquired an imperative force, before the Romance peoples fell heir to it. (*Vos*) *amatis me*, therefore, must have seemed to them a milder form of command than (*vos*) *ametis me*. In English we observe the same mode of expression when we say *you do this*, or *you will do this*, instead of the abrupt *do this*.

SAMUEL GARNER.

VARIA.

I.—*Parodies and Resemblances*.—In the fourth number of this Journal I called attention to the resemblance between Aristoph. Acharn. 790 and Soph. Antig. 513, not venturing positively to pronounce the former a parody on the latter. I am now convinced that it is not a parody upon that particular passage, but is a sort of *παρατραγωδία*. The mode of expression found in the two verses seems to have been a common one, so common that absolute identity of words would have been requisite, perhaps, to remind the audience of any particular verse that they had heard. Accordingly, I find in Euripides a verse which is, in some respects, more like the verse of Aristophanes than is that of Sophocles. It is Iph. Taur. 800:

ὦ συγκασιγνήτη τε καὶ ταύτου πατρός.

If now we compare v. 497:

πότερον ἀδελφὸν μητρός ἐστιν ἐκ μιᾶς;

and the two verses under discussion:

ὅμαιμος ἐκ μιᾶς τε καὶ ταύτου πατρός—

ὁμοματρία γάρ ἐστι κῆρ τῷ τῷ πατρός—

and bear in mind that the Iph. Taur. was probably produced after the Acharn., it becomes almost certain that the expression in question was merely a species of circumstantiality frequently employed by those who affected lofty speech. (Cf. Herc. Fur. 843, Phoen. 156. In Nub. 1372 ὁμομητρίαν is used for a special reason.) If this expression were found only in the Acharn. and the Iph. Taur. it would probably be regarded as sufficient grounds for placing the latter chronologically before the former, an illustration of the caution necessary in attempting to draw conclusions from limited data.

II.—*A Fragment of Euripides*.—Stobaeus gives in the Florilegium a certain passage, consisting of eighteen iambic trimeters, as belonging to Menander; and Buttmann, Reisig, and Meineke maintained that this was correct, whilst Henri Estienne, followed by Bentley and others, assigned the first three verses to Menander and the rest to Euripides. But the latest decision of most critics was that the first *two* verses were from Menander, and the rest from a tragedian, not necessarily Euripides. (Graux in Rev. de Phil., vol. I, p. 210–11.) Now Choricus gives (Apol. Mim. VII 4) a portion of this passage beginning just where Estienne claimed that the Euripidean part commenced, and at the end he says: ἀκούεις ἀνδρὸς μισσηγύνου καὶ σώφρονος—of course, Euripides. Of the fifteen tragic verses Choricus gives six, but between the third and fourth he has a verse not in Stobaeus, making seven in all. The passage then runs thus:

τὸ μὲν μέγιστον οὐποτ' ἄνδρα χρὴ σοφὸν
 λίαν φυλάσσειν¹ ἄλυχον ἐν μυχοῖς δόμων·
 ἐρᾷ γὰρ ὕψις τῆς θύραςθεν ἡδονῆς,
 ἐρᾷ δ' ἀκούειν ὧν φυλάττεται¹ κλύειν,
 ἐν δ' ἀφθόνοισι τοῖσδ' ἀναστρωφωμένη
 βλέπουσά τ' εἰς πᾶν καὶ παροῦσα πανταχοῦ,
 τὴν ὅψιν ἐμπλήσας¹ ἀπήλλαχται κακῶν.

Of the fourth verse Graux says: "Dans la citation de Choricus est intercalé un vers que n'a pas l'extrait de Stobée." He cannot mean that it was added, but that it is interpolated relatively to the extract of Stobaeus, from whom he says Choricus probably took the passage, it being at that time properly assigned. This would imply that the verse in question was accidentally dropped by subsequent copyists of Stobaeus, and also that they omitted the name of Euripides. It is tolerably certain, however, that Stobaeus himself took many of his extracts from a similar collection made by some predecessor; and in copying this passage he failed, perhaps, to note the author, and, misled by the repetition of ἐρᾷ, omitted the verse found in Choricus; whilst the latter, copying, in my opinion, *from the same original*, did not commit either blunder.

But I have written this more especially to call attention to the fact that, with the new verse, the transition from ἐρᾷ γὰρ ὕψις to

¹ Graux says nothing about φυλάσσειν, φυλάττεται.

ἐρᾷ δ' ἀκούειν (sc. γυνή) is hard. It seems possible that some one—say the author of the work from which Stobaeus and Choricus copied—assuming that in v. 7 ὄψιν must refer to ὄψεωσ in v. 3, changed the latter into ὄψις, so that the shade of meaning might be the same, failing to observe that the next verse would then suffer a change of subject. I merely suggest these views for the consideration of others: I would not propose to “emend.”

III.—*Caesura in Euripides*.—In an article on certain effects of elision, published in the Transactions of the American Philological Association for 1879, I have shown that Euripides virtually never neglected the main caesura in iambic trimeters. Only three exceptions were noted, one of which, Hel. 86, being a conjecture, was rejected. That investigation did not include the Cyclops nor the fragments. It is my purpose now to examine the subject again. The examples in Dindorf's text of verses without caesura or its equivalent (in addition to Hel. 86) are, as far as known to me, the following:

- (1) Suppl. 303: σφάλλει γὰρ ἐν τούτῳ μόνω, τᾷλλ' ἐδ' φρονῶν.
- (2) Cycl. 7: Ἐγέλαδον ἰτέαν μέστην θενῶν θυρὶ—
- (3) Frag. 284, 23: στάς. ἄνδρας οὖν ἐχρήν σοφοῦς τε καγαθούς—
- (4) Bacch. 1125: λαβοῦσα δ' ὠλέναις ἀριστεράν χέρα—
- (5) New frag. (Blass): ὀρθοσταδὸν, λόγχαις ἐπείγοντες φόν[ον].

The first and fourth are the exceptions alluded to before. In the *Revue de Philologie* II 1, p. 37, Herwerden has rejected the first for other than metrical reasons. Its suppression seems so nearly justifiable that it cannot be admitted as a genuine exception. In the example from *Cyclops* I have (in this Journal, No. 2, p. 190) restored the MS reading ἐς ἰτέαν (with synizesis). The third example is the work of Musurus, the verse being defective in MSS. Dobrée proposed ἄνδρας οὖν χρήν τοὺς σοφοὺς, which has at least the merit of being possible. In the article just referred to I expressed a temptation to write ὠλέναισ' in the fourth example, a temptation that is increased by the fifth example, which has been discovered since I discussed the subject; for it is certainly striking that this verse should admit the quasi-caesura by exactly the same device. Some able grammarians maintain, indeed, that it would be absurd to add -ι to the dative plural in the first and second declensions merely for the purpose of eliding it; and this is true in almost every situation except this one; but in this case I have

shown that the vowel must have been sounded a little. And hence it is that the canon relating to the elision of *-ι* in the dative plural in Attic can have no weight in settling this question. The *-ι* is not essential to these forms, and the only objection to assuming its elision is the one just referred to, and, as I said, that objection does not hold in the present case. To this it may be replied that Homer elides the *-ι* of the third declension but not of the first and second. But this would be to beg the question. If Homer does not elide in the first and second declensions, it is because the forms without final *-ι* were in use. Moreover, in Homer *-ης* and *-οις* nearly always precede a vowel; so general indeed is this fact that Nauck attempts to remove all the exceptions. While he probably goes too far in this, still there is good reason for writing *-ησ'* and *-οισ'* before vowels.

But there is another standpoint from which the subject must be viewed. The fact that in all the plays of Euripides there are so nearly no instances of neglected caesura is a ground for believing that these instances are either only apparent or erroneous. But would this argument not apply also to elision of *-ι* in the dative plural? Let us see. We must confine our investigation to those positions where it is necessary to assume elision. One of these is at the end of the third foot when there is no break of any kind in this or the following foot. The elisions of this sort in Euripides (excluding the dative plural) are one hundred and twenty-seven (127) plus the number in the fragments; and the dative plural occurs twice in that position. These being the only instances of supposed absence of caesura, it follows that the above argument against neglected caesura is more weighty than the same argument against elision of the dative plural, in proportion as the entire number of iambic trimeters in Euripides exceeds 127 + . There is one other place where elision is desirable—at the so-called Porsonic pause, when the well-known law seems to be violated (see article above mentioned). The instances of this elision, as far as “emendations” have not prevented me from finding them, are, in all the tragedians, *thirty*, in Euripides alone, *twenty-three*; and there is *one* verse in which elision of the dative plural would excuse the neglect of the law: Ion, 1:

* Ἀτλας, ὃ χαλκέουσι νότοις οὐρανόν—

where Ritschl and some others thought the words were intended to labor in sympathy with the toiling son of Japetus, a notion unworthy of the great philologist. This whole passage, however,

has been emended, or rather rewritten, by Dindorf; and others have in different ways altered the first verse. The second requires some change, but the first would probably be let alone but for the violation of Porson's law.

All of these suggestions are merely tentative. I should not venture to write *-αισ'* and *-οισ'*, and yet I am not willing to admit the verses under discussion as exceptions to the observance of caesura, even if we assume (as has been done in this whole discussion) that the verses in question are not in some way corrupt. This is, however, by no means certain. If in Bacch. 1125 we change *ὠλέναις ἀριστεράν* into *ὠλέναισι δεξιάν*, the caesura is restored without impairing the sense; in fact, the situation is rendered more appropriate. Why then should Euripides have selected "left" rather than "right," thereby introducing what we must in any case concede to be an unusual license? Compare, too, the account of Ovid (Met. III 708—731) which agrees in the main with that of Euripides: in the latter, *Agave λαβοῦσα . . . ἀριστεράν χέρα . . . ἀπεσπάραξεν ὤμων*, and *Ino τὰπὶ θάτερ' ἐξεργάζετο ῥηγνύσα σάρκας*, whilst in the former, "*dextram* precanti abstulit (sc. *Agave*); *Inoo* lacerata est altera raptu." (Cf. Heracl. 844.) But how could *δεξιάν* get changed into *ἀριστεράν*? I cannot give a perfectly satisfactory answer. Some one may have written *ἀριστεράν* or *ἀριστερά* on the margin to explain *τὰπὶ θάτερ'* four lines below, and this may have found its way into the wrong verse. To assume what has been called a *heterophemy*, or rather what might be called a *heterography*, would perhaps look too much like catching at a straw.

In Blass's fragment (see Rhein. Museum, 1879, p. 290 ff., Rev. de Phil. IV 2, p. 121) *λόγχαις ἐπείγοντες φύγον* may have come from *λόγχαισι τείνοντες φύνον* (sc. *εἰς αὐτούς*: cf. Hec. 263). I have also thought of *πράζοντες* and *ποριῶντες*. Five lines below, where the narrative returns to the subject of *ἐπείγοντες*, we have *οἱ δ' εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν πίτυλον ἦπειγ[ον θυράς], πέτραι τ' ἐχώρουν κτέ.* This may have led to the substitution of *ἐπείγω*, in the verse in question, for some verb bearing no special resemblance to it. This, however, is hazardous, and apart from the wanting caesura there seems to be no good reason for attempting an emendation.

Here I let the matter rest, with the hope that others will examine these verses, and also cite any more of the same sort that I may have overlooked. It would not be worth while, however, to pay any attention to instances which are the result of rash conjecture. In my discussion I have referred only to those which Dindorf thought

worthy of a place in his text. If we undertake to scrutinize the conjectures of all, there is no end to the task before us, and no limit to the absurdity that we shall encounter. An "emendation" of J. H. Hogan, for an instance, gives us an example of a verse (Med. 1349) without caesura, thus:

οὐ παῖδας οὐδ' ἐθρεψάμεν χαλεφύσα (!)

Nor is any regard to be had to lyric hexapodies, for they have no caesura. Freund (Trien. Phil. V, p. 198) cites, as an example, Eur. Troad. 1305:

γεραῖά τ' εἰς πέδον τιθεῖσα μέλεα (!)

He should have given the antistrophic verse where the MSS contain a real example.

M. W. HUMPHREYS.

A GREEK INSCRIPTION CONCERNING GOLGOI.

An inscription on a statue in the Cesnola Collection is interesting in view of Vogüé's guess as to the locality of Golgoi. Hagios Photios, where Cesnola discovered the temple and the sculptures within and outside of it, is twenty minutes' walk, I am informed by General Di Cesnola, from Hagios Georgios, the site of the ancient grave-yard. The edge of the latter is only ten minutes' walk from the temple. It is in this graveyard that the statue was found, a seated woman whose left hand rests on a box held in the right hand of a small figure standing at her left side—all in the limestone of the place. It is known in the Cesnola Collection as No. (Inscr.) 164, i. e. in the Series of Inscriptions No. 164. The inscription is on the base and declares the sculptor; it is Greek and in three lines:

Ζωῖλος
Γύλγιος
'Εποίησεν

The shapes of the letters assign it to the Roman age of Cyprus, for *E*, *Σ* and *Ω* are in the round forms *ε*, *c*, *ω*; *Π* has both legs equal; and the extremities of all the letters flare a little. The *O*'s are smaller than the other letters. *Ζωῖλος*, as Renan points out (see *Mission de Phénicie* index) may be the translation of a Semitic name; at any rate it is much commoner in Semitic countries in their Hellenized age than in Hellas proper. It occurs on two

other monuments of the Cesnola Collection, two burial cippi from Kition. The statue has never been published; it was discovered in 1875, was part of the second collection and remained packed in its box till 1879. A fac-simile of the inscription will be given in the forthcoming photographic atlas of the Cesnola Collection.

A. DUNCAN SAVAGE.

OF late years a fashion has come into vogue of inserting a negative between the infinitive and its prefix, e. g. "to not do it," "to not obey," etc. Like all linguistic changes it seemed to spring up in a night, no one knew whence or how: it would generally be explained, I presume, as an Americanism. A reference to Bishop Pecock's *Repressor* (about 1450), one of the great landmarks of our older English prose, will show that this usage was not unknown during the first half of the XV century. See *Repressor*, p. 467, "It is notably better to be had, than to not be had."

H. E. SHEPHERD.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

RECENT WORK IN ASSYRIOLOGY.

The study of the Assyrian language has been hampered with peculiar difficulties, quite apart from those occasioned by the cuneiform text. Not only have the vagueness and insecurity so widely attaching to Semitic philology been felt with special force in this new department, but the unexpected richness of its yield for geography and history and religion dazzled scholar as well as layman, and the demand of the latter for more and more knowledge of results which he could appreciate found a response in the constant readiness of the former to popularize what he had found. This over-eagerness of scholarship has in part vanished,—none too soon. It was perhaps inevitable, and the wide interest which it fed has contributed in material ways to the advancement of knowledge; but while it lasted it of course hindered the progress of patient, scientific investigation, and it has left superficial habits in many quarters which can hardly be eradicated. It is this influence, as well as loose notions of Semitic languages and their laws, in both England and France, that, joined with a defective method, have prevented the one like the other from taking that part in the work of reducing the Assyrian to a science which the brilliant services of both as discoverers and epigraphists might have led us to expect. In this less captivating, but indispensable and rewarding task, the German Assyriologists have easily taken the lead. The stimulus given to this phase of activity has come in part from an inward impulse toward thorough knowledge, but in large part also from the attacks of unsympathetic scholars upon Assyriology as a whole. The first systematic treatment of the language that is here to be mentioned,—Schrader's *Assyrisch-Babylonische Keilinschriften* (1872),—was due to such a cause, and the coldness of Nöldeke, Lagarde, and others toward the Assyrian has been the spur to the yet closer demonstration of the facts and more rigid application of linguistic laws which mark the present era of Assyrian study.

The centre of Assyriology is now the group of scholars at Leipzig, with Friedrich Delitzsch at their head. Schrader indeed still commands universal respect, but the work which first gave him his reputation was done when the materials were far more meagre than now, and his attention of late has been largely devoted to matters not purely philological,—the results of his valuable studies in history and geography (*Die Keilinschriften und die Geschichtsforschung*, 1878) are of course only incidentally available for the student of language. It is true that his paper *Ueber die Aussprache der Zischlaute im Assyrischen*, of which more presently, was a positive and great contribution to Semitic philology, but for the causes mentioned, or for others, no school of Assyriologists has formed itself around him in Berlin. That at Leipzig is, if not the only one, at least the only one with such a controlling scientific method. The French students of the inscriptions are slowly shaking

off the influence of Oppert and Menant,—learned, but self-confident and biased—and that of the brilliant, versatile, superficial Lenormant, but they are not yet free from it. In England, with opportunities such as no others have had, the foundation for Assyriological work has in most cases been far too narrow, and the method (of assertion rather than demonstration) has been fatal. It is much to be regretted that the Leipzig school stands thus alone, for it will almost inevitably be regarded by conservative and suspicious Semitists as a small society for mutual admiration, in the absence of any strong, united confirmation of its results, and, still more, its principles, from other learned centres. Besides, the danger is not small that the Leipzig school, pushing its work with no independent *group* of scholars in the same field, which in learning, enthusiasm and method can approach it, will make mistakes from which timely and forceful criticism might save it. The present outlook, however, is hopeful.

Since the outlines of the science were clearly mapped out by Schrader, the conviction rapidly gained ground that the next duty was, not to attempt further presentations of the grammatical system as a whole, but to prepare the way for such a presentation by minute study of the materials. To this end Delitzsch prepared his *Assyrische Lesestücke*, whose 2d edition (1878) has proved so indispensable to the student. This well-known work need not be reviewed here. The only criticism of its general plan and execution would regard the absence of references to prove the phonetic and ideographic values of the characters in his "Schrifttafel," but this lack, rendered almost necessary by the practical limit to the size of the volume, was largely compensated for by the accurate reproduction of syllabaries and bilingual texts. The book is, as all students know, simply invaluable. Since its appearance he has published comparatively little, but he has not been idle. His enthusiasm and tirelessness have made the "Leipzig school" possible. It would be a sufficient merit to have trained and stimulated men like Haupt and Lotz. But besides this, their works have been subjected more or less to his revision, and are enriched with notes from his hand, and the press will soon show that his personal studies have not been remitted.

The next demand upon Assyriology was plainly to secure, if possible, some definition of principles. Any one who is at all familiar with the superficial comparison of roots, the wild license of etymologies, the conclusions easily and confidently drawn from *approximate* identity of sounds, which were so long regarded as appropriate to Semitic philology, as they certainly were peculiar to it, will understand the need of a clear understanding as to what was and what was not possible for one Semitic dialect over against another. The confusion was nowhere greater than among the sibilants, and here the beginning of order was introduced by the treatise already named,—Schrader's *Aussprache der Zischlaute im Assyrischen*, read before the Berlin Academy, March, 1877. This treatise furnished in detail the proof that the original Semitic *š*, which was retained in Babylonia down to the Persian period, gradually became *ś* in the pronunciation of Assyria, so that the appearance of *ś* for *š* in proper names, etc., borrowed by the Hebrew from Assyria is simply explained. The Hebrews spoke and wrote שָׁרָן, for example, though the first element of the name was really *š*, because they heard it so pronounced by the Assyrians. From this conclusion Hommel (now of Munich, but a Leipzig student) advanced, in

the excursus appended to his *Zwei Jagdschriften Asurbanibals* (1879), to a comparison of the sibilants (and dentals) of all the Semitic dialects. This pamphlet, and Haupt's review of it (Z. D. M. G. 1880, IV), enable us to form a table of correspondences, depending on physiological laws, and therefore *without exceptions*.

Primitive Semitic	HOMMEL. HAUPT.	\bar{d} .	$\bar{d}h$	z	t	t^1	\bar{s}	s	\check{s}	\check{t}	$\check{t}h$	\check{s}	$\bar{d} (?)$
		\bar{d} .	$\bar{d}h$	z	t	t^1	\bar{s}	s	\check{s}	\check{t}	$\check{t}h$	\check{s}	$\bar{d} (?)$
Arabic.....		\bar{d}	$\bar{d}h$	z	t	t^1	\bar{s}	s	\check{s}	\check{t}	$\check{t}h$	\check{s}	\bar{d}
Aramaic.....		\bar{d}^1	\bar{d}^2	z	t^1	t^2	\bar{s}^2	s^1	\check{s}	\check{t}	$\check{t}h$	\check{s}	
Ethiopic.....		\bar{d}	z^2	z^1	t	\bar{s}^2	\check{s}^1	s^1	\check{s}^2	\check{t}	$\check{t}h$	\check{s}^1	\bar{d}
Hebrew.....		\bar{d}	z^2	z^1	t	\bar{s}^2	\check{s}^1	s	\check{s}^2	\check{t}	$\check{t}h$	\check{s}^1	\bar{d}
Assyrian.....		\bar{d}	z^2	z^1	t	\bar{s}^2	\check{s}^1	s	\check{s}^2	\check{t}	$\check{t}h$	\check{s}^1	\bar{d}

* Later, s .† Later, \check{s} .‡ Later, s .

Both Hommel and Haupt attempt to construct the sibilant and dental system of the parent Semitic language. Their results do not wholly agree, and both must be regarded as tentative merely, but the correspondences in the historic dialects, with which alone we can directly deal, may be considered established, and therefore with an enormous stride is taken toward a rational, scientific Semitic philology. The value of such a fixed, mechanical law can be appreciated only by those who know the fancies of etymology to which the absence of it has given rise.

But a still more important work than this of Hommel was Haupt's *Die Sumerischen Familiengesetze* (1879). Not only is the fixed correspondence of sibilants and dentals confirmed, but precise correspondences are postulated, and at least in part established, for the other consonants. In addition to this, the book contains a wealth of new discoveries, acute criticisms, bold, but well sustained positions, which established at once its character as one of originality and power. Its prime intention, as conveyed in the title, is the translation, with commentary, of the non-Semitic column of a bilingual tablet, with a view to initiate scientific treatment of this non-Semitic language,¹ but with the further object of gaining new light for the Assyrian. And indeed the brief inscription of six lines forms the nucleus for a mass of linguistic and philological details. It is impossible to enumerate them. The demonstration of the value $\check{s}a$ for the conjunction "and," in the Sumerian (Akkadian), the pointing out of a genetic connection in that language between the notions "flow," "speak," "call" (name), Akk. *mē*, and that of "existence," the great number

¹ For the helps to its study, and a survey of important facts in regard to it, see Hommel, *Die Neueren Resultate der Sumerischen Forschung*, ZDMG. xxxii (1878) I.

A discussion of Haupt's *Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte*, Lief. 1-3, (1881), would be premature, but there is much significance in the implication (see the title and elsewhere) of two non-Semitic languages or dialects in Babylonia. Their existence is demonstrated by Haupt, *Nachrichten der Gött. Ges. d. W.*, Nov. 1880. Any treatment of these and other facts concerning the Akkadian and Sumerian, though indispensable to a full outline of Assyriological work, must be omitted here.

of Akkadian derivatives in the Assyrian and other Semitic languages, the multitude of new readings for characters and words, the proof that the Assyrian vowel, written by French and English Assyriologists as *e*, but by the Germans hitherto as *é*, is not modified from *i* by the influence of an adjacent guttural, but is developed out of the older Semitic *d* (for its transcription Haupt adopts *ē*), a modification parallel with that in Hebrew of *ē* from the same *d*, these are a few examples which may explain in part the great influence of the book and the high position among Assyriologists it at once secured for its author.

Another book, imbued with the same spirit, but different in scope, is Lotz's *Inschriften Tiglath Pileser's I* (1880). This too is a work of the highest order. The cuneiform text is indeed not given, but the transcription is careful, the variants stand in the margin, the translation is close and accurate. The commentary and glossary occupy two-thirds of the book, and every page rewards the student. One of the most striking discoveries is that of the true meaning of *susu* (Heb. סוס, "horse"). The considerations in virtue of which Lotz translates it in Assyrian by "elephant," set this meaning fairly above the grade of mere probability, though perhaps less can be claimed for the reading *mur-nišu* of the hitherto unpronounceable ideogram for "horse." But far beyond the value of its particular demonstrations is the pervading tone of thoroughness. Mere conjecture is given as such. Positive statements are attended by proof. Hasty inferences, superficial generalizations, are not to be found. The work is well fitted to impress the long-needed lesson, that in Assyrian as little as elsewhere can earnest, patient discussion be dispensed with, and that no man's opinion is worth a straw to his fellow-students unless it rests on grounds which he is willing to subject to their tests.

In other countries there are several recent commentaries on extended texts. In France, Pognon has subjected the Bavian inscription of Sennacherib to a careful study (*L'Inscription de Bavian*, 1870-80). His work is an immense advance on any similar commentary in French. It is in two parts, the first containing text, translation and notes, the second appendices and glossary. The great value of the book is impaired by the absence of a transcription of the text. At this stage of Assyrian study it is quite as important to *pronounce* the words accurately as to translate correctly. Lotz's method would therefore have been better, since the text is already accessible (III R. 14), and corrections or variants could have been easily supplied. Of course, if space were not too precious, it would be a convenience to have the transcription in *addition* to, not instead of the cuneiform text, but the transcription we ought by all means to have. For the rest, the notes contain much valuable suggestion. The pronunciation *ma* (not *va*) of the Assyrian enclitic conjunction, and its identity with the Ethiopic particle *ma* (pp. 72, 162) he has recognized simultaneously with Haupt and Lotz, but independently of them, and in other points his views carry weight because he supports them with evidence. It would be too much to expect that he should be wholly free from the faults of his predecessors and associates, and he is not so, yet he often shows a wise divergence from them. The second part of his book will be noticed below, but a word may be given here to the remarks on the Assyrian alphabet prefixed to the glossary. Pognon recognizes *ḫ* as the only aspirate and (rightly?) denies the existence of *ḫ* in Assyrian. He notices, but not fully enough, the passage

of *a* into *ē*; indeed the whole treatment of this latter so often misrepresented vowel is unsatisfactory. After studying Haupt's demonstration (*Sum. Fam. Gesetze*, S. 65 ff.) one will hardly agree with Note 2, p. 106: "On sait que la voyelle *ē* provient ordinairement de l'alteration d'un *i* primitive." Further, any statements as to the influence of the adjacent guttural in producing the vowel *ē* (*ē*), see p. 155, must be made with great caution, and the theory that all signs representing a syllable with *i* represent those with *ē* as well, so that, e. g. *mi* can also be read *ne* (pp. 105 N, 161) is untenable. The apparent interchange resulted from the loss of distinction in sound between *i* and *ē*—a very different matter. The hypothesis (p. 162) that *a*, *i*, *u*, followed by a vowelless *m* or *n* had a nasal sound analogous to that in French is improbable and needless. There is no special treatment of the sibilants. Leaving Pognon it is not necessary to do more than name *Documents Juridiques de l'Assyrie et de la Chaldée*, by Oppert and Menant (1877), and the frequent publications of Lenormant, before passing to England.

Budge's *History of Esarhaddon* (1880) is a modest and meagre contribution to Assyriology. It is in the old style, made familiar by George Smith, but utterly without that penetrative genius which in Smith atoned for so much that was lacking. It is a plodding bit of work—at many points, of course, the advances in knowledge appear—with little keenness, small grasp, no trace of original investigation. All the notes are in the vocabulary, which contains no references to text or translation, so that the notes, such as they are, are of the least possible use, and from their character one might naturally suppose that the chief object of Assyrian study was to find parallels with Hebrew roots. The undertaking was so falsely conceived, and executed with so little breadth and so little scholarly acumen and force, as to make it of no consequence whatever for philology. Worse than this, it perpetuates vicious traditions of method, and is thus a positive hindrance to the growth of better habits.

The labors of Sir Henry Rawlinson and of Pinches, indefatigable as they are, are hardly philological. They are decipherers; in that direction lies their genius, and on that field they have won and are still winning their well-earned laurels.¹

The Assyrian Grammar, as already said, has not yet been written, for neither Schrader's "ABK" (1872) nor Sayce's *Assyrian Grammar for Comparative Purposes* (1872) could be regarded as final, while Sayce's *Elementary Grammar* (1876), with all its merits and defects, is a mere schoolbook, and Menant's *Manuel de la Langue Assyrienne* (1880) shows little appreciation of the progress of the last ten years. A grammar by Haupt is promised, and will be eagerly looked for. Meanwhile, the morphology of the verb is gaining in clearness. Since Hincks (*Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1866) observed the "Permansive Tense," and Geldart discussed it (Oriental Congress, London, 1874) and Sayce treated it more fully (*Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1877) it has been generally accepted. That it is a secondary and not a primary formation in the Semitic was announced by Sayce (*ib.*) and argued with care by Haupt (*ib.* 1878), and whether or not

¹Attention should be called to the appearance of Vol. V, Plates 1-35, of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*. It contains, among other important inscriptions (many of them bi-lingual) the Decagon Cylinder of Assurbanipal (R. 1), with restorations from duplicate fragments, and the Babylonian Cylinder of Cyrus.

there are still those who doubt it, the fact grows more certain all the while. As to the distinction between the Imperfect (Present or Future) and the Aorist (Past tense formed by prefixes) it is necessary to criticize only the mode of statement adopted by Sayce and Pognon (Part II). They are both inclined to believe (Pognon too hesitatingly) that the doubling of the 2d radical in the Present Qal is for the *eye* only, to show that the previous vowel is accented, and this being the case, no prominence should be given to this phenomenon in defining the tense-form. The change of vowel is the essential characteristic. Pognon still holds to the existence of an Aphel in weak verbs (pp. 144 f.). But the regular absence of the prefix Aleph in Imperative (Haupt, *Fam. Ges.* S. 58, Anm. 8) and Infinitive (Del. in Lotz, *Tig. Pil.* S. 98) make the explanation of the forms as Paël far more satisfactory. The relation between the Egyptian and the Semitic verb-forms (Pognon, pp. 136 ff., 144 ff.) is a field which will be more thoroughly worked by-and-by. The modal distinctions between different forms of the Aorist, etc., to which Sayce and Pognon devote many paragraphs, likewise need much careful study. Neither gives illustrations enough to prove his positions.

In lexicography the labor hitherto done is fragmentary. The lexicon of Norris, faithful, honest work as it was, is the product of a former decade and practically useless, besides being incomplete. Haupt, Lotz and Pognon have all done their share by their thorough etymological discussions, and Lotz's Glossary is full and exceedingly valuable. Hommel's *Namen der Säugethiere bei den Südsemitischen Völkern* (1879) contributes something to the Assyrian. De Chossat's *Répertoire Assyrienne* (1879) is a variegated compilation, scientifically valueless. Stanislas Guyard's *Notes de Lexicographie Assyrienne* (*Journ. Asiatique*, 1878-80) are, on the contrary, an earnest and scholarly treatment of some 80 or more etymologies. Not all of them commend themselves as correct, the fancy has too free play at times, there is an extreme endeavor to find *Semitic* roots for Assyrian words, and the judgment is sometimes at fault (e. g. in his Arabic derivation for *avelu* (*amēlu*), "man," which is of non-Semitic origin), but the work is of promising quality.

It is to be hoped that the great lack in this department will soon be supplied by the appearance of Friedrich Delitzsch's *Assyrisches Wörterbuch*, which has been in preparation for some years. It will doubtless be worthy of its author and increase his fame.

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FRANZÖSISCHE STUDIËN. Herausgegeben von G. KÖRTING und E. KOSCHWITZ.
I Band. 1 Heft. Heilbronn, Henninger.

Since the time when Raynouard and Diez opened up the domain of Romance speech to scientific inquiry there has been no lack of workers to push forward the same lines of research into the fields untouched by them, for the purpose, on the one hand, of verifying the results already obtained, or, on the other, of solving new problems touching the origin of the neo-Latin idioms. The *Langue d'oïl*, *Langue d'oc* and Low Latin have been studied with a zeal unsurpassed for ardor in the whole circle of philological investigation. In

this struggle to reach the *Ultima Thule* of grammatical history and literary tradition the contemporary languages have been almost totally neglected. How we think in them, how they form an essential part of ourselves, their constant change, their movement, how they form the point of departure for the development of new modes of expression and new word-creations, all these things have been regarded as unnecessary, or, at least, irrelevant in the study of what is fixed, determined and shut in by absolute rule. We are only just waking up to a realization of the fact that the study of contemporaneous speech-formation offers to the philologist as rich a field of inquiry as the past, and it is from this standpoint that we hail with delight the appearance of a new journal specially devoted to the modern forms of the most important member of the Romance languages.

The propagation of Romance philological science is making rapid strides. In 1879 Messrs Körting and Koschwitz established the *Zeitschrift für neu-französische Sprache und Literatur*, which immediately met with such an extensive circulation and called forth such favorable criticism that they were emboldened to make this new venture in special journalism. Its object is to bring before scholars more extensive articles touching subjects of French grammar and literary history than could be given in the *Zeitschrift*, and thus build up with it a sort of *thesaurus* of such materials and productions in French as we have for classical philology in the *Leipziger Studien*, for English in the *Englische Studien*, for German in the *Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprache und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker*. While, then, the old French department will not be positively shut out from its pages, it will be, however, chiefly devoted to the modern language, and therefore constitute a sort of supplement to the *Zeitschrift* published by the same editors.

The first number contains 126 pages of closely printed matter, bearing upon two subjects only, viz. *Syntaktische Studien über Voiture* (1598-1648) von W. List, and *Der Versbau bei Philippe Desportes* (1546-1606) und *François de Malherbe* (1555-1628) von P. Groebdinkel.

The writer not having at hand the first four editions of Voiture which appeared from 1650-55, has based his investigations in this paper on the two editions of that author published in 1656 and 1660 respectively. The method here pursued is clear and logical, though not so full as might be desired. For example, in treating of the various part of speech, article, pronoun, verb, etc., which are taken up separately, it certainly would have been much more satisfactory could we have had the old French sparingly quoted alongside of the examined text, to bring out sharply the great changes of construction which the language had undergone in this transition-period from the old to the modern model. It is true, the modern rule is stated and the old one referred to before each set of text-extracts, so that the reader is indirectly informed of the fact that the syntax here represented forms a sort of middle term between the free and easy phrasing of the founders of the French language and the stiff, conventional, cast-iron like pattern of to-day; but unless he comes fresh from the perusal of these old writers, he will scarcely appreciate the bold antitheses of construction in these two periods of French literary history by having examples of only one of them laid before him. Thus in the discussion of the pronoun (p. 5) we are told that the accusative neuter is omitted in two cases before the

dative *lui* (et il faut que vous (le) *luy* ayez fait écrire, etc.), and that Vaugelas (*Remarques sur la langue française*, Paris, 1647) was the first to condemn this construction, but nothing is suggested as to what was substituted for it. The Old French approved of *il le me dunad*; whence, then, the present *il me le donna*?

In case of the demonstrative, too, we find valuable relics of ancient usage, such as *ce* in intercalated phrases; e. g. *monsieur, ce luy dit Zelide: vous avez l'honneur, ce dit on*. A few interesting examples of periphrasis for the active voice are cited in the remarks on the verb. In old French two means were adopted to express continued action, viz. *estre* with the pres. active part. and *aller* with the gerundium. The former of these disappeared first from the language, but Glauning (*Syntaktische Studien zu Marot, Nördlingen, 1873*) shows that they are both used by Marot (1495-1554), i. e. in the fifteenth century, while with Montaigne (1533-1592) only the *aller* periphrastic form exists. We might, therefore, be tempted to suppose that the *estre*-combination would not occur later than this epoch. Such is not the case, however, and three examples (two with the pres. part., one with the gerundium) are drawn from Voiture, e. g. *ils furent quelques mois jouissans tranquillement de ce plaisir: vous estes-là comme rats en paille... toujours lisant, écrivant*, etc. Thirteen examples are collected (one in prose, twelve in poetry) of the use of *aller* with the gerundium, showing that, at this time, the tendency to form periphrases with this verb was confined more especially to poetic diction. Voiture's employment of tenses did not materially differ from the present usage. Occasionally, however, we find the imperf. ind. where writers of to-day would use the conditional, e. g. *si mon mal se pouvoit guerir... cette malice pouvoit estre bonne à quelque chose*. But the most striking deviation from present custom lies in the disposition of his indicative and subjunctive moods. In dependent clauses, for example, after the verbs *assurer, avouer, penser, croire, s'imaginer* and *oublier* the subjunctive is used though the principal clause be affirmative, e. g. *Je vous assure, monsieur, qu'il n'y eust eu guerre de raison*, etc.: *je croyois que c'eust esté estre perturbateur du repos public*. Again; relative clauses dependent on a superlative, or on the expressions *le seul, le premier, le dernier*, have either subj. or indic., e. g. *je fais la meilleure mine que je puis: peut-estre que le seul avantage qu'ils ont sur moi*, etc. In final sentences after verbs expressing an action of the will (*vouloir, il faut, trouver mauvais*) the division is even, i. e. we have as many indicatives as subjunctives, e. g. *mais je voudrois qu'au lieu qu'il a aymé... il se fut adressé*, etc. After the expressions *être bien aise, être fâché, c'est dommage, avoir peur*, and the verbs *s'étonner, craindre*, we find both subj. and indic., e. g. *au reste, monseigneur, je suis bien aise que vous ayez un commis: je suis fâché que je ne pris garde*, etc. These variations of usage, together with some relating to the change of the pf. part. after *être* and *avoir* (*cette particularité... a esté rapporté: les honneurs que j'ay reçeu*) and to the employment of prepositions after certain verbs and adjectives (*se résoudre de or à, disposer de or à*) constitute a few only of the more important tendencies of Voiture's language. We plainly see from them that the author held to the traditions of the past more closely than would have been expected from a contemporary of Vaugelas and a correspondent of Mlle. de Rambouillet, through whose influence the cause of the reformers, with its watchwords of aristocratic elegance and refinement, had in

great measure triumphed over the brusque, picturesque energy of a language drawn from popular materials. As the oracle of the Hôtel de Rambouillet we should have expected to find him cutting loose from all the old moorings, where he would find himself in any way hampered in his linguistic *tours de force*. He was the *enfant gâté* of his age. Boileau places him alongside of Horace. So much the more valuable, therefore, is this systematic examination of his writings by List. It adds another intermediate link in the chain of studies from the old to the new, and teaches very forcibly the lesson that no set form of human speech can be rapidly supplanted by another, however well supported it may be by the authority of literary excellence.

In the second paper, *Der Versbau, etc.*, the writer begins by referring to the exaggerated appreciation of Malherbe's merits expressed by Boileau in his *Art poétique*, chant I, 130 et seq.

*Enfin Malherbe vint, et, le premier en France,
Fit sentir dans les vers une juste cadence.*

*Par ce sage écrivain la langue réparée
N'offrit plus rien de rude à l'oreille épurée.*

Up to the commencement of the present century Malherbe had the unquestioned reputation of being the reformer *par excellence* of French speech and poetry. Since then careful criticism has brought this blind admiration for his services within reasonable bounds, and shown that, though M. must be regarded as a reformer and purifier of his language, much stricter limits must be placed upon his deserts in versification. He pushed to extremes the laws already in force on this subject, and only invented fetters in many cases for poetic art. It was the Romantic school of literature in France which set aside these trammels, and brought into vogue again much of that freedom of verse-form that existed before M.'s time. The object of this article, then, is to show the agreement of M.'s verse-arrangement with that of Desportes, the best living representative of poetic composition when M. came forward with his puristic ideas, to point out what he recognized as good in the then existing verse-system, what he helped to develop, what he called into being that was new and untried, and what were his principal defects. To this end the writer calls in, as a most important aid to his investigation, the edition of Desportes' works issued in 1609, a copy of which exists with critical remarks by Malherbe himself. These bear upon both matter and form; that is, upon the imitation of Italian authors which is found strongly marked in D.'s erotic poems, and upon the constitution of the verse itself. Here we get a clear insight into Malherbe's earnest efforts in this part of his literary career.

The eight syllable and Alexandrine are taken as types for comparison between the two authors, and it is shown that only in the old syntactical *enjambement* can M. lay any claim to originality over his contemporary. Of all the laws of verse which were sanctioned in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, none was more fatal to French poetry than this articulation of verse parts, which, so far as the eight syllable form is concerned, rests upon the same plane of development for both M. and D., while the Alexandrine offers us a much freer treatment with the latter than with the former. In the sixteenth

century, when the influence of Italian literature made itself specially felt in France, and poets discovered in the Latin hexameter what variety and effect could be produced by the overlappings of sense in different verses, the old syntactical dependence was given up and a greater freedom introduced. Ronsard was the pioneer in this innovation, and established a new school of versification which was followed by Desportes; while Malherbe, on the other hand, faithful to his conservative instincts with reference to everything pertaining to form, stuck closely to the teachings of the old-fashioned methods, and endeavored to develop them without injuring the clearness and precision of the verse.

In strophe-building and in syntactical strophe articulation little difference of proceeding is manifest between the two poets, but in rhyme we should naturally expect to find certain differences due to dialect influence, since the one, Malherbe, came from Normandy, while the other, Desportes, came from Chartres. Thus it is that we find rhymes in simple *e ouvert*, which were perfectly correct for Desportes, condemned by Malherbe, because the terminations *eine, aine* had for the Norman the same phonetic value, that of an *e ouvert*, followed by a distinct *i*-sound.

In the so-called *rimes riches* Malherbe has for the most part proceeded with more circumspection than his contemporary, and has given them in some cases a purer and completer form. They both stand on the same level with reference to euphony of verse, and while hiatus occasionally comes up in Desportes, it has almost entirely disappeared from Malherbe.

Upon the whole, then, we must consider Malherbe's merciless criticism of Desportes as unjustifiable in view of the fact that they both represent almost universally the same grade of prosodial development, and in the single case (syntactical *enjambement*) where they do materially differ, Malherbe has shown a lack of appreciation for the value of the "new departure" by holding strictly to the old doctrines.

A. M. E.

Aucassin und Nicolette, neu nach der Handschrift mit Paradigmen und Glossar, von HERMANN SUCHIER. Zweite Auflage 8, pp. ix, 118. Paderborn: Schöningh. 1881.

Editions of Old French texts which take into account the special needs of the student have been signally wanting. They have either been too long, bulky and uninteresting, or they have not been supplied with those helps, such as a general view of the flexions and a glossary, which are of so much importance in the particular interpretation of them. The editor who has any such object as this in view is met in the very outset with the serious difficulty of properly controlling his manuscript material, which, in a vast majority of cases, is altogether too extensive to be reduced to convenient compass for beginners, and of presenting an adequate survey of the philological and historical questions which abound in most mediæval works. With these drawbacks before them, scholars have generally been content to give us simple texts, adding here and there a striking manuscript variation, but leaving everything else to be found out by the reader as best he can.

Prof. Suchier, in editing the charming story of *Aucassin and Nicolette*, has pursued a course entirely different from most of his predecessors. It is true that *his* principal object, too, has been to give us as pure a text as possible by collating different editions and making such emendations as seemed obviously necessary from the context, but, alongside of this, he adds a few well considered and appropriate notes, a thorough discussion of the dialect peculiarities of the text, a concise review of grammatical forms, and a most excellent vocabulary, furnished with references for each word to some particular passage in the body of the work where its meaning may be verified. The first edition, thus brought out in 1878, was at once heartily welcomed as a most valuable contribution to the propagation of Romance studies, notwithstanding certain disadvantages which the work, as such, offered, viz: a rather too limited text (42 octavo pages in all); its not being a specimen of a special kind, in other words, that it stands there as something peculiar in Old French literature; that the matter narrated is foreign, non-French; that, in fine, it does not constitute a well rounded, complete whole. But in spite of these adverse circumstances, the editor, with his usual close observation, acuteness of discernment, sharp-sighted judgment, and rigid, scientific method, has given us in this second edition (1881) the only model *work-book* which has ever been published in this field. It is worthy of, and will doubtless find, a wide circulation.

Aucassin et Nicolette is an idyllic song-story, i. e. a peculiar mixture of a story in prose and of a song in verse, known under the technical name *chante-fable*, the story, however, being kept strictly in the prose. The scene is laid in the beautiful valleys of Provence, and our editor thinks that its author, though a native of the north, was personally acquainted with the extraordinary natural charms of this "south country," and hence laid the plot of his work there. The date of composition is set down for the beginning of the thirteenth century.

The text was copied by Suchier from the only existing manuscript, sent to him in Halle from the National Library of Paris. His corrections have, for the most part, greatly improved the original, though occasionally readings are kept, as suggested by previous editors, the propriety of which may be strongly questioned. Some of these, however, have been discarded entirely, or happily corrected in the second edition, e. g. IV, 11, I Ed. *cé poise moi qu'il iva ne qu'il i vient a cé qu'il i parole*: II Ed. *ne qu'il i vient ne qu'il i parole*: XX, 14, I Ed. *Qui que derve, n'ost joie Aucassins ne n'ot talent*: II Ed. *Qui que demenast joie, Aucassins n'en ot talent*.

A good example of Suchier's prudent emendation, and better reading as compared with other editions, may be found in XXIV, 1, *Aucassins ala par le forest de voie en voie* (S.): *Aucassins ala par le forest devers Nicolette*, which is a conjecture of Méon, followed by Gaston Paris.

The notes are not numerous (6 pages), but what they give is of positive worth. They aim more at an explanation of the real difficulties in the text than at supplementing it with extraneous matter.

In the vocabulary we have noted the following important changes in definition and additions of meanings, which were either not given at all in the first edition or were incorrect.

VI, 30.—*Estrumeld*, mit blossen Beinen (trumel), zerlumpt (I Ed.): mit Geschwüren (*estrume*, Aeneas S. 12, *lat.* struma) bedeckt (II Ed.)

XIV, 20.—*Cateron*, Kätzchen, Brustwarze (I Ed.): Köpfchen; Brustwarze (II Ed.)

XIV, 27.—*Gaite*, masc. Wächter (I Ed.): fem. (II Ed.)¹

XV, 13.—*Souduiant*, Soldat (I Ed.): Verräther (II Ed.) Bida has likewise confounded the words *soudoier* (soldier) and *souduiant* present participle of *souduire* (to betray). Bartsch, too, has mistaken the signification of this word, cf. *Chrestomathie de l'ancien Français* 284, 12; et 714.

XXVI, 22.—*Plain*, eben, has been added, and indeed was the only word wanting to render the vocabulary of the first edition complete.

About the time Suchier's first edition of *Aucassin und Nicolette* appeared at Paderborn, another of an entirely different character came to light in Paris under the title, *Aucassin et Nicolette, chante-fable du douzième siècle traduite par A. Bida, révision du texte original et préface par G. Paris*.

This work is not scientific, but has a purely literary worth, and is intended for the general public. The celebrated French artist, Alexandre Bida, furnished designs for the illustrations. The admirable translation into modern French is followed by the original text reviewed from the MS., and both preceded by an interesting historical preface, designed to prepare the reader for a better appreciation of the composition before him. An Eng. translation of this Bida-text was brought out in New York, as a holiday-book for Christmas 1880, under the title, *The Lovers of Provence*, to which the poet Stedman contributed an introductory note and poem. There is no work in the whole range of old French literature which illustrates better than this one the delicate, romantic sentiment of the *Trouvères*, or the fresh spirit of the poetry of this period.

A. M. E.

A Study of Plutarch's Life of Artaxerxes. Doct. Diss. by CHARLES FORSTER SMITH. Leipzig, 1881.

The greater part of this essay is taken up with an attempt to indicate the sources from which Plutarch drew his information in writing the life of Artaxerxes. This question has already engaged the attention of other scholars, whose views are referred to, as occasion requires, by Mr. Smith. The conclusion at which he arrives is that Plutarch's main authority for the life as a whole was the *Περικλέης* of Dinon, though for one portion, cc. 11-19, he is chiefly indebted to Ctesias. The close scrutiny with which the minutest indications have been examined, and the ingenuity with which the results thus deduced have been combined, is deserving of all praise. It would be impertinent in one who has not devoted any special study to the question to express a positive opinion that Mr. Smith has not made out his case, particularly as he himself says that "after all it must be confessed that the question is largely one of probabilities." But the present writer may be permitted to say that a careful reading of the life produces on his mind the impression that Plutarch had, before he sat down to

¹ Prof. Tobler appropriately remarks with reference to the word *gens*, also, which modern French grammarians set down as sometimes masculine, sometimes feminine, that it is *always* feminine, but that attributives connected with it *ad sensum* are brought into agreement with it.

write it, endeavored to make himself master of the facts by reading his various authorities, and then constructed it out of the materials thus fresh in his remembrance, and that he only referred on occasion to this or that authority when he recollected that there was a greater or less divergence among them. One statement of the writer that what Plutarch has from Xenophon "in the Artaxerxes was taken principally at second hand through some other source," seems very improbable. The fact that passages in which the very words of the *Anabasis* are quoted contain additional statements which Xenophon does not make, is surely inadequate to support the view that Plutarch had not Xenophon's work in his hands while he was compiling his material; particularly as Plutarch speaks in the highest terms of Xenophon as a narrator: c. 8, *Ξενοφώντος μονονουχὶ δεικνύοντος ὁψει καὶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ὥς οὐ γεγενημένοις ἀλλὰ γινομένοις ἐπιστάντος αἰὶ τὸν ἀκροατὴν ἐμπαθῆ καὶ συγκινδυνεύοντα διὰ τὴν ἐνάργειαν.*

The latter part of the treatise is devoted to the various accounts given of the battle of Kunaxa, the result of which is that the narrative of Xenophon is shown to be the most intelligible and consistent.

The tone of the whole essay leaves nothing to be desired; and though Mr. Smith has in this little treatise made an attempt to construct a theory on a very slender basis, he would no doubt subscribe to the dictum of a French writer who says: "la critique conjecturale a du bon, mais à la condition qu'elle ne se surfasse pas elle-même et qu'elle ne prétende point à la certitude."

C. D. MORRIS.

De arte metrica Commodiani. . . . Scripsit FRIDERICUS HANSSSEN (Doct. Diss.) Argentorati, 1881.

This volume of ninety pages contains an elaborate attempt to reduce to order the chaos of the miserable hexameters of Commodianus; but after reading the work, one is still constrained to believe with Lucian Müller, that the verses were written "contemptu fere regularum." As to the laws of quantity, the conclusion of Hanssen is that they are observed only in the thesis of the second foot, and in the thesis of the fifth with the arsis of the sixth; but that even here the laws are totally different from those of classic Latin poets, and are not consistently applied! I cite as a sample one verse restored by Hanssen:

Súscitantúrque sóló||immortáles fácti de mórtē.

M. W. H.

Ueber den Einfluss des Reimes auf die Sprache Otfrid's besonders in Bezug auf Laut- und Formenlehre, von THEODORE INGENBLEEK. Mit einem Reimlexicon zu Otfried. Karl J. Trübner, Strassburg, 1880.

Such is the title of a welcome little essay on the influence of rhyme upon Otfrid's language, a subject on which we have as yet only scattered remarks, found in the various commentaries and grammatical works on Otfrid's *Evangelienbuch*. It contains, as the title indicates, a rhyme-index and a list of the places cited, thus making it a convenient little book of reference to Otfrid. The purpose of the author has been rather to collect and arrange under

appropriate headings the cases where influence of rhyme has been at work, than to institute an investigation of the forms employed. This of course led to a division of the subject entirely according to outward signs, if I may be allowed the expression, and not according to inherent principles, which a purely scientific treatment of the subject would have demanded. It is much to be regretted that the author had not enlarged his plan to a discussion of the origin and value of the peculiar forms thus employed by this early and great poet, and to a comparison of them with similar forms in the sister dialects, inasmuch as the results of the investigation would then have been of more general interest, and in all probability many problems would have thus been solved, as many of the peculiar forms of the declension discussed in this essay have their exact counterparts in other sister dialects. This is a work that must still be done, and could have been done here with but little more outlay of time and research. Yet we will be thankful for the good we have received in this essay. It gives faithfully Otfrid's peculiarities, and explains as many of them as the plan of the work admitted. And with this plan the division made is the best one possible, as it takes up in regular order the Verb, the Substantive and Adjective, the Adverb, the Participle, and lastly Syntax.

Let us take up some of these points in the order in which they occur. On p. 10 under Assimilation of two consonants we find *uuesstn* : *misstn* II, 5, 18 where *misstn* stands for *misttn*, the common form of the past subjunctive. Kögel *Germanische Dentalverbindung* in P. B. VII 171-201 has formulated the law for the assimilation of a following to a preceding *s*. 1. The second *s* must necessarily be one of the accented suffixes *-td-*, *-tl-*, *-td-*. All words with *ss* were therefore oxytones in Teutonic. 2. The first *s* cannot have come from the original spirant *s*. 3. *ss* was always intervocalic in Teutonic, and here it must be remembered that *j* and *w* are vowels after a preceding long syllable, p. 173. Kögel farther explains the German *missen*, O. E. *missan*, O. N. *missa*, Teutonic *miss-ja-n* as formed from the part. *miss*, which, according to him, stands for "*mit-td-s* and is the regular participle to *mīdan* (the Gothic 'would be *meipān*)=Lat. *mittere* (in inscriptions *mittere*), now written *mittere*. The oldest meaning of this verb is '*fahren lassen*.' Thus we have *mīdan* : *missen* : *mittere* : *amittere*." But with a present *missjan* *missan* we should expect in the past tense of the O. H. G. *misttn* and not our form *misstn*, and we find the first to be the regular form of the past tense. Accordingly we must either accept with Ingenbleek an irregular assimilation of *t* to the preceding *s* on account of the rhyme, or explain this uncommon form otherwise. The other forms which this word shows and not in rhyme lead us, however, to another explanation, which we shall find by accepting with Hermann Möller a *t*-praeteritum (*Kumpa* und das *T*-praeteritum in P. B. VII 457-481), who objects to Kögel's explanation of Gothic, O. N. *vissa*, O. E. *wisse*, O. H. G., O. S. *wessa* as an analogous formation (to similar forms in other words) formed from the old participle *viss*, which according to Möller is "really an adjective and not a participle, cf. German *gewiss*." Möller explains this form as a *t*-praeteritum from *vid* to see: thus *vīttm* *vīttt* became according to Kögel's law regularly *vissa*. In the same way from the stem *mīd* (*carere*) we should have the praeteritum *mīttm* *mīttt* from which the later *missa* would be the regular reflexion, and which the more common form *mista* from *missan* was gradually at this period superseding and

did finally entirely supersede. Thus Otfrid made use of the one or the other form according to the needs of his verse.

p. 11. For the explanation of the *s* in *konsti* the collateral form to *konda* cf. Hermann Möller in P. B. VII 464 ff.

p. 12. For *firsþurni* cf. Kluge in Q. F. 32, 145.

p. 13. For *sasta* cf. Hermann Möller cl. 479.

On the same page § 7 the subject of a change of gender or stem is treated, though only in so far as the metre has influenced the poet in the choice of one of two forms both of which have equal authority, or even sometimes to employ forms or a gender not found elsewhere. The author has not attempted an investigation into the cause of such change of an *a*- to an *i*- stem or *vice versa*, as this lay outside of the plan adopted by him. And yet this would have been a thankful investigation, though undoubtedly a somewhat extended one. It is in fact a question the solution of which would probably throw much light upon the complicated subject of anomalies and mixed forms in the declension. A glance at the O. H. G. substantives will suffice to show a frequent change between the *a*- (*a*- *n*-) and *i*- stems, as in *finger*, d. pl. *fingeron*, *fingerin*, *nagel*, pl. *nagala*, *negeli*, *spanga*, pl. *spangi*, *stanga*, d. pl. *stangen*, ac. pl. *stanga*, *stangi*, *zanga*, pl. *zangi*, and many others. Some of these stems are stems which show consonant forms in Old Norse, and undoubtedly the fundamental cause is the same. It probably indicates a divergency in the development of one and the same, or a confounding of two distinct declensions, in the first case caused by difference in the place of the primary accent, in the second by the fact that some of the cases of the two different declensions became similar, which led to the confounding of the two declensions. Here we cannot enter more fully into a discussion of this very interesting subject, reserving what we have farther to say for some future occasion.

p. 21, § 10. I, 3, 37 *iro ddgo unard giundgo fon alton nultagôn* "scheint nur eine licenz für das fem. *giunaga*." Müllenhoff und Scherer Denk.² 436.

p. 22. *Maht* erscheint stets ohne umlaut, nur II, 17, 22 heisst es *mehti* (*krefiti*). For the non-umlaut of *maht* cf. Braune Zur Althochdeutschen Lautlehre in P. B. IV, 541.

p. 23. *Magad* is as the author states on old *i*-stem, and the d. pl. *uueroltmagadon* is probably to be explained by the dropping of the *i* after dentals (cf. On the Consonant Declension in Old Norse, above), and then transition into the *a*-declension.

p. 24. In the d. sg. *akus* instead of *akusi* we have another instance of the dropping of the light vowel after *s* as discussed above p. 200 ff.

p. 26. The author is right in considering *duro* g. pl. for *turio*, and might also have cited the O. N. *dyrr* (pl.) in addition to the O. E. *duru* as proof of a *u*-stem (i. e. in O. H. G. an *i*-stem into which declension all the *u*-stems have passed in O. H. G.); farther O. S. ac. pl. *duri*=*januas*, Ps. 73, 6.

p. 29. n. pl. *fatera* after the *a*-declension is not merely a peculiarity of the O. H. G., but shows itself also in the other dialects, and especially in the plural of this word. O. Frise also has *fetera*, O. E. *fäteras*. It would repay the trouble of tracing the transition of these old consonant stems into the vowel declension throughout all the dialects, a research which would no doubt throw more light upon the question of the gradual disappearance of the consonant

stems. Most of the other *Tar-* stems have either passed as a general rule into the *u-* declension (cf. O. N. pl., O. E. and some forms of the O. Frise and O. H. G.) or remained intact in their old consonant declension (as for instance O. S., O. H. G. and O. Frise, the occasional *i-* forms excepted).

This word furnishes a good example of what I touched upon in my opening remarks, viz., the failure to take up and discuss the forms themselves in their philological relations to the whole Teutonic group. The mere fact that Otfrid used a form not in common use is interesting in itself, but receives an additional interest as soon as we learn that it is an historical form fast disappearing from the language, a relic of a conjugation or declension which is fast becoming obsolete, a landmark thus almost accidentally preserved, which greatly helps us in tracing the growth of the language. Otfrid probably invented no new forms for the occasion, but only employed uncommon ones taken from the unwritten or at least to us unpreserved language.

Though this failure to grasp the subject in its broadest sense detracts materially from the work, it does not by any means signify that it has been done in vain. It lays the foundation for farther investigation and is an invaluable aid in the study of Otfrid.

S. P.

REPORTS.

MNEMOSYNE, Vol. VIII, pt. 3.

This number opens with thirteen pages of notes by Cobet on Galen, *περί διαγνώσεως καὶ θεραπείας τῶν ἐν τῇ ἐκάστου ψυχῇ ἰδίων παθῶν*. He quotes a long passage in which Galen deplores the little sympathy he got even from his friends in his pursuit of science, while they assured him that if he did not pay the usual court to the rich and great he could be of no use to himself or to them. But he remarks, of the physicians of old time οὐδεὶς οὐτε ἔωθεν ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πλουσίων ἐφοῖτα θύρας προσαγορεύσων αὐτοὺς οὐτ' εἰς ἐσπέραν δειπνησόμενος; and contrasts them with Thessalus, who οὐ τὰ ἄλλα μόνον ἐκολάκευε τοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς 'Ρώμης πλουσίους ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ μῶνι ἐξ ἐπαγγέλσθαι διδάξεν τὴν τέχνην. No wonder, says Cobet, when σκντοτόμοι καὶ τέκτονες καὶ βαφεῖς καὶ χαλκεῖς ἐπιπηδῶσιν ἤδη τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς ἱατρικῆς τὰς ἀρχαίας αὐτῶν ἀπολιπόντες τέχνας, that doctors of this sort "ab aegrotantium cognatis male mulcari;" and he quotes passages in which Galen says that the physicians were glad to escape with their lives, ὡχρότεροι καὶ ψυχρότεροι τοῦ νοσοῦντος αὐτοῦ γενόμενοι.

He shows that some of the sentiments found in this book are from the *χρυσᾷ ἐπῇ*, attributed to Pythagoras, of which Galen says of himself, καὶ ταύτας δὴ τὰς φερομένας ὡς Πυθαγόρου παραινέσεις εἶδισα [leg. εἶθισμαι] δις τῆς ἡμέρας ἀναγιγνώσκειν μὲν τὰ πρῶτα λέγειν δὲ ἀπὸ στόματος ὑστερον.

The text of Galen (in the edition of Kühn, Lipsiae, 1823) is very corrupt; and Cobet's emendations are in nearly every case happy and convincing. But they do not lend themselves to quotation. A single specimen may be given. "Pag. 32, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ΤΑΙΣ μὲν οἰνόφλυΓΑΙΣ ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ἡδομένους ὅταν πίνοντες ὑπερβάλλωνται τοὺς συμπότας. Sublato duplici mendo scribendum: ΤΟΤΕ μὲν οἰνόφλυΓΑΣ ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν ἡδομένους ὅταν—ὑπερβάλλωνται. Οἰνόφλυξ pro *temulento* et apud alios saepe legitur et frequens est apud Hippocratem, unde Galenus sumsit."

The next article is by S. A. Naber (pp. 246-268), who continues his notes on the Comic Fragments. A specimen or two of his corrections may be given.

In a fragment of the *Ναυαγός* of Ephippus which is in other respects corrupt occurs the line—

τῶν ἐξ 'Ακαδημείας τις ὑπὸ Πλάτωνα καὶ—

Since ὑπὸ Πλάτωνα is unintelligible and καὶ seems to have no place, he conjectures αὐτοπλάτων δοκῶν, after the pattern of αὐτοβορέας, αὐτοθαῖς, αὐτομέλινα, as Cobet (V. L. p. 285) has written in Plat. Menex. 245 d, αὐτοέλληνες for αὐτοὶ Ἑλληνες. In the same way in Plat. Polit. 269 e, he proposes to write ὅτι μικροτάτην τῆς αὐτοκινήσεως παράλλαξιν (for αὐτοῦ κινήσεως): in Plat. Legg. 817 b, ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν τραγωδίας αὐτοποιηταί (for αὐτοὶ ποιηταί); and in Thuc. VII, 57, 2 'Αθηναῖοι μὲναὐτοῖνες ἐπὶ Διοτῆς Συρακοσίους ἐκόντες ἦλθον (for αὐτοὶ Ἴωνες).

A fragment of the *Θράσων* of Alexis runs thus in the MSS. of Athenaeus:

σοῦ δ' ἐγὼ λαλιώτεραν
οἰκώποτ' εἶδον οὔτε κερκώπην, γίγναι,
οὐ κίτταν, οὐκ ἀηδόν', οὐ τρυγόν', οὐ τέττιγα.

Meineke edited after Porson *οὔτε τρυγόν' οὐ | τέττιγα*. Cobet objected to this emendation (1) because of *οὔτε* introduced between the repeated *οὐ*'s, and (2) because in such an enumeration of chattering the swallow could not have been omitted, and proposed to read *οὐ χελιδόνα, | οὐ τρυγόν', οὐ τέττιγα*. Naber shows that Elmsley has quoted several examples of such an irregular combination of negatives, though he thinks it should not be introduced by conjecture; and objects further to Cobet's correction, that though the mention of the swallow may have been necessary, that of the nightingale is by no means to be expected, of which "non est molesta loquacitas." This too Meineke had thought of; and had therefore proposed *οὐ χελιδόν' οὔτε τρυγόν' οὐ τέττιγα*. Naber thinks that "unius animalculi nomen excidisse" . . . and proposes *οὐ κίτταν, οὐ χελιδόν', οὐ τιτιγόνιον, οὐ τρυγόν', οὐ τέττιγα*. "Scribit Athenaeus IV, p. 133 B, ἐστι δ' ἡ κερκώπη ζῷον ὅμοιον τέττιγι καὶ τιτιγονίῳ, deinde pergit et laudat etiam hunc ipsum Alexidis locum, quem emendare conati sumus."

Naber persists in the inconvenient practice of referring to the fragments on which he comments by the pages of the authors by whom they are quoted, and only seldom by the pages of Meineke, or by the name of the play. This causes considerable labor if one wishes to judge of the plausibility of a conjecture by considering the context of the emended passage. For example: this line is found in the midst of a long fragment of the *Κρατείας* ἡ *Φαρμακοπώλης*:

τούτοις μάγειρος οὐ πρόσειδ', οὐκ ὄψεται.

"Emenda: οὐδ' ὄψεται, quod certum mihi esse videtur. Similem corruptelam odoror in Euripidis *Ione* vs. 1037, ubi Creusae verba sunt, venenum paedagogο tradentis quo filium interimat.

κἀνπερ διέλθῃ λαμόν, οὐποθ' ἵζεται
κλεινὰς Ἀθήνας, κατθανὼν δ' αὐτοῦ μενεῖ,

ubi multo malim legere: οὐποθ' ὄψεται. Huiusmodi coniecturae se ipsas commendare debent aut frustra commendabuntur."

Occasionally he proposes as new a correction already made. For example: in a fragment of the *Μιλῆσια*, which contains some remarks of a cook on the necessity of prompt attendance on the part of the guests if his science is to produce its perfect work, it is pointed out that Meineke gives one line to the cook which necessarily belongs to the person he is talking to. But this is already indicated in Bothe's edition.

The next article is by Cobet, on certain passages in Antiphon (pp. 269-291): with special reference to an edition of the orations and remarks on them by Victor Jernstedt, of St. Petersburg. Cobet bestows high commendation on this work, but finds still something left for himself to do. On the necessity of indicating elision and crasis in certain combinations he says: "vel sola auris admonet vitiosa esse *εὐ οἶδα ὅτι, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως, παρὰ Ἀθηναίους, ὀλίγα ἅττα, πολλὰ*

arra et similia his sexcenta. Optime hoc senties si verba oratorum alta voce legere, aut etiam, quasi ipse diceres, agere consueveris, id quod discipulis meis sedulo inculcare et exemplo praeire soleo. In hoc tam rapido verborum flumine molestae vocales veluti sua sponte excidunt, quod nisi fiat huiusmodi oratio inepte te relinquit hiantem."

In Antiph. I, 12, he restores καταψηφισθε after ὅπως μή (for καταψηφισθε) and takes occasion to refer to the conclusion of Herwerden (*Lapidum de dialecto Attica testimonia*, p. 74), who finds in an inscription ἐπιμελίσθαι τοὺς στρατηγούς—ὅπως—(κομῇ) Σωνταί "ex quo loco simul manifesto apparet vanam esse quorundam opinionem—ὅπως non admittere coniunctivum aoristi primi activi et medii." This Cobet states is the single instance in all the Attic inscriptions: and then he shows that in the previous part of the same inscription we have ἐπιμελίσθαι ὅπως ἈΜΜῆδεν ἀδικῆται—ἐάν τις ἄλλος παρατυγχάνει—ἐπιμελίσθαι ὅπως ἂν προσδόν τογχάνει—and then the clause referred to by Herwerden. As ὅπως ἂν is frequent in the inscriptions after ἐπιμελίσθαι, and we have it twice in this one: so we should certainly read ὅπως ἂν—κομίσωνται. While admitting the great value of the inscriptions, Cobet insists that here too the μηδὲν ἄγαν must be kept in view, and that we must remember that the γραμματῆς who drew up decrees were not men of learning, but often ἀπαιδεντοὶ τινες καὶ ἁμαθεῖς, and that therefore 'non est mirandum monumenta quaedam etiam perantiqua vitii scaterere, quibus accedunt errores novi, quos lapidarium incuria fudit': and to illustrate this he quotes from one (I, 168, p. 77) ΘΗ βουλει, τει βουλει, κτιεῖς, κτιεῖων, κτιεῖων, ἰδρύσειας, ξυμβάλλεσθαι, Λυκοργος, ἐνποροι, ἐμπόροις, ἐνκτησην.

Of the Tetralogies he says: "quae sequuntur Tetralogiae plenae pravi et vitiosi acuminis non sunt ad meum palatum. Itaque

ἄλλους τὰ κομψὰ ταῦτ' ἀφείξομαι σοφίσματα

transeo ad orationem περὶ τοῦ Ἡρώδου φόνου."

A single specimen of his notes here may be given. In § 59 we have: οὐδὲ με ἐν ἀφανεί λόγῳ ζητεῖς ἀπολέσαι. What, he asks, is the meaning of this? Bekker refers us to a note of Hemsterhuys on Lucian: "sed nihil hinc proficimus: Hemsterhusius enim imbiberat errorem hunc, bene Graece dici pro *fuste virga percutere aliquem* καθικέσθαι τινός 'EN βακτηρία, 'EN ῥάβδῳ, et ex decrepita Graecia putidissimos testes Manethonem, Quintum Calabrum et similes produxit, quibuscum componit Antiphontem, qui dixerit 'EN ἀφανεί λόγῳ pro ἀφανεί λόγῳ. Quis haec hodie probabit? Nemo hercle: itaque alio modo laboranti Antiphonti opitulandum. In tempore succurrit Antiphontis discipulus Thucydides VI, 54: βλαίων μὲν οὐδὲν ἐβούλετο δρᾶν, ἐν τρόπῳ δὲ τινι ἀφανεί παρεσκενάζετο προπηλακίων αὐτόν, nam sic legendum pro τόπῳ, ut I, 97, ἐν οἴῳ τρόπῳ κατέστη."

On § 50 of Orat. VI (περὶ τοῦ χορευτοῦ) he changes μεσεγγυησάμενοι into μεσεγγυασάμενοι. The former "pugnat cum analogia: nempe ex ἐγγύῃ recte ἐγγυᾶν, ἐξεγγυᾶν, ἐγγυᾶσθαι, formantur, et perpetuo omnium usu frequentantur. Ex μεσέγγυος autem non μεσεγγυᾶσθαι nascitur, sed μεσεγγυοῦσθαι, non μεσεγγύημα sed μεσεγγύωμα." And he shows that in all cases where the word occurs in Isocrates, Plato, and Demosthenes, the best MSS. give the correct form.

The next article (pp. 292-306) contains notes on Thucyd. VII by Van Herwerden. These remarks are largely occupied with the ejection of 'frigida emblemata.' For example: on c. 18, 2: τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἐνόμιζον διπλοῦν τὸν πόλεμον ἔχοντας [πρὸς τε σφᾶς καὶ Σικελιώτας] εὐκαθαιρετωτέρους εἶσθαι. "Perstolidus sit necesse est qui quod duplex bellum intelligendum sit punctum temporis dubitare possit. Felicius evasit locus cap. 28, 3 μάλιστα δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπείζεν διὰ τοὺς πολέμους ἃμα εἶχον, ubi tamen Scholiasta aequalibus suis utile existimavit annotare τὸν τε Πελοποννησιακὸν καὶ τὸν Σικελικόν."

On c. 25, 1, in commenting on the use of ὅπως with the fut. or 1 aor. subj., he refers to the authority of the inscription, which has been already mentioned in Cobet's notes on Antiphon (see p. 243); and says that his rule in editing Thuc. is: to give the 1st aorist when all the MSS. agree in presenting it: the future, when there is any variation in the testimony.

On c. 69, 4 εὐθὺς ἐπλεον πρὸς τὸ ζεύγμα τοῦ λιμένος [καὶ τὸν καταλειφθέντα διέκπλον] βουλόμενοι βιάσασθαι ἐς τὸ ἐξω, after noting that the MSS. and editors differ as to the participle, and rejecting the pertinence of Classen's reference to Hdt. VII, 36 (of Xerxes' bridge) διέκπλον ὑπόφανσιν κατέλιπον τῶν πεντηκοντέρων καὶ τριηρέων τριχού, he expresses his agreement with Boehme that it is absurd to suppose that the Syracusans had left any opening in their inclosing barrier. This he thinks is proved by § 2, where it is said of the Athenians that after making their way to τὸ ζεύγμα and getting the better of the ships stationed near it ἐπειρῶντο λύειν τὰς κλήσεις 'quo sane nihil opus fuisset εἰ περιλειφθῇ διέκπλος.' Nihil igitur relinquitur quam ut verba inclusa ut emblemata expungamus.' There is surely no difficulty in supposing with Grote (VII, p. 447) that 'a narrow opening, perhaps closed by a movable chain, had been left for merchant vessels'; and then Classen's quotation is quite in point.

In the next article (pp. 307-324) H. W. Van der Mey prints vv. 529-1055 of the *Codex Mutinensis* of Theognis, and makes some remarks on certain passages as exhibited in the recent editions of J. Sitzler and Ch. Ziegler.

J. H. A. Michelsen derives from his reading of the Codex Sinaiticus four emendations: in Acts iv. 7, ἐν ποίῳ ὀνόματι πονεῖτε (for ἐποιήσατε τοῦτο): in Acts xxvi. 21 εὐλαβοῦμενοι (for συλλαβόμενοι): in Acts xxvii. 7 μὴ προσέχειν ἑῶντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου (for προσεῶντος): in 1 Cor. viii. 3 γινώσεται (for ἐγνωσται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ.)

The last article (pp. 329-344) contains a review by Cobet of the recent edition of Plato's Protagoras, by M. Schanz. It is largely occupied with the detection of 'supervacua et molesta verba' and of passages where 'quod Plato scite et exquisitè dixerat insulsum emblemata corrumpit.' As a specimen of a change of a different sort we may take p. 314 b: ἰωμεν καὶ ἀκούσωμεν τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἐπειτα ἀκούσαντες καὶ ἄλλοις ἀνακοινώσωμεθα. Here he proposes to write ἀκουσόμενοι for καὶ ἀκούσωμεν, on the ground that 'dicendi consuetudo Graecorum in tali re postulat' the future participle. Of this he quotes instances from other authors as well as from the Protagoras itself. But because the participle is often used, it does not seem to follow that the simple parataxis of the received reading should be considered objectionable.

On p. 334 a: τὰ δὲ βουσὶν μόνον (ὠφέλιμα) τὰ δὲ κνίσιν τὰ δὲ γε τοιῶν μὲν οὐδέ Σι δένδροις δέ: he remarks: 'quam vellem editor vulgatam οὐδὲ Νί intactam reliquis-

sel. οὐδένεες de hominibus tantum dicitur, οὐδένεες τῶν Ἑλλήνων, *nulla Graeciae civitas*. Neutrum οὐδένα non est Graecum. Rectissime autem de bubus, canibus, equis dicitur τούτων οὐδέν.

On p. 359 e: ἐσκοτώθην τε καὶ Εἰλιγγίασα: 'editor futilissimis grammaticis credidit ἱλιγγος scribendum esse, sed Εἰλιγγιᾶν, idque ex scripturis codicum nostrorum asserere conatur, in quibus quum μυριάκις scribatur EI pro I longo et non minus saepe I pro EI, non est his testimonii dictio. Ut de forma ἱλιγγος constat, sic ubique Ἱλιγγιᾶν et Ἱλιγγίασα restituendum. Consuetudo veterum librariorum fert ut scribatur τειμή, τειμᾶν, ἀτειμος, ἐπίτειμος, sim. Vera lectio est τιμή, τιμᾶν, ἀτιμος, ἐπίτιμος. Quid diceres si quis vellet τιμή scribere et τειμᾶν?

Besides his formal articles, Cobet fills several unoccupied parts of pages with sundry notes on Galen.

Part IV.

The whole of this number, with the exception of a new series of ἀράκτα from Dr. Badham (pp. 401-406) and a continuation of notes on the comic fragments by S. A. Naber (pp. 407-435) is furnished by Cobet.

The first article (pp. 345-390) is entitled 'Ἀπομνημονεύματα Guilielmi Georgii Pluygers.' We are told of Pluygers that 'iniquo animo ferebat laudationes et encomia et elogia, quibus defuncti, quorum quidem sit nomen aliquod et fama, celebrari solent, et litteris post suam mortem aperiendis obsecravit amicos nequid huiuscemodi sibi facerent.' But his work was incessant and distinguished by the most scrupulous exactness. 'Nihil ex manibus suis exire patiēbatur quod non esset omnibus modis limatum et expoliturum numquam sibi ipsi satisfaciens nedum placens.' As he left a large number of marginal annotations and καταρθώματα particularly on the Latin authors, Cobet thinks that it will be no violation of the dying request of his friend, 'ex pluribus ab eo repertis potiora quaedam simplicibus verbis cum philologis communicare.' He begins therefore with annotations on Halm's edition of Cornelius Nepos. Two or three specimens of these notes may be quoted. 'Chabr. III, 3, est enim hoc commune vitium magnis liberisque civitatibus ut—libenter de iis detrahant quos eminere videant alius neque animo aequo pauperes alienam opulentiam intueantur fortunam. Optime correxit:—alienam opulentiam intueantur expuncto fortunam. Factum est quod assolet: postquam opulentiam scribae incuria in opulentiūm conversum est, non defuit qui de suo, id est de nihilo, fortunam adderet.' 'Datam. VI, 5, hac re probata exercitum educit, Mithrobarzanem persequitur tantum: qui cum ad hostes pervenerat, Datames signa inferri iussit. Loco pessime mulcato ita succurrit ut scriberet: Mithrobarzanem persequitur, qui tantum quod ad hostes pervenerat cum Datames signa inferri iussit.' 'Epam. VII, 1, Cum eum propter invidiam cives sui praeficere exercitui noluisse duxque esset delectus belli imperitus, cuius errore eo esset deducta [illa multitudo militum] ut omnes de salute pertimescerent. Acute vidit legendum esse cuius errore RES eo esset deducta, qua lectione recepta verba a sciolo interpolata: illa multitudo militum ultro excidunt.'

Then follow notes of a similar character on the Rhetorical writings and the Orations of Cicero. A single specimen may be given. Pro Cluent. § 50, 'accusabat autem ille quidem Scamandrum verbis tribus [venenum esse deprehen-

sum]: *omnia tela totius accusationis in Oppianicum coniciebantur*. Lucem ac salutem huic loco Pluygers attulit qui primus vidit quo sensu *verbis tribus* esset accipiendum. Adscripsit enim Plauti locum in *Milite Glorioso* vs. 1019

A. *cedo te mihi solae solum.*

B. *brevin an longinquo sermoni?* A. *tribus verbis.*

Cicero dixerat accusatorem in Scamandrum pauca negligenter dixisse et omnia accusationis tela in Oppianicum coniecisse. Supervenit magistellus qui credebat *verbis tribus* proprie esse accipiendum et tria verba quae essent quaerere coepit. Non poterat supplere DO, DICO, ADDICO, sed tandem de suo finxit *verbis tribus* VENENUM ESSE DEPREHENSUM. I nunc atque haec interpretare.

In the next article Cobet continues his remarks on Schanz's edition of Plato's Protagoras. As he does not find much else to say, he takes occasion from the occurrence of *συνδιασκοποῖν* in p. 361 d, to state once more that in such contracted verbs the forms in *οῖν* etc. are the only correct ones in Attic prose. They have maintained themselves with great regularity in the 1st person, but in the 2d and 3d 'passim comparent formae vitiosae et veteribus inauditae *δοκοῖς, δοκοῖ, ζητοῖς, ζητοῖ, διοκοῖς, διοκοῖ*, similesque sexcentae quae nullius dialecti sunt et τοῦ πονηροῦ κόμματος. Iones enim constanter dicebant *νοστοῖμ*, Athenienses *νοσοῖν*, Tragici forma ex duabus dialectis mixta *νοστοῖμ*. How does it come to pass then that these incorrect forms appear so constantly in the writings of Plato? 'Nempe LECTIONES CODICUM PENDENT AB OPINIONIBUS GRAMMATICORUM, qui quum olim docti et acuti fuissent, in decrepita Graecia supra quam credi potest indocti, imperiti, leves et fuitiles in communi omnium senio facti sunt.' Some illustrations of this are given from the MSS. of Cornelius Nepos, and occasion is taken to protest against the insertion into the text of writers of the Ciceronian age of archaic forms in deference to the authority of any MS. 'Sed Catulli urbanorum omnium lepidissimi vicem doleo, qui nunc Criticorum vitio squalidae antiquitatis sordibus obsitus circumambulat.'

The article ends with illustrations of the readings of the Bodleian and Venice MSS. of the Protagoras. 'Bodleianus nullum correctorem nactus sed religiose ab indocto librario descriptus scatet vitiis erroribusque, quorum pars in Veneto correctae legitur non ex auctoritate libri veteris sed de Graeci lectoris coniectura ut plurimum non infelici.' After a long list of such corrections from the apparatus of Schanz he concludes by saying that if it was his duty to edit the Protagoras, he would make the Bodleian MS. with all its faults the basis of his work, 'deinde omnes omnium apographorum, non excepto codice Veneto, lectiones abiicerem, et solas probabiles coniecturas excerperem, et sic me melius de Platone meritum esse existimarem, quam si scripturas nullam omnino usum habituras quam plurimas collegissem.'

The next article is a continuation of Dr. Badham's *ἀρχαία*, and contains suggestions for the emendation of Demosthenes, de F. L., of Thucydides, bks. II and III, and of Plato, Philibus.

S. A. Naber then continues his notes on the fragments of the Comic poets contained in the 4th vol. of Meineke, to which he nearly always now refers by page. Two or three excerpts may be made. There is a fragment of Menander

discovered by Tischendorf which reads: τὸ δὴ λεγόμενον οὐκ ἔχεις ON ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαθῶν εὐ ἴσθι. This passage Cobet emended, taking a hint from another line, οὐκ ἔχεις ὅποι(οι χέσσης). Naber admits the ingenuity of the conjecture. But 'Menandrea Musa pudibunda est, sordes vitat, et ab spurcis jocis aliena est. Rogat veniam qui hic loquitur et honorem auribus praefatur; tamen desidero honestiorem proverbii formam et forte incidi in locum qui monstrare poterit id quod Menander mihi dixisse videtur. Legebam nuper Diogenis Epistulas, et contuli Epist. 38. καὶ δὴ ποτε εἰσελθὼν πρὸς μεῖράκιον τῶν σφόδρα εὐπόρων κατακλίνουμαι ἐν τινὶ ἀνδρῶνι πάντῃ κεκαλλωπισμένῳ γραφαῖς τε καὶ χρυσῷ, ὥς μὴδὲ ὅπου πτίσῃ τις τόπον εἶναι. Hoc Menandrum decet: οὐχ ἔχεις ὅποι πτίσῃ.'

'De moribus Getarum Menander dicit p. 232 :

ἀν τέτταρας δ' ἡ πέντε γεγαμηκῶς τύχῃ
καταστροφῆς τις, ἀνιμέναιος ἄθλιος
ἀνυμφος οὗτος ἐπικαλεῖτ' ἐν τοῖς ἐκεῖ.

Loci sententia aperta est. Si quis quatuor tantum vel quinque uxores duxit, eius mortem Getae deflent tanquam adolescentis et coelibis: videtur iis ἀνιμέναιος, ἀνυμφος: hoc intelligo; videtur etiam ἄθλιος? non credo. Commonstrabam nuper hunc locum filio meo isque interrogatus respondit se suspicari sub corruptela latere adiectivum ἀθάλαμος. Mutationem exiguum esse vides, neque multum me movet hoc adiectivum praeterea non inveniri, nam pro re nata talia finguntur et satis est si analogiam servaveris.' But he thinks himself the true word is ἡθεος. It appears that Bentley for καταστροφῆς τις proposed to read ἀναφρόδιτος, and remarked: "*Ex ἀναφρόδιτος librarii oscitatione natum est καταστροφή τις. Videsne literarum ductus et erroris facilitatem? Sententia jam qualis? Certe si de hoc dubitare audes, tota tibi ars Critica erit abjudicanda.*" Hic si cui Bentleii Britannum supercilium non afferre poterit iudicandi modestiam, nihil poterit."

In the last article of this number Cobet continues his remarks on Herwerden's edition of Thucydides, bk. IV. On c. 11, 2 ἐπέπλει Θρασυμηλίδας: 'ridiculum nomen est Θρασύμηλος et Θρασυμηλίδας, ut in Stobaei Append. Florent. Ὁξίθεος pro ΕΥξίθεος. Ut enim ὄξος et θεός numquam coalescere in unum potuerunt, sic τὸ μῆλον sive μάλιν est sive οἰς cum θρασὺς componi non potest. Emendemus igitur Θρασυμηλίδας, ut Θρασυμήδης et Θρασίβουλος nota sunt nomina.'

On c. 19, 1, ἀμεινον ἢ οἵ μιν οἱ ἀμφοτέροις μὴ διακινδυνεύειν he says: 'animadvertendum est discrimen quod inter διακινδυνεύειν et διακινδυνεύεσθαι intercedit. Διακινδυνεύειν est quod omnes novimus *in adeundo periculo usque ad extremum, perseverare*, ut in fine capituli 19: πρὸς δὲ τὰ ὑπερανχοῖντα καὶ παρὰ γνώμην διακινδυνεύειν. Sed διακινδυνεύεσθαι quid est? Ipsa forma declarat esse e numero verborum, quae *certamen et contentionem* significant, ut ἀπειλεῖν διαπειλεῖσθαι, βοᾶν διαβοᾶσθαι, τοξεύειν διατοξεύεσθαι, et alia sexcenta, quae omnia praeter διακινεῖν verbi medii formam assumunt et sic ex κινδυνεύειν διακινδυνεύεσθαι nascitur.—Est denique operae pretium in Scholiis ad hunc locum observare quam leves, quam pueriles sint Scholiastarum, quorum praeter nomina nihil novimus, animadversiones et interpretationes. Non sunt, credo, obscura verba Thucydidis ἀμεινον ἢ οἵ μιν οἱ ἀμφοτέροις μὴ διακινδυνεύεσθαι, ut cap. 20, ἡμῖν δὲ καλῶς, εἴτε ποτὶ, ἔχει ἀμφοτέροις ἢ ξυναλλαγῇ. Annotatur ad cap. 19, ἀμφοτέροις :

ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμῖν, ὥς Ἀντυλλὸς φησιν, ἵνα δοκῶσι Λακεδαιμόνιοι καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἀθηναίων προνοεῖσθαι συμφέροντος. Satis levia et tenuia haec esse putes, sed vera tamen. Aliter visum Scholiastae, qui addidit: ἡ ἀμφοτέροις λέγει ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἡ διαφυγεῖν τοῖς ἀνδράς ἢ ἐκπολιορκηθῆναι δ καὶ μᾶλλον εἰκὸς ἐστίν. Haud vidi magis. Quod homini μᾶλλον εἰκὸς esse videtur manifesto pugnat et cum loci sententia et cum loquendi usu.'

Cobet finds as usual a large number of *emblemata* to eject. On these in general he remarks: 'multorum additamentorum simul originem vides: si quid apud Thucydidem alio loco de eadem re scriptum est Graeculi sedulo annotant in margine, unde facile in textum irrepunt aut ipsis auctoris verbis aut ad praesentem locum utcumque accommodatis.'

This part concludes with an 'index scriptorum quorum loci tractantur in vol. VI, VII et VIII.'

Vol. IX, Part I.

The first article of this number, pp. 1-32, contains a continuation of Cobet's report of the emendations proposed by Pluygers on the Latin authors. Many passages in Caesar, B. G. and B. C., in Livy, books XXI-XLV, and Velleius Paterculus, have corrections suggested for them. For instance: in Caes. B. G. V 40: *turres ADMODUM CXX excitantur*, he proposes *ad numerum*; in V 48: *etsi opinione trium legionum deiectus ad duas REDIERAT*, he reads *reciderat*: in B. C. I 54: *carinae ac prima statumina LEVI materia fiebant*, he writes *statumina alvei*: in Livy, XXIX 33, 4, *multitudine, quae NIMIO maior erat, Syphacem iuvante*, he suggests *dimidio*; XXXII 38, 8, *in servilem modum lacerati atque EXHORTI*, he corrects *torti* (στροβιλωθέντες): in Vell. Pat. II 11, 1, *C. Marius—natus AGRESTI loco*, 'restituit Pluygers verissimam Codicis lectionem EQUESTRI loco.' Here Cobet endeavors to show by quotations from Sallust and Cicero that Ruhnken was wrong in asserting: '*clamat tota antiquitas Marium sordidissima contemissimae stirpe natum esse.*' "Non satis cogitabant docti homines quam alto supercilio nobilitas homines novos, ex se natos contemneret." All expressions actually found are consistent with the belief that the family of Marius belonged to the equestrian order. II 32, 1, *cum—in contione dixisset—si quid huic acciderit, quem in eius locum substituitis?* "Ruhnkenius: '*praesens pro futuro, ut saepe.*' Non amamus praepositionem *pro* in talibus, et pleraeque ἐναλλαγαὶ de genere hoc nunc risu movent. Recte Pluygers *substituitis?* Plutarchus apud Ruhnken. *τίνα ἐξετε ἄλλον*; et Dio Cass. *ibid.: τίνα ἄλλον—εὐρήσατε*"; it is not certain that Madvig would approve of this change. See his *Opusc. Acad.* II p. 40. It may be said generally of these emendations by Pluygers that while they are always plausible, and in many cases remove a real difficulty by a slight and probable change, they are not always convincing; and a few of them are nearly certainly founded on a misapprehension.

In the next article, pp. 33-46, Cobet continues his notes on van Herwerden's edition of Thucydides. He comments on about 70 passages in IV 55-135. On c. 80 *ἡλπιζον ἀποτρέψειν αὐτοῖς* he says: 'confunduntur passim inter se *τρέψειν*, *στρέψειν* et *τρέψαι*, *στρέψαι*. 'Αποτρέπειν est *avertere*, *depellere* a se imminens malum aut periculum, ἀποστρέψειν est *alio convertere*, facere ut aliquis alio se convertat, vim aut impetum alio transferat. Itaque hoc loco ἀποστρέψειν verum est, cf. IV 97, 2.' But few of these notes are of interest enough to be quoted.

Cobet next has an article, pp. 47-60, entitled 'περί κατεψευσμένης ιστορίας. Ad Cornelium Nepotem.' It is not, he says, lapse of time that causes inaccurate reports of past events so much as 'hominum incuria et ἀκρισία.—Fingebant semper aliquid novi historici leves et futes, Idomeneus, Neanthes, Duris Samius, Clitarchus, Phanias, Phanodemus, Acestodorus alique complures eisdem farinae, quorum errores et mendacia saepius Plutarchus redarguit.' In Themist. 32 Plutarch 'Phylarchi ineptum commentum redarguens ait: ὁ οὐδ' ἂν ὁ τυχὼν ἀγνοήσαιεν ὅτι πέπλασται, utitur tamen eo teste saepius.' After referring to several stories of such a character that *κὰν παῖς γνῶιη ὅτι κατέψευσται*, Cobet proceeds to the account given by Cornelius Nepos of the circumstances attending the death of Miltiades: that he was fined fifty talents, which he was unable to pay, was thrown into prison, and died there; and that his son Cimon was compelled to take his father's place as a prisoner, till the fine was paid with money supplied by Callias at the instance of his sister Elpinice. This story is told in substantially the same terms by Valerius Maximus, Justin, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Seneca, Quintilian: that the Athenians treated their great general in this way; and then 'non alia conditione esse passos ut Miltiadis corpus sepulturae mandaretur nisi Cimon sua voluntate in eandem custodiam se daret, eumque tandem Calliae auro vinculis esse liberatum. Jam licet asperrime Atheniensium animum ingratum insectari, ἀλλ', ὡ τῶν, θάρρει, πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα κατέψευσται: nihil prorsus in his veri est; omnia haec sunt de nihilo ficta. Numquam Miltiades in vincula publica coniectus est, numquam Cimon in eadem custodia fuit, numquam factum est ut Cimon a Callia e vinculis liberaretur: πλάσματα haec omnia sunt, quae etiam nunc refelli possunt.' First Herodotus, ὁ φιλαλήθης, VI 136, tells us only that Miltiades died *σφακελίσαντός τε τοῦ μηροῦ καὶ σαπέντος* and that his son Cimon paid the fifty talents. Then the family was very rich: a passage in Plut. Them. 5 shows that in Ol. 74, B. C. 484 Cimon made a great display at Olympia: 'quantum igitur his paucis annis Cimon mutatus est ab illo qui inops Calliae nummis ex carcere redemptus est: there are many other indications of the wealth of Cimon. But thirdly 'fac Miltiadem quinquaginta talenta neque ex suis bonis neque ἐράνοις amicorum in praesentia solvere potuisse, quid tum postea? num carcer et catenae? minime gentium, sed nisi ἐπὶ τῆς ἐνάτης πρυτανείας debitum aerario solvissent (Andoc. I 73) ἀτιμοὶ ἦσαν. Itaque omni iure publico carentes misceri circumambulabant, quod liberis hominibus satis erat poenae. Lex erat: τοὺς ὀφείλοντας τῷ δημοσίῳ δεῖν μηδενὸς μετέχειν τῶν κοινῶν (Dem. 58, 15).' It is clear therefore that when Nepos, Cicero, &c., assert that Miltiades and then Cimon were thrown into prison to secure the payment of the fine, they thus display ignorance of the Attic law. Cobet attributes this and other erroneous statements found in the Roman writers in regard to Miltiades to the authority of Theopompus; 'cernitur in iis Theopompi acerbitas et maledicentia et odium in Athenienses.' He discusses also another 'Nepotis παράκοσμη in Cimone IV 3: quotidie sic caena ei coquebatur, ut quos invocatos vidisset in foro omnes devocaret: quod facere nullum diem intermittebat.' After noting that it should be *vocaret* not *devocaret*, he remarks on the extravagant character of the statement: 'nugae hae sunt et ῥήμος πολὺς.' No house could be large enough; and besides we have testimony that the houses of Miltiades and famous men of that day were of moderate size: 'pugnant haec apertissime cum rerum hominumque natura et pugnabunt semper

ὥς ἂν ἡ αὐτὴ φύσις ἀνθρώπων ᾖ.' Statements are then quoted from Aristotle and Theophrastus, which say that it was not to all the Athenians, but only 'in suos curiales (τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ δημότας)' that Cimon was thus generous. He was of the deme Λακιάδαι. It is probable that this was one of the smaller demes, on the scale of 'Ἀλιμοῦς, of which Demosthenes (57, 9) tells us that it was 35 stadia distant from the city, and sent 73 δημόται thither on an important occasion, and that of these the elder men before the critical moment 'ἀπελελήθεσαν οἱ πολλοί.' We may assume therefore that 'οἱ Λακιάδαι, qui non mature rus reverti potuerint domi coenaturi, sed diutius in foro commorati partim ab amicis in urbe vocati coenabant, dum reliqui, quos nemo vocaret, ἀδειπνοὶ erant mansuri, nisi iis quotidie Cimon δειπνον εἰτελὲς parasset, quod et ipsum satis est liberale atque hospitale nec fidem excedit neque cum rei natura pugnat.'

The next article, pp. 61-103, is by S. A. Naber, entitled 'Aeschylea.' After quoting the statement of Dindorf that over thirty thousand emendations have been proposed for the Aeschylean text, and pointing out how much still remains to be done, he says: 'de Euripide autem ac praesertim de Aristophane num fabulae satis integrae ad nos pervenerint, in animo est propediem cum cura declarare quid sentiam; de Aeschylō et Sophocle, quum quaestio difficillima sit ac supra meas vires, tacere malo quam ineptire.—Video haud raro aliquid esse audendum et novi fortunam eos juvare qui aliquid suo tempore audeant; tamen mihi in hoc genere minime satisfacio et si quid proferam de Aeschyli textu emendando, id omne pertinebit ad leviora menda tollenda, reliqua ne digito quidem attingam. Ubi lenibus remediis nihil promovetur, rem relinquam Ritscheliis et Dindorfiis, quibus Cobetum accenserem, nisi ipse significavisset se tractare nolle quae pertractari nequeant, cum Aeschylum neque emendare possit sicuti velit, nec velit sicuti possit.' Some passages, however, may not be as much beyond hope as they seem: 'antequam recurratur ad extremum consilium, videndum num forte satis sit praesidium in remediis non alvum sed loci sententiam leniter aperientibus. Si frustra fuero, non deerunt qui mihi meliorem viam monstrabunt. Utinam comiter!' With these views he treats of some sixty-five passages in the seven plays. Space may be found for two or three specimens. The first note is on P. V 141 φρουρὰν ἀζηλον ὀχέσω. He will not allow that this expression is justified by the Homeric ὀχέοντας διζίν, etc., nor by Eur. Ion. 2, οὐρανὸν θεῶν | ὀχῶν παλαιὸν οἶκον, as Dindorf writes it, confirming his conjecture here by an appeal to P. V 430 (where however 'citatus testis non respondet, nam ipse ibi primus coniectura haud verisimili participium ὀχῶν in textum intulit'). But taking a hint from Soph. Trach. 7 νυμφεῖον δῖλον | μέγιστον ἔσχον, in illustration of which the Schol. quotes from Callimachus κενεὸν πόνον ὀτλήσαντες, he reads here φρουρὰν ἀζηλον ὀτλήσω.

P. V 667 κεί μὴ θέλοι, πυρῶπὸν ἐκ Διὸς μολεῖν | κεραυνόν, ὅς πᾶν ἐξαίστωσε γένος. On this he rejects Wecklein's remark 'mit μολεῖν (statt μολεῖσθαι) wird ohne Rücksicht auf die Zeit die Sache an sich hervorgehoben.' 'Equidem non possum verbis declarare, quam mihi contortae explicationes displiceant, et multum praestat fateri ignorantiam, quum suum sibi rectum iudicium corrumpere. Hoc mordicus tenebo: μολεῖν praeter aoristi temporis naturam hic usurpatum est': and so he proposes to write εἰ μὴ θέλοι . . . κεραυνόν, making μολεῖν depend on θέλοι, and comparing Eur. Suppl. 126; I. T. 12, 608.

In Sept. c. Theb. 320 ἀροισθε κίδος τοῖσδε πολίταις he reads ἀρασθε on the ground that 'in precibus ad deos utimur nisi fallor imperativo modo: contra ad mortales, qui ipsi non sunt suae sortis arbitri, in salutationibus et in impreca-tionibus plurimum utimur optativo modo.' He illustrates this doctrine by many citations, and explains the use of χαῖρε and ἔρρωσο because we χαίρειν τινὰ κελείομεν, ἔρρωσθαί τινα φράζομεν.

On Pers. 576, κναπτόμενοι δ' ἀλλ' δευνὰ | σκύλλονται πρὸς ἀναΐδων | παίδων τὰς ἀμιάντων, he admits that we may accept Dindorf's correction, ἀλδς αἰνά, until something better is found, but proposes to read 'Ἀλοσίδνας, comparing δ 404, Υ 207: 'nunc certe opella nostra Aeschilo profuit.'

On Suppl. 559, ὕδωρ τὸ Νεῖλον νόσοις ἀθικτον, he admits that the Nile water is often praised for its various virtues, but 'pestilentia Cahirae grassante ὕδωρ τὸ Νεῖλον non sane est νόσοις ἀθικτον,' and, according to Herodotus, in Egypt πάντα ἱγτρῶν ἐστὶ πλῆξα, 'sunt medici: sunt igitur morbi: haec ratio recte concluditur.' He thinks that the reference is rather to a belief founded on the statement of Herodotus, II 19, αἶρας ἀποπνεοῖσας μῦνος πάντων ποταμῶν οὐ παρέχεται, that there was no dew in Egypt, and therefore proposes δρόσοις ἀθικτον. But he is not sure: 'alii videant; equidem nihil definio.'

In Agam. 17 ὑπνον τὸδ' ἀντίμολπον ἐντέμνων ἄκος, he denies the possibility of explaining ἀντίμολπον satisfactorily, and proposes αἰνόμελπον . . ἄκος: i. e. 'lugubris cantus, quo cantu nunc quidem somnus pellitur.'

In Agam. 59 γόν δξύβοον τῶνδε μετοίκων he suggests τῶν μαφιστόκων.

On Choeph. 142, τοῖς δ' ἐναντίοις | λέγω φανῆναι σον, πάτερ, τιμάρων, he writes: 'nullus metuo ne quis hoc sincere scriptum esse existimet, licet interpretes quos consului ad orationis scabritiem fere conniveant, dum minime necessaria sedulo inculcant et ulcera paulo graviora vix digito tangunt. Verum fortasse hoc ne postulandum quidem est in perpetuo commentario, ut omnia menda et omnes vitiosae lectiones in clara luce ponantur: id tamen interpres praestare poterit, ut nihil afferat, quo lectoribus ingenium obtundatur potius quam acuatur. Hinc editoribus parata venia est, si ad hunc locum nihil adnota-verint: modo ne in posterum recusent scribere, αἰτῶ φανῆναι.'

In Eum. 429 ἀλλ' ὀρκον οὐ δέξαιτ' ἂν οἱ δοῦναι θέλει, he finds that his correction of ὄν δοῦναι θέλω has been anticipated by van Herwerden and Ahrens. But he takes occasion from Dindorf's εἰ δοῦναι θέλον, to discuss all the passages in which that form of the 1 sing. opt. has been assumed, and concludes: 'nunc omnibus locis in unum collatis, ipse (Herwerdenus) fortasse ultro concedet, fidem illarum formarum fere nullam esse nec niti nisi unico Cratini versiculo, quem Suidae debemus, cum reliqui loci omnes qui afferuntur ab conjectoribus reficti sint et Euripidis illud εἰ τρέφειν admodum facilem correctionem admittat.'

This part concludes with an article by van Herwerden, pp. 104-112, containing about a hundred emendations of Procopius.

C. D. MORRIS.

HERMES. 1880. No. 4.

v. Wilamowitz: Excuse zu Euripides Medea. These studies contain a large number of observations on this piece, dramatical, critical and miscellaneous. Among the points which W. aims at establishing are the following: Euripides, so W. holds, handled the myth with astounding freedom. So, for instance, the murder of the children by Medea is an addition by Euripides himself to the tradition of the legend. As to the tradition of the text, W. notes a number of *variae lectiones*, which he considers to be very old, as old in fact as the grammarians of Alexandria. Such are νέον: κακόν 37, λέκτρα: δῶμα 140, ἔλκιν: κτανεῖν 385. They are not to be explained as glosses invading the text, as Heimsoeth used to explain such matters.

Emendation W. considers necessary in vv. 910, 182, 727 and others. But such passages, as well as those containing interpolations, W. judges to be very few indeed, actors being responsible for some of them.

In the main W.'s critical remarks seem to have a conservative drift. So he defends the song of the chorus 824 sqq. in praise of Athens, both in its general economy and in details of phraseology.

It is not feasible in this place to give an exhaustive *résumé* of all the discourse and discussion contained in the article; it must be said, however, that it abounds in very suggestive remarks on the character of Euripides in general, and on methods of criticism and emendation.

As a matter of more general interest it may be noted that Wilamowitz on p. 520 (note), says: "Attention has been called to the fact by several persons that the 2d pers. sing. in passive must terminate in -ῃ for the old Attic dialect; the inorganic shortening of ε belongs to the Macedonian period, and whoever writes τρέψει ought to write τει βουλεῖ. The Atticists of antiquity were determined by the usage of the 4th century (B. C.), and the modern Atticists by that of antiquity. Nothing more could fairly be expected in Porson's time. Now-a-days, however, the origin and development of the grammatical forms can be understood and must be understood. The special rule of οἶσι βούλει ὀφει, it is true, is mysterious in its origin; but hardly justified." Towards the end W. says (p. 522): Diese Excuse haben mich doch dazu geführt das zu präcisieren, wodurch ich meine dass die vornehmlich sündigen, die heute mit Tragiker-conjecturen und -editionen ihrer Meinung nach den Ton angeben."

H. Jordan of Königsberg presents three papers: 1. Preliminary notes on Theognis. J. complains that those who have read the MS. of Theognis which is now to be considered the best, the Paris MS., after I. Bekker, have done but scant justice to the accuracy and scholarly excellence of Bekker's recension. J. doubts whether quotations of the author found in other ancient writers are more reliable for critical purposes than the MS. itself.

2. Supplementary notes on the letter of Cornelia Africana Gracchorum. The main point of this communication refers to the phrases *deus parens* and *dei parentes*, which occur in that letter. Jordan distinguishes them from *dei manes*. They seem to have been conceived as assistants of the parents during their life. The term occurs both in other inscriptions and in a long one found at Rome, now published in C. I. L. VI, 9659, which Jordan quotes entire, and discusses in detail the term *dei parentes* occurring as follows: *diis Parentibus suis hunc lapidem posuit supremum semoto loco.*

3. *Quaestiones Orthographicae Latinae*. Jordan sets out by complaining that Latin inscriptions are not considered authoritative in Latin orthography as over against the MSS., so that even Keller, the editor of Horace, prefers *Paulus* of the MSS. to *Paullus* of the inscriptions. *Sallustius*, not *Salustius*, should also be written. In the Augustan age the usage varied between the ancient *Quinctius*, and the natural phonetic tendency for *Quintius*. *Dicio*, *condicio* instead of *ditio*, *conditio*, are now at last pretty universally received, and Brambach should not be undecided about *suspicio*. *Thensa*, however, or *tensa*, must for the present be left undecided. As for *thus* or *tus*, the form with the aspirate predominates from Cicero and Augustus down. Older Roman grammarians, moreover, derived the word from *θεεν*. Of course imaginary etymologies on the part of grammarians have often been the real cause for certain ways of spelling certain words.

E. Zeller: *Zur Geschichte der Platonischen und Aristotelischen Schriften*. These notes are supplementary to the full discussion presented in Zeller's *Phil.* of the Gr. II, a, 3d ed. 397 sqq. As to the *Crito* a further point of evidence in favor of its genuineness is the fact that Aristotle in his (last) dialogue 'Eudemus' imitated some features of the *Crito*. So a dream is told according to which Eudemus was to return to his home (i. e. die) in five years. This, Zeller thinks, evidently refers to that passage in the *Crito* (44 A) where Socrates speaks of a vision of a woman who tells him *ἡματι κεν τριτάτῃ φθίην ἐπὶ βωλὸν ἰκίω*—referring to his death.

2. The *Republic*. Proclus, the neoplatonist, it seems, went so far in his criticism according to "inner indications" as to call in question the authenticity of the *Republic*. This at least has been claimed by a recent writer (Freudenthal), on the basis of Olympiodorus Prolegg. §26. But the perusal of Proclus' commentary on the *Republic* proves this view to be erroneous. The passage in Olympiodorus must really be understood differently from Freudenthal's view. To *ἐκβάλλει* we must supply *ἐκ τῶν διαλόγων*. The remark of Proclus seems to have been purely a formal one, the language of Olympiodorus being probably a trifle inexact.

3. The *Politics* of Aristotle. While of earlier quotations, references, etc., there are very few—the Alexandrian era having little taste for such purely political theory—it would seem that the *Ethics* of Eudemus (1218, b, 32 sqq.) refer to Aristotle's *Politics*, VII, 1, 1323 a, 23, cf. III, 6, 1278, b, 32.

A. Gemoll¹ writes on the relation of *Iliad* K to the *Odyssey*. He compares a large number of phrases, sentences, sentiments, and entire verses which the *Doloneia* has in common with the *Odyssey*. The entire communication is clever and suggestive. The matter brought forward is by no means of the stereotyped element of epic diction, and in conclusion Gemoll draws the inference that the author of the *Doloneia* worked into his composition reminiscences from the great scenes of the *Odyssey*. But G. goes further: he asserts that the author of the D. knew the *Odyssey* in a form and order which substantially tallies with the *Odyssey* handed down to us. The 24th book, however, is not represented.

¹ Gemoll has made no reference to Geddes, see *Am. Journal of Philology*, I, p. 39, fol.—B. L. G.

C. A. Lehmann continues his *Quaestiones Tullianae*, in which he discusses critically passages from *de domo sua*, *de haruspicum responsis*, *pro Caecina*, *pro A. Cluentio*, *pro P. Sulla*, and *Orat. Philipp.* XI.

J. Schmidt (Halle) has an article entitled 'Zwei getilgte Inschriften.' One of the inscriptions, in which the erasures occur, is to be dated 421 A. D. at Rome (C. J. L. VI, 1194), and the other a marble base discovered a few years ago in excavations on the Roman forum, probably to be dated 356 A. D. In both of these stones certain lines of Inss. are erased. Schmidt suggests that these erasures took place in consequence of a *damnatio memoriae* decreed by the Senate against the Consuls of these respective years.. He does not believe that *damnatio memoriae* was always connected with capital punishment.

K. Zangemeister (Heidelberg). Bleitafel von Bath. The little leaden tablet discussed was discovered at the Bath excavations March 31, '80. The inscription according to Zangemeister's deciphering affords a curious and amusing contribution to Roman private antiquities. It would seem that a landlord had missed the table-cover (*mantelium*) after a *convivium*, and on the tablet subsequently denounced the *convivae*, making them collectively responsible for the restitution of the missing article. The notice is cast into a very solemn form, being a curse against the malefactor or malefactors. The main difficulty in reading this inscription arose from the fact that the *caupo* wrote the several words in inverted order.

Zangemeister's reading is as follows (p. 591):

q(ui) mihi ma[n]teliu[m] in[v]olavit
 sic liquat <c> com aqua ella . . . ta
 ni q[ui] eam [sa]lvavit . . . Vinna vel(?)
 Exsupereus (V)erianus, Severianus,
 Agustalis, Comitianus, Catusminianus,
 Germanill[a], Jovina.

E. Hübner, Citania. Hübner presents some supplementary notes to his former paper on Citania, and the antiquities of that section of Portugal, (reported in I, No. 3 of this journal). The inscriptions adduced are bare groups of very few letters in each case, which often seem to express proper names of native places or things.

Neumann (Halle), Heraclitea. Notes on a few Heraclitean fragments adduced by an anonymous Greek Father, and now found together with a MS. of Justin, under the separate title of *χρησμοί τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν*, in a copy in the Tübingen University library. Of course the employment of such passages by the earlier apologists is often, as in the present instance, forced.

E. G. SIHLER.

MITTHEILUNGEN DES DEUTSCHEN ARCHÄOLOGISCHEN INSTITUTS IN ATHEN.
 5ter Jahrgang, 1880.

H. G. Lolling: Nisäa und Minoa, in L's opinion hithertó wrongly identified. He finds the acropolis of Nisaia in the hill on which the church of Hagios Georgios stands; Minoa directly on the shore not far to the east.

A. Furtwängler: Statue von der Akropolis. A naked boy about fourteen years old, standing, right leg forward. Subject: Statues of boys were not uncommon on the acropolis, but it is uncertain whether this is the anathem of a Panathenaic victor or not. Portrait statues of athletic victors seem to have been rare on the acropolis, votive statues taking the more common form of the image of the deity than the portrait of the offerer. [While portrait statues of victors on the acropolis were always anathemata, at Olympia they were part of the prize; not until the first century B. C. are they dedicated to the god.] Style: Just before Pheidias (a) Marble is Parian. In Attica before Pheidias, Parian was used in statuary, after him Pentelican. (b) Color is used in archaic fashion, the scalp hair being a smooth colored elevation without chiselled detail. (c) Though one leg is forward, the movement is not reflected in hips and shoulders, hence the attitude is a little stiff. (d) Inequality of execution between upper and lower body, breast and shoulders being vivid with the detail of nature, hips and belly are flat and sketchy. (e) Ears placed too high. Of the various Attic schools just before Pheidias it may belong to that of Kritios and Nesiotes, and be a later work of their school; it is sufficiently like the so-called Harmodios and Aristogeiton in Naples (Ol. 75. 4). It is not of the school of Myron; the face is superior, the body inferior to Myron. F. comes to the conclusion that in Athens, side by side with the school of our statue, flourished one like the Olympian statuary. Such is the so-called Apollo on the Omphalos of Athens. This and the Olympian statues are greatly inferior to our statue in the head, which was the model for the head in the Pheidian, its direct forerunner, but in the body they surpass it. The great difference, also, in conception is that the Olympian statues and the same school in Athens throw the shoulders farther back and the breast more boldly out than in the school which gave birth to Pheidias. The same difference was continued in the perfect art of Polykleitos and Pheidias.

Carl Schaefer: Neue Seeurkunden-fragmente. We possess already so large a number that no important additions to our knowledge are to be expected. Date of the first fragment is Ol. 105, 4; S. therefore modifies date of Boeckh Urkunde IV to Ol. 106, 1. It concerns passages in Demosthenes, whose assertion in regard to Meidias 21, 25 is proved false. Contents are inventory of ships' furniture made by the new official; list of ships of the year; list of men owing for ships' furniture. The second fragment, almost illegible, is undoubtedly part of Boeckh I.

Arthur Milchhöfer: Untersuchungsgrabungen in Tegea. The ruins of a certain spot had for a century been taken to be those of the temple of Athena Alea, according to Pausanias (8, 45, 5) much the largest and finest temple in the Peloponnese. The foundations of a temple were here excavated 1879, marble, Doric, peripteral, hexastyle (13 columns on the side) 18.61 by 43.67 metres, which is much smaller than the temple of Olympian Zeus, and slightly smaller than the temple at Nemea, and the Heraion at Olympia. Nevertheless, M. believes it the temple of Athena Alea. (a) It is the only large marble temple known to us in the Peloponnese, and (b) the very high and long platform, with (c) an outer structure. These features would account for the effect produced upon Pausanias. The passage in Pausanias (8, 45, 5) concerning the orders of

architecture, M. understands thus—the chief order was Doric; the Corinthian columns were within the temple (perhaps in the cella); the Ionic in some outer structure (probably a portico).

Johannes Schmidt: Ein neues Bruchstück des Edictum Diocletiani de pretiis. Fragment of a Greek translation of the Latin document, *ψηφοδέτης* = *tessellarius* or *quadratarius*; *μονοιάριος κεντητής* = *musivarius*. The later language distinguished in regard to mosaic between *tessellarius* and *musivarius*, the former decorating floors in arabesques and geometric patterns, while the *musivarius* decorated walls with figures.

A. D. SAVAGE.

MISCELLEN. J. H. Mordtmann: Metrische Inschriften.

C. Schaefer: Die attische-trittyeneintheilung. A trittys stone from Peiraieus [δέιπε] Π[ερα] or ρας]ων τριττὺς τελευτᾷ, Θριασίων δὲ ἀρχεται τριττὺς. What were these stones? Kirchhoff pointed out the true explanation. The crews for the men-of-war were draughted by demes, and on arriving at the docks, the demes were massed into the larger trittyes, marked off by these stones. When were the phylae divided into trittyes? The stones point to the 80th Olympiad; perhaps due to Perikles. S. thinks the land force (τάξεις) like the naval was divided into trittyes; that the people, who sat in theatre and ekklesia in fixed order, sat by trittyes; and that before the middle of the Vth century the ekklesia sat in the Agora by phylae, after that in the Pnyx by trittyes. There were 30 *τριττάρχοι*, mostly military officers; probably they were the 30 assistants of the *ληξίαρχοι*, who kept intruders out of the ekklesia.

U. Köhler: Beiträge zur Periegese der Akropolis von Athen. I. Die Parthenos und der Parthenon. Each year the new treasurer of the goddess examined the inventory of the treasures furnished by his predecessor, and among them the gold and ivory Parthenos was the most valuable, yet in all yearly inventories known, nearly complete for the Vth century, abundant for the IVth, there was no mention of the Parthenos. K. has discovered it on four stones, and arrives at this view. After 385 B. C. the statue was taken apart in the last year of every Olympiad (the other treasures were examined yearly), and each piece of the three sections, statue, shield and pedestal was weighed and compared with the original schedule on a bronze slab. The condition of the Parthenos was not entered in the yearly accounts of the treasurers before 385. There had been two temple treasury boards (*ταμίαι τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν*). The treasures had been largely consumed in the Peloponnesian war, and the two boards had been consolidated. After the war the board again divided (of course owing to the return of prosperity), seemingly in 385. In regard to the divisions of the temple, *Hekatompedos* and *Parthenon*, K. is led to reverse the view generally adopted since Bötticher and Michaelis, the documents proving that the Parthenos was not in the Parthenon, but in the Hekatompedos.

Ludwig von Sybel: Athena-Relief und Torso zu Athen. Two post-archaic groups of clad female figures standing in dignified attitude, with some slight movement in some of the limbs. The one was created in the Vth century, belongs to the "grand style," and is derived from Pheidias's Parthenos. It is

architectural in air, stands firm on one leg, and this is covered with vertical folds; the other knee moderately bent, draws the folds out. The other type created in the IVth century, of the "graceful style," is very common in our museums. To the former group the present relief belongs, though, individually, of the Roman period. Gods in votive reliefs are usually taken from temple-images, but treated in two ways: (a) modified so as to bring the figure into living connection with the other actors of the relief, or (b) it may be bodily transferred, standing isolated in the group. Our relief follows (b). S. compares with our relief three mutilated statues, and assigns all to a common original of the first great period of Attic art (Vth cent. B. C.)

Johannes Schmidt: Reisefrüchte. Notes of a journey through Boiotia and Phokis; mostly inscriptions; mostly unpublished; reported, not discussed. One from a Thespian temple shows what is remarkable, a city paying contributions to a foreign temple, in this case ἁ πόλις Ἀθηνῶν itself. Several Boiotian inscriptions establish a remarkable pronominal form, οὔτο- (without τ) in oblique cases, e. g. in this Thespian inscription, οὔτω τῷ ἀγγυρίῳ. He discusses the locality of the temple of Zeus Trophonios, preferring to the accepted one the site of the church of Sts. Anna and Constantine. Trophonios and Herkyna worshipped together seem to have been replaced by the two Christian saints, also male and female.

H. G. Lolling: Ausgrabungen am Palamidi (hill near Nauplia). Excavations of graves of the humble of the same age as the tombs of the great at Mykenai and elsewhere. Description: a nearly horizontal passage (*dromos*), open at top, pierces the hill for a certain distance; in the wall at the end is a tunnelled passage (*stomion*) leading to a chamber. The stomion was walled up, the dromos filled with earth. In the filling of the dromos were about 100 potsherds, some undecorated; others with belts; others with decoration of plants and lower sea animals, the same decoration as from graves of the same age at Mycenae, Ialysos (Rhodes), Knossos (Crete), and elsewhere.¹ In the chamber were the remains of four persons lying on the floor, unburned, in no receptacle. One skeleton was in a heap; probably this was the first buried, and thus gathered up to make room for the later ones. With them were two little vases, showing traces of fire; also bones of sheep and goats. Evidently vases and bones had been put into the grave as remnants of the sacrifice to the dead. The bodies were probably not burned because rapid consumption by fire was too expensive for these poorer classes.

A. Milchhöfer: Gemalte Grabstelen. Remarkable is the entire absence of burial monuments of the Vth century B. C., steles, inscriptions, etc.; proved, for example, by the palmette akroterion, none of its Vth century stages being found on burial monuments. M. thinks that the custom of erecting steles and statues was not general in Attica in the VIth century. Those in our possession seem occasional, commemorating the untimely end of young people. For this occasional, extraordinary character of the stele he adduces various proofs. The farther we go back, the more universal becomes the family grave; this, no doubt usually on the grounds of the family, needed no inscription. [Those occasional steles seem to have been placed, not on top of the mound, but on the

¹ Exactly the same class of pottery is found in Cyprus.—A. D. S.

side-walls of the passage to the door.] The absence of monuments in the Vth century he explains thus. The mound was crowned, he thinks, by vases in the VIth century, the so-called Dipylon vases. These were succeeded by the black-figured *prothesis* amphorae with funeral scenes. A still later kind of apex was the red-figured amphora with marriage scenes, in which M. finds the much disputed *λειτουργός*. These clay vases crowning the grave were succeeded in Attica in the IVth century by the marble vases in the round and in relief. [M. rejects the universal view that the white Attic lekythoi show mourning for the dead; he believes it is the dead man bemoaning his fate and taking possession of his tomb—shown by his sitting in front of it—in the presence of his friends who bring offerings.] After the Vth century there were three chief forms of burial monuments in Attica, the *marble vase*, which succeeded in Attica clay vases; the *stèle*, which had been in occasional use before the Vth century, and the *aedicula* with relief, which is not earlier than the IVth century. In the VIth century the figure of the stèle in flat relief took up the whole slab. In the IVth century, with the desire for groups and action, only a portion of the tall slab was used, the figures of course becoming smaller.

Johannes Schmidt: Reisefrüchte (Schluss).

Arthur Milchhöfer: Nymphenrelief aus Athen, from the terrace excavated 1876-77 on the north side of the Acropolis, date Vth century B. C. The three nymphs of the spring in the grotto are adored by the offerer of the relief, while Pan half shows himself through an opening in the wall above. The face of the offerer is not typical, but is a portrait. In the burial and votive reliefs of the IVth century B. C. faces were made typical; before that they were individual. This is the oldest of our representations of Pan in Africa. He has not the brutish face given him in the IVth century. This terrace was the scene of worship of powers of nature—heroes, spring-nymphs, Pan, Asklepios. Asklepios was not at first the chief owner of the spring; not till the IVth century did he overshadow its other owners. Where we have reliefs of girls dancing or walking with Pan or Hermes, or about a bearded head of a water spirit, there is no need of calling them always Charites, for there were about the Acropolis three other cults of the same kind of subordinate female deities, the Three Dewy Sisters, etc.; the Korai of Erechtheum porch he regards as some of these well-nymphs of the Acropolis. M. lays down the following stages of development in shape of reliefs, votive and burial. At first there was no marked difference between the two classes in shape; they looked like a piece of a frieze, being framed at top and bottom only, and with horizontal top. In the IVth century a marked divergence; the votive relief imitates the side of a temple, the burial relief one end of a temple *in antis*. The presence of worshippers is not, as Stephani thought, a chronological test, for they appear in the oldest reliefs. As they must be smaller than the gods, various devices were employed to fill the vacant space, *e. g.* an inscription in the field over their heads, rarely employed in the later Attic votive reliefs. M. enumerates all the votive reliefs of Attica of the Vth century, none of which are older than the end of the century. Why are none found older? M. thinks that as in burial monuments so in votive reliefs, terra-cotta had been used. The framing (unarchitectural) and modelling of these reliefs show them to be the translation into marble of earlier painted panels of wood and clay.

R. Weil: Kythera, a topographical account chiefly.

H. G. Lolling: Altattische Herme. Lolling thinks he has discovered the original of Fournier's inscription, C. I. Gr. 12, known as an inscription on a Herma of Hipparchos. In earlier Attic history and into the Vth century there were several kinds of Hermae. (a) Fingerposts with encouraging mottoes; such were those of Hipparchos (Plato, Hipparch. 228); (b) monuments erected by the state or private citizens to benefactors (Demosth. contra Lept. 112); (c) dedicated to a god; (d) with several heads. The inscriptions were usually in verse, and were mostly composed, not by Attic, but by foreign writers.

Reinh. Kekulé: Reliefschale mit Artemis, fragment of archaic vase gilded in imitation of solid gold vessels. Vases with reliefs are frequent in later art, this is the only early example known to Kekulé.

Richard Bohn: Bericht über die Ausgrabungen auf der Akropolis zu Athen im Frühjahr 1880, about the southern wing of the Propylaea on its west and south sides.

Ulrich Köhler: Attische Schatzurkunde aus dem Ende des 4ten Jahrhunderts, accounts of the treasurer of Athena 306-5 B. C. Köhler arrives at the conclusion that about the beginning of the IVth century the Epistates of the Proedroi succeeded to all the functions of the Epistates of the Prytanies (except that the latter continued to oversee the draughting of the Proedroi and their Epistates), keeping the keys of treasury and archives and the seal and presiding in the Prytanies, in addition to the functions hitherto alone assigned to them of presiding in Senate and Assembly.

U. Köhler: Basis des Karneades.

Ludwig von Sybel: Altattische Reiterstatuette. He enumerates several, probably sepulchral, regarded by Milchhöfer as marks of heroization after death, by Löschke as tokens either of victory in horse-racing or of knighthood.

L. Von Sybel: Der Bestand des Erechtheionfrieses.

H. G. Lolling: Neuer Grenzstein der Artemis Amarsyas.

H. G. Lolling: Das Nymphaion auf dem Parnes. Grotto dedicated to Pan and nymphs. In the cave were many niches for votive offerings, and inscriptions on the walls above and below.

Dr. Mordtmann: Das Denkmal des Porphyrios, in Constantinople.

R. Bohn: Bericht über die Ausgrabungen auf der Akropolis zu Athen im Frühjahr, 1880, II.

U. Köhler: Die von Herrn Bohn auf der Akropolis gefundenen Inschriften.

R. Bohn: Zur Basis der Athena Hygieia, at the Propylaea of the Athenian Acropolis; discussing its position.

A. ΠΑΠΑΔΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ ΚΕΡΑΜΕΥΣ: ἐπιγραφαὶ Μυλήθρου Πιρήνης καὶ Ἀφροδισίας.

Ludw. v. Sybel: Zu Athena und Marsyas, unfinished relief on a marble krater, probably after Myron's group "Satyrum admirantem tibias et Minervam." The same subject has been found on a coin, mirror, vases, bronze statue, marble statue. These differ from one another in many respects, which Sybel explains thus: In transferring the design executed by Myron in free standing statues

to a flat surface, each copyist made his own adaptation. Out of these adaptations Sybel reconstructs the features of the original.

H. G. Lolling: *Athenische Namensliste aus dem 4ten Jahrhundert*, fragment from Athens, names of representatives of the phylae, arranged by phylae; assigned to 330 B. C.

K. Δ ΜΥΛΩΝΑΣ, *Πανός ἀγαλμάτων*, from Sparta, of Pentelic marble. Mylonas ascribes it to the younger Attic school. He appends a list of all the Pans in the museums of Athens, statuettes and reliefs, 29 in number.

Ludw. Gurlitt: *Amazonenreliefs von Patras*. Von Duhn had considered them originals with similarity to the frieze of Phigaleia. Gurlitt proves them to be exact copies in the Roman age. They supply one of the three lost figures of the Phigaleia frieze.

Ulrich Köhler: *Torso aus Athen*.

Konrad Lange: *Die Athena Parthenos*, an account of the circumstances of finding, and a description (dimensions, etc.) A discussion of the statue is reserved for the first number of 1881, to be accompanied by a photograph. The present article gives a small woodcut (with enlarged engraving of the back of the head) of this new copy of Pheidias's Athena Parthenos. It was found a little north of the Varvakion, close to the ancient north city line; in the ruins of a house of the Roman age, under a brick vaulted structure, evidently intended to contain it; of Pentelic marble; with its plinth, 1.035 m. high, the plinth 0.103 m. high, is an irregular quadrilateral. The statuette is unfinished behind. Athena stands on her right leg. Her right hand resting on top of a column, upholds Nike; the left hand rests on the upper edge of the shield, the lower end of which rests on the ground. She is clad in a long sleeveless chiton with belted diplois (no himation). The aegis has eleven snakes on its outer edge, two on the inner. The high central helmet crest rests on a sphinx, the side crests on winged horses (not lions as reported in the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*), whose heads are now gone. Within the shield the snake Erichthonios rises up to Athena's hand. Nike (head gone), 0.14 m. high, with drooping wings, faces neither Athena nor the spectator, but between the two; holds in both hands the ends of a long garland. The state of preservation on the whole is excellent. Numerous traces of color, *e. g.* Athena's eyes are rimmed with red; the pupils yellow with red border, the iris black or blue, the eyelashes red parallels; her hair yellow, probably a ground for gold paint. On the skin no trace of color.

G. Loeschke: *Vasenbilder aus Kameiros*. On an oinochoë the figures are black on a thin coating of white clay. With very few exceptions Rhodian vases of the Vth century B. C. are imported from Attica; there are other reasons for considering this oinochoë Attic. Nikosthenes seems to have been the one who introduced into Attica this class of black-figured vases; hence they are younger than the oldest red-figured, and are imitation archaic. Those individuals like the present vase, belong probably to the years just following the middle of the Vth century. The drawing shows a new type of statues in the Periklean age, a priest (crown and lustration twig) consecrates a statue of a naked man in helmet, shield and greaves. The nakedness excludes the soldier,

and suggests the athlete—it is the portrait statue of a victor in the race in armor. Appended is a list of all the objects found in the grave, that of a woman of the time of Perikles.

H. G. Lolling: Schiffsaugen, a large number of marble eyes found at the Peiraeus, no doubt ships' eyes, for they were found at the ancient docks, and it was the custom to make the prows look like the heads of certain animals, and ὀφθαλμοὶ of ships are mentioned (in two other senses also than the present).

H. G. Lolling: Monument aus Kyzikos.

A. D. SAVAGE.

ROMANIA. No. 34.

La versification irlandaise et la versification romane. In 1871 K. Bartsch intimated his belief in a connection between Keltic and Provençal versification (Jahrbuch, XII 5). He followed this up in 1878 (Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil. II 195) with quite a long article to show that there was 'ein keltisches versmass im provenzalischen und französischen.' In April '79 H. d'Arbois de Jubainville published in the Romania (No. 30) an article (a summary of which was given in the first number of this Journal) in which he argued that there were no sufficient grounds to admit any relation between Keltic and Romanic versification. To this Bartsch angrily replied in a note in the Zeitschrift (Bd. III, hft. 2) that Jubainville knew nothing about versification of any kind; and this charge he repeated in the next number of the Zeitschrift (heft 3) and gave a long argument to support his position. Jubainville now repels Bartsch's assault, prefacing his defence by saying that his opponent proves two things: 1st, that he (Jubainville) had contradicted without convincing him, and 2d, that "le savant philologue n'a peut-être pas dans les questions celtiques la même compétence que dans les domaines où il s'est conquis une si légitime réputation." Gaston Paris, who in a footnote to¹ Jubainville's first essay had coincided with certain of the latter's views, came in for a part of Bartsch's criticism. Paris, therefore, naturally joins Jubainville in his attack on Bartsch, and between the two the latter gets the tables turned on him. It will be remembered also that Mr. J. M. Hart in the 4th number of this Journal (p. 444) expressed his approval of Jubainville's conclusions, at the same time giving a succinct account of his argument. The whole discussion is lively as well as interesting.

Les troisièmes personnes du pluriel en provençal. By Paul Meyer. The forms considered have a common characteristic, viz., the presence of an atonic followed by two consonants: *hâbent, âmant, vident*. The atonic thus situated is always preserved or leaves some trace of itself. The different cases that arise may be reduced to three categories: 1st, the futures in *-ent*, and terminations in which the atonic would form a hiatus with *a* of the theme, as *habent, faciunt, vadunt*; 2d, the endings of the present indicative of the first conjugation, of the present subjunctive of the three other conjugations, and of the imperfects of all the conjugations; 3d, the endings of the present indicative of conjugations II to IV (*-ent, -unt*), of the present subjunctive of the first conjugation (*-ent*) and of the perfects (*-unt*). The author studies these several

types historically and geographically, that is, he seeks to show *when* and *where* the various Provençal forms correspond with the Latin. His results are as follows: 1st, the termination *-unt*, to which *-ent* was early assimilated, is continued in the greater part of the langue d'oc under the form *un* (in the oldest texts), *on* or *o*, and in the Gascon and Limousin provinces under that of *en*; 2d, exceptionally *habent*, *faciunt*, *vadunt*, after having passed through *aun*, *faun*, *vauun*, of which a few examples are found up to the XIII century, subsist more or less late according to place, in the central territory of the langue d'oc (i. e. in Aveyron and the neighboring provinces) under the forms *au*, *faü*, *vau*, whereas in other districts they were *an*, *fan*, *van*; 3d, the Latin final *-ant* is preserved as *an* on the west bank of the Rhone up to about the end of the XV century, when it is replaced by *on*. The same change took place very much earlier to the west of the Rhone in certain provinces before the appearance of written documents. In Gascony and Limousin *an* became *en*.

Les congés de Jean Bodel, with glossary, etc. By Gaston Raynaud. The little that is known of the life of Jean Bodel is found in the *Congés*. He was a native of Arras, a poet by profession, and probably held a municipal office. He was a friend of the leading citizens, and was indebted to them for many favors. In 1205 he was to take the cross and start for the Holy Land. Everything was ready, but at the last moment he had to abandon his design, owing to the aggravation of a malady (leprosy) with which he had long been affected. The disease soon rendered him so much an object of loathing that he was compelled to retire from human society and live in solitude. It was then that he asked *songie* of his friends, who had loved and cherished him to the last, and addressed to them the farewell contained in the little poem, first published by Méon in 1808 (Fabliaux et Contes, I, p. 135-152), and here reprinted by Raynaud with a glossary and critical and philological notes. The *Congés* make a poem of 492 lines, which is preserved in seven MSS. of the XIII century.

Le catéchisme de Bonifaci, ed. by J. Ulrich. The catechism here published is a translation into Rumansh or Western Ladin of Johan Pontisella's Catechismus Kurtzer Bericht der Houpfpuncten Christenlicher Religion für die Kirchen und Schulen, and was first printed at Zurich in 1596. It is therefore one of the oldest documents of the dialect of the Grisons, the oldest being a translation of the New Testament made some time in the XVIth century. The translator of the *Catechismus* was a schoolmaster of Fuerstenau. Nothing further has been ascertained about him. His language is strongly affected both verbally and syntactically by the German. The same phenomenon noticed by Diez with reference to the Portuguese and Spanish (sporadic in Italian and Provençal), namely, the non-repetition of the adverbial termination *-ment*, is found in the *Catechismus*: e. g. *vauna et malnützameng* 210, *diligeinta et hümmelmeng* 1141. A peculiarity of the Ladin dialects is a great number of verbs in *-antar*, *-entar*, *-intar*, that is, participial formations.

Chants populaires du Velay et du Forez. Trois retours de guerre, I. La fille de l'hotesse; II. Le retour du Mari; III. Le retour du père. By Victor Smith.

In the *Mélanges* are continued the "Notes sur la langue vulgaire d'Espagne et de Portugal au haut moyen âge (712-1200)."

Comptes-rendus. J. Ulrich gives a sharp criticism of the phonetic part of Reinhardstoettner's *Grammatik der portugiesischen Sprache* (Strasbourg, 1878). While the criticism in the points noticed is generally just, it does not give the author credit for the commendable parts of his work. R's grammar, though weak in many respects, is undoubtedly the best we have, and the only one that has undertaken a scientific treatment of the subject, and as such we can not but welcome it.

Gaston Paris reviews the second volume of Charles Aubertin's *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature françaises au moyen âge* (Paris, Berlin, 1878). The first volume was noticed by him in vol. VI, p. 454 of the *Romania*. His criticism of vol. I, while pointing out numerous grave defects, was not without considerable praise. He has little to say in favor of vol. II, which is marred by "une inexactitude constante qui enlève à ce livre presque toute sa valeur," and "est bâclé avec une telle négligence qu'il ne peut guère qu'égarer ceux qui s'en serviront."

Antonio Ive notices very favorably Franz Miklosich's *Ueber die wanderungen der Rumunen in den dalmatinischen Alpen und den Karpaten* (Wien, 1879) [extrait du tome XXX des *Mémoires de l'Académie des sciences de Vienne*].

No. 35.

El canto de la Sibila en lengua de oc, by M. Mila y Fontanals. The editor says: El canto de la Sibila que en diferentes versiones conocemos pertenece á la lengua de oc. Nótase en él un movimiento lírico opuesto á la manera difusa y expositiva de *Les quinze signes*, si bien se ingirieron en él algunos versos de la traduccion de esta obra. De una version provenzal del canto (siglo XIV?) provienen las catalanas, la primera de las cuales ha llegado hasta nosotros, aunque en un libro de constituciones sinodales, sin título y aislada, mientras las restantes se nos presentan como formando parte de una costumbre establecida. The Provençal version was made from the Latin: *Judicii signum tellus sudore madescet*. There was also a French version, which was noticed by Meyer in the *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français*, 1879, No. 3. The Catalan versions here given are: A. versiones manuscritas, B. versiones impresas en Cataluña, C. version de Valencia, D. version de Mallorca. They are all characterized by extreme simplicity and clearness.

Essai de phonétique roumaine [suite],¹ by A. Lambrior. Voyelles toniques. Tonic *a* before *m*, not followed by another consonant, is changed into an obscure sound here represented by *ǎ* (in Diez by *ç*), as: *manducámus*, *mǎncǎm*; *laudámus*, *lǎudǎm*; *ambulámus*, *umblǎm*, and so all the first persons plural of the first conjugation. In old Romanian there was a perfect which must have been formed under like conditions; e. g. pres. ind. *seamnă* (*signámus*), perf. *semnám* (*signávimus*), which supposed the process: *signavimus*, *signavimus*, *semanam*, *seamnămu*, *semnám*. Latin *trama* and Romance *deramare* have given in Romanian: *intrámă* (*a se intrámă* = *se remettre*), *distrámă*, (*s'effiler*), and *dǎrámă* (*crouler*, *démolir*). All through the present of the indicative we have tonic *a* becoming *ǎ*, except in the 3d person sing., which has *a* pure. This was caused by false analogy, says the writer; the people considered this *ǎ* of the first

¹ See Am. Jour. of Phil. vol. I, p. 509.

person (întrăm, etc.) as coming from an *e*, and as they said: apăs (appenso), apasă (appensat), vād (video = vedo), vadă (videat = vedat), so also: întrăm, întrăm!, întrămă, etc. The imperfect tense: lăudăm (old form lăudămŭ) is only apparently an exception; it is, he says, to be accounted for by a shifting of the tonic accent: laudābamus as in Spanish (cantābamos). The rest of the article is devoted to explaining numerous seeming exceptions to the law above enunciated, which always crop out at the wrong place, and carry with them the unpleasantness of weakening our faith in the most ingeniously formulated laws of the phonetists.

Contes populaires lorrains recueillis dans un village du Barrois à Montiers-sur-Saulx (Meuse), by Emmanuel Cosquin, continued from Romania No. 32.

Mélanges. Notes sur la langue vulgaire d'Espagne et de Portugal au haut moyen âge (712-1200), continued from Romania Nos. 32 and 34.—La femme de Salomon. Under this heading G. Paris publishes two Portuguese versions from the XIV century of the legend of Solomon's unfaithful wife. They were copied for him by Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos from the *Livros de linhagens*, printed in the *Portugaliae monumenta historica*, vol. I, pp. 180 and 274 of the *Scriptores*.

Comptes-rendus. G. Paris reviews: *Le Roman d'Aquin*, chanson de geste du XII siècle, pub. par F. Jolton des Longrais, (Nantes, Société des bibliophiles bretons, 1880). The Roman d'Aquin, though dating from the XIIth century, has only come down to us in a "détestable copie du XV siècle, incomplète de la fin et mutilée du commencement, et où le sens, la grammaire et la mesure sont massacrés avec une barbarie et une inintelligence sans pareilles." The task of the editor, therefore, was not an easy one, and Paris's opinion of his fitness for it is: son travail est digne d'éloge en ce qui touche l'histoire, la topographie et l'histoire littéraire; mais il n'avait, pour remplir la partie philologique de sa tâche, ni les connaissances, ni les méthodes nécessaires.

Il Tesoro di Brunetto Latini, volgarizzato da Bono Giamboni, raffrontato col testo autentico francese edito da P. Chabaille, emendato con mss. ed illustrato da Luigi Gaiter, vol. I-II, Bologna, 1878-1879. Reviewed by Thor Sunby.

Chanson[s] de Philippe de Savoie. pub. pour la première fois avec préface et notes, par Frédéric Emmanuel Bollati (Milan, 1879). Noticed by P. Meyer.

Chronique. The following notes contain welcome information:

M. G. Paris prépare un *Manuel d'ancien français* (XIe-XIVe s.), comprenant une grammaire, une esquisse d'histoire littéraire, des morceaux choisis accompagnés de notes, et un glossaire. Cet ouvrage paraîtra à la librairie Hachette.

Notre collaborateur M. J. Ulrich va publier à Halle, chez Niemeyer, une *Chrestomathie rhéto-romane*, avec tableaux des formes et glossaire.

SAMUEL GARNER.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOGIE UND PÄDAGOGIK. Fleckeisen und Masius. 1880.

V.

40. Review of O. Meltzer's History of Carthage, vol. I, by A. von Gutschmidt (288-299). This work is characterized as one of the most valuable contributions to ancient history that has recently appeared, worthy to be ranked with Holm's History of Sicily.

The author has had the courage to stamp, as the outgrowth of Greek myths, many of the traditions that were formerly held to be original and trustworthy; but the reviewer thinks that in some instances these traditions have been unjustly suspected, as where the story of the Philaeni is regarded as the invention of a Greek rhetorician.

41. The question why Achilles is called *πύλας ὤκεις* is answered by W. Schwartz, in making Achilles a storm-god, whose lance is the shaft of lightning. S. gets comfort for his theory out of this couplet of Drake's Ode on the American Flag:

"And see the lightning lances driven,
When strive the warriors of the storm."

But the point of view is somewhat changed when Achilles is made 'the swift-footed son of the sun,' 'the short-lived summer hero, born of watery clouds,' etc. (299-302.)

42. M. Wohlrab discusses the fragment of the Konnos of Ameipsias, containing a supposed eulogy on Socrates, that is cited by Diogenes Laertius II, 28, and found in Meineke Com. Graec. II, p. 703. He dissents from the view of Fritzsche, that *ὀλίων* refers to the chorus, which is assumed to have been constituted of *φροντισταί*; he speaks of Dobree's Addenda to Arist. Acharn. 270, but strangely omits the conjecture *ὀλίγω-πολλῷ* there suggested, and fails to notice Cobet's change to *ἡμᾶς; καρτερικῶς γ'εἰ*, adopted by Kock.

43. G. Schmid proposes *παρθένεια δ'εὐὰ μητέρος ἀμάτορος* | . . . *ἐξῆψα* in place of the traditional reading of Eur. Ion, 1489 ff.

44. In interpreting Plato's Laches Th. Becker maintains, in opposition to the views of Schleiermacher and Bonitz, that the enquiry 'what is courage?' is meant to be serious in its result, and not playful, and in opposition to the view of Zeller, that the outcome of it is negative rather than positive. B. shows further that the Socratic definition of courage makes it simply a general notion without specific qualities to distinguish it from other kinds of virtue, and that its essence (as of virtue in general) is in knowledge. B. thinks that from a comparison of the definition of courage in the Protagoras and in the Memorabilia with the discussion in the Laches, it is apparent that Plato had begun to realize that the Socratic philosophy did not lead to a conception of the *unity* but of the *identity* of virtue, and that the Laches shows that Plato saw the necessity of formulating in his own ethical theory a unity that shall find room for the existence of the characteristic differences of separate kinds of virtue. This Plato attempts in his Republic. (305-316.)

45. Several emendations of the First Apology of Justin Martyr, by L. Paul, most of them feebly supported. (316-320.)

46. The Sixth Eclogue of Vergil, by W. H. Kolster (321-358). The opinion of Flach (Fleck. Jahr. 1878, p. 633), that this was one of the earliest written of the Eclogues, is defended by Kolster. K. holds the song placed in the mouth of Silenus to be a '*metamorphosendichtung*,' whose veiled meaning is the transformation of Cornelius Gallus from an erotic bard to a poet of nobler style, in distinction from the view of Flach and Schaper that the irresistible power of love forms the theme, and of Conington that this ode is a cosmogonical (vid. C.) and mythological hymn. To prove the correctness of his opinion, the writer enters upon quite a full discussion of disputed readings and interpretations, but loses sight of his original aim. Many of the comments are the echoes of Servius and of Wagner. K. dissents, apparently with good reason, from Ribbeck's strophic arrangement of the song of Silenus, but he emphasizes unduly the supposed imitation of a Greek model in the details of style and phraseology. V. 44 he scans *Hýlā, Hýlā, ómnē*, which is preferable to *Hýlā, Hýl'*, the traditional scansion retained by the Harper Lexicon, although it gives *vālē, vālē*, Inquit, Ecl. III, 79. It is more than doubtful if K. will have any following in his interpretation of 56-60, from which he gets the meaning that Pasiphaë is *afraid* lest the bull may again find his way to her. Ingenious, at least, is the conjecture that Vergil's allusion to *Ascræo semī* in 70 is because the poem of Euphoriion, translated by Gallus, was the *Ἡσιόδοσ*, which is named by Suidas at the head of the list of Euphoriion's writings.

47. J. Sitzler proposes to change the unknown *Ἡσιονῆας* in Strabo XIII, 627, quoted from Callinus, to *Ἰηονῆας*, Ionic for *Ἰαονεῖς*, following a gloss of Hesychius. In Tyrtæus Fr. 11, 27, he proposes *πιφανισκῆσθω* for *διδασκῆσθω*.

48. E. Heydenreich gives a commendatory notice of vol. I of *Poetae Latini Minores*, by Baehrens. The critical apparatus is especially praised. (360-364.)

49. L. Hellwig discusses the first sentence of Chapt. III of Sallust's *Jugurthine War*, without clearing up the difficulties of the traditional reading.

50. O. Rebling adds a few words and phrases chiefly from inscriptions, to the stock of colloquial and post-classical Latin, e. g. *quare*=French *car* [vid. DuCange], *retro* combined with a substantive. It is hardly fair to give *circumvertere*=*decipere* from Plaut. Pseud. 541, when the reading is probably *intervortant*.

VI.

51. W. Jordan gives new interpretations of *Iliad* B 556, 7, Γ 229-33, Α 62-66, 505-20, 618-803, O 668-73, and a discussion of *μεγακήτης*. The most novel interpretation is that of *ούλιος* from *ούλος* (cf. *δούλιος* from *δούλος*), and taken with *ἀσθήρ* in the sense of *fleecy, hairy*. Thus Hector is likened in Α 62-66 to a *comet*. (369-378.)

52. H. Röhl conjectures *τροφῶς* for *τροφᾶς* in Aelian *περὶ ζώων* XI, 10, meaning the cows which suckle the Apis calf.

53. N. Wecklein gives a critical review of the second edition of H. Weil's "Sept Tragédies d'Euripide," and of the *Hippolytus* edited by Th. Barthold. The work of both editors is praised in general, but Weil is criticised for being too positive. Barthold, on the contrary, for not being decided enough. B. condemns as interpolations about fifty lines of the *Hippolytus*. As might be

expected from such a skilful critic, Wecklein's article contains many valuable suggestions. In Hipp. 950 B. takes *φρονεῖν κακῶς* as the result or expression of *ἀμαθίαν*, but Weil as dependent on *πείθοιμην*. W. decides for the latter from the use of *πείθεσθαι*. In 1070 Weil supplies *χωρεῖ* with *πρὸς ἡπαρ*, while B. changes *αἰαί* into *παίει*. But *παίει πρὸς ἡπαρ* gives a wrong sense. W. proposes *χρίει* (as in his Aias 938, where, he says, he has established this use of *χρίει*; but I have found no example of *χρίω* with *πρὸς* in the sense of *to sting*. *δάκνυι* is a suggestion). In the Medea, Weil reads (1266) *καὶ ζαμενῆς φόνον φόνος ἀμειβεται*, which is changed with fine tact by W. to *φόνου φόνος*, i. e. *murder is exchanged for, ensues upon murder*. The Hecuba has received the fewest emendations. In 96 and 145 W. supposes that *ικετεύω* and *ικέτις* may have been pronounced [and written] *ικτεῦω* *ικτις* +ο as to avoid metrical irregularities. [These forms from stem *ik*, cf. *ik-vé-o-mai*, may have existed.] Weil's treatment of the Iphig. in Aulis disappoints W., based as it is on the ultra-conservative opinion that this play is in its present form substantially the composition of Euripides, and that the dialectic and metrical anomalies of the [spurious] epilogue are ordinary corruptions. A happy conjecture is *χάριτος* for *χείριος* (corr. *χρέος*) Iph. Aul. 373. W. prefers *βοῦλον*' (407) with *αι* elided to *σοι βουλόμενος*, and to justify this elision he cites *πειράσομ'* from the recently found papyrus fragment. One of the happiest emendations is *ικετεύοντέ θ'* for *ικετεύοντες*, 1002; if this stands we have a new instance of the common gender of the dual. Our limited space forbids any mention of the emendations in the text of the Electra and the Orestes. W. gives a favorable notice also of a critical study of the Electra and of passages from other plays, by Vitelli. (379-407.)

54. K. Frey proposes *θερμόπινους* Aesch. Agam. 1172, *ἱκονθ'* [Bamberger has *νείονθ'*] Suppl. 355, *δοφικτον* *ibid.* 784.

55. P. Schröder conjectures *συγγυναῖκα* for *σὺν γυναικὶ* in a fragm. (Nauck 614) of Soph. Phaedra.

56. L. Drewes on the Theory of the Dochmius (409-416). An interesting discussion of this much disputed measure, in which the author aims to show that the dochmius is a single metrical foot or rhythmic element whose lighter and heavier parts (*tactteil*) have no more right to be regarded as separate feet than, for example, those of the paeon, and that these parts always hold the ratio of 5:3. Further he shows that there is a fixed ratio also between the heavier or ictus part of each foot and the whole, and this principle as applied to the Dochmius (3:5::5:8) proves that this measure is the nearest musical expression the Greeks had of the perfect proportion in which the smaller part is related to the greater as that in turn is related to the whole (i. e. $3 \times 8 = 5 \times 5$).

57. Carl Schäfer sends a communication from Athens on the *θιασοι* or private religious clubs in ancient Peiraeus. He criticises some of the views of Foucart's "Des Associations Religieuses chez les Grecs," and discusses several Attic inscriptions, more especially two recently found in the Peiraeus, one belonging to the second century B. C., and first published in the *Palingenesia*, Sept. 1879, the other, found by himself, and dating from Olymp. 119, 3, published in 'Αθήναιον, 1880. (417-427.)

58. M. Niemeyer examines the readings of several passages of the *Curculio* of Plautus.

VII.

59. A. Kaegi gives an appreciative account of Dr. H. Zimmer's essay on the civilization of the Vedic Aryans. While Zimmer has drawn parallels chiefly between Aryan, German and Slavonic conditions, Kaegi refers especially to analogous Greek and Roman words and relations. A curious point is made on the adj. *anās* in *anāso dasyūn*, which K. says may be analyzed as *a+nās=naribus non praeditus* or as *an+ās=ore non praeditus*, and thus be regarded as the original source of the statement of Megasthenes about the *ἀστομοὶ ἄνθρωποι*, and of the *ἀνθρώποι ἀμίκτῆρες* of Strabo (p. 711). Since Megasthenes speaks of the *φύλοσσοι* (the Brahmins) as his authority, Kaegi sees in these fables of *noseless* and *mouthless* men the fanciful etymologies and scholastic interpretations of the Vedic priesthood. (433-469.)

60. Fr. Rühl concludes that Thucydides (I, 138, 3) did not mean to say that Themistocles was a self-educated genius, who gained no advantage from intercourse with others.

61. F. Schöll contributes a critical study of some of the most difficult readings of Catullus. He defends the unity of the *Lesbia Ode* (No. 68), especially against the view of those who divide the poem on account of the supposed difference of address (Manlius and Allius). To effect this he emends v. 30 *id mali* to *id mi, Alli*, and accepts a fundamental error, possibly an interpolation, in v. 11. Manlius is expelled, of course, from v. 66, and the entire poem is addressed to Allius. *Lesbia-Clodia* is held to be identical with the *Clodia quadrantaria* of Cicero, and the view that the *Caelius* of the poem is M. Caelius Rufus is defended. (471-496.)

62. A. Schaubé proposes to read *originem duxit* after *c Gabiis* for *originem* after *Messalam*, in the *Vita Tibulli* (Baehrens' Edit. p. 88).

63. An unfavorable criticism by E. Jungmann, on Herding's edition of Hieronymus and Gennadius 'de Viris Illustribus.' (497-499.)

64. Emendations of Statius, by R. Bitschowsky.

65. Etymological and Lexical Studies, by H. Rönsch. To single out a specimen of the former: *decumanus* is referred to an etymon *decuma* from *δαίω* and *κύημα*, with special allusion to its meaning of *boundary line*. The lexical discussion is nearly confined to words like *grossamen*, *proripium* found in MSS. of the Latin version of the O. T., especially the codex Gothicus Legionensis. Instances are given of the confusion of *prae* and *pro* in compounds. From passages in Victor Vitenensis it is shown that *subtilitas* had at that time the sense of *craft*. Several instances of confusion in the conjugation of verbs are given. Of abnormal futures *partibo* and *dicebo* are found in Victor. (501-509.)

66. C. Wagener, arguing against Th. Mommsen (Hermes X, 383), tries to show from a comparison of Dictys and Sallust that Cassiodorus imitated in his story of Telephus the style and expression of Sallust, and that nothing in Cassiodorus proves the existence of an original *Greek Dictys*. (509-512.)

67. W. H. Roscher calls attention to the fact that *uterque* and *ubique* have in classical prose the same position in the sentence as *quisque* sc. next after the

reflexive, after *sunt.* and in subordinate clauses after relatives and interrogatives.

VIII.

68. J. Sitzler in examining barytone substantives in *-ις* in Homer finds: (1) That where the syllable of the stem immediately preceding *-ις* begins with a *t-sound*, this sound is rejected in inflection in order that two successive syllables may not begin with a *t-sound*; accordingly Πάριος should be Πάριδος, but Θέτιδος should be Θέτιος. [The data seem insufficient to establish this.] (2) That where both *-ιδα* and *-ιν* are found in the accus., the former occurs before a consonant, the latter before a vowel. But from his enumeration of examples the outcome is only this: that no forms in *-ιδα* (and *-ιτα*) are found before a vowel, which is, of course, a metrical fact. (513-517.)

69. H. Flach contributes the variants of the most importance gained from a collation of the Palimpsest Messianus of Hesiod, as an addition to the critical apparatus of his Götting edition. The Palimpsest contains only the 'Works and Days' with a commentary of Tzetzes and a βίος 'Hesiodon'. The Messianus is more valuable, Flach concludes, for the textual criticism of the commentary than of Hesiod. (517-520.)

70. A scholium of Donatus on Terence's Adelphi I, 1, by A. Koenig.

71. A. Grossmann defends the common reading *προβαλλόμενους* Thuc. I, 73, 2, translating it *citing (them) by way of excuse* [a rendering made very probable from the connection with *μάρτυρες* in the same sentence]. Thuc. I, 84, 4, 120, 1, II, 11, 7 (*ἐν τοῖς ὄμμασι* is supposed to be a gloss), 42, 2, 89, 5 (*παρὰ πολλῶν* changed to *παράπλόν*), are discussed. (521-525.)

72. Emendation of Xen. Hellen. I, 6, 4, J. Richter.

73. K. J. Liebhold examines several passages of Plato's Philebos, taking exception to some of Madvig's interpretations in his Adv. Crit. In 14, 6 he proposes *πολεμῶμεν* for *τοῦ μῶμεν* with which commentators feel bound to supply an infinitive of some sort, as though it could not be used in its absolute sense of *to have courage*. In 34 e L. would change *διψῇ γὰρ πον* to *δ. γ. τον*. Why change this *πον*, so characteristic of Plato in a question? The change of *ἐντεφορημένη* to *ἐμπεφορημένη* in 64 e, and the addition of *ἡριᾶς* after *ἐπομένους* 66 e, may find acceptance. (526-528.)

74. G. Gilbert replies to Hartel's critique (Wiener Studien, I 269) on his former article (Fleck. Jahr. 225 ff.) written to disprove Hartel's theory advanced in his Demosthenische Studien, of a 'first and second reading of bills in the Athenian Ecclesia.' Gilbert claims that the testimony of inscriptions, upon which Hartel relies chiefly, is of no value in determining this point. The discussion hinges on the meaning of *εἰς τὴν πρώτην ἐκκλήσιαν* which H. takes to be either (1) the first assembly after the session of the Senate in which the *προβούλευμα* was introduced, or (2) the next assembly after that in which the *προβ.* was presented. G. contends that (1) alone is possible. Hartel has not answered Höck's exposition of C. I. A. II, 76, according to which the Demos requested the Senate to bring in a certain *προβούλευμα*. When the Demos has given the Senate instructions to present a bill, must then the Senate first through

a προχειροτονία obtain permission to have this bill made the order of the day at the next assembly? (529-538.)

75. In Diodorus XX, 74, R. Arnoldt objects to κατέπαυσεν in the intransitive sense and proposes κατέπεσεν instead.

76. The trustworthy and genuine character of the speeches reported by Polybius is defended by H. Welzhofer, who believes that P. in criticising the treatment of speeches at the hands of Timaeus lays down certain rules to which he himself is true in his history. (539-544.)

77. Th. Plüss has an interesting study of Bk. II, 228-249 of the Aeneid, in which he shows the defective and confused character of this passage taken simply as a narration, but its effectiveness and beauty when taken as a rhetorical and lyrical composition, whose aim is to bring out the contrast between divine wisdom and human blindness. (545-548.)

78. F. Rühl makes an interesting comparison between an excerpt from the Laurentian MS. 66, 40, and one from the Bamberg MS. E, III, 14, which constitute, as R. believes, a fragment of primitive Gothic history. The author finds strong resemblances between these extracts on the one hand and the statements of Jordanes in his *de Origine et Rebus Gestis Getarum*, on the other. A detailed examination shows points of connection also with Justinus, Orosius and Dion. For the textual criticism of Justinus some new help has been gained, and traces of a hitherto unknown version of the Alexander romance appear.

M. L. D'Ooge.

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EDITORIAL NOTES.

The first article in this number is preliminary to a brief series on the Revised Version of the New Testament. Professor Short was an active member of the American Committee.

The next number of this Journal will contain, among other articles, an essay on 'I had rather' and similar locutions, by Dr. Fitzedward Hall, and a review of Darmesteter's *Vendidad*, by Professor Luquiens.

The editor has received from Professor Karl Zangemeister, Chief Librarian of the University of Heidelberg, a private letter announcing the preparation of a new edition of the 'Exempla Codicum Latinorum litteris maiusculis scripta,' by Professors Zangemeister and Wattenbach, the first edition being out of print. The new edition will cost, including the supplements, 40 marks, 20 marks less than the earlier edition. There will be 65 plates fol. with text. It would seem that very few copies—the editors know of only two or three—have been disposed of in America, a contrast to the forty or fifty, which would be the proper share of this country. It is to be hoped that our Latin scholars and our great libraries will be more eager to avail themselves of the advantages of the present subscription. American scholars have been too prone to neglect palaeographical studies, and it is high time that the importance of them should be practically recognized.

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY.

VOL. II.

Nb. 7.

I.—ON THE ORIGIN OF “*HAD RATHER GO*” AND ANALOGOUS OR APPARENTLY ANALOGOUS LOCUTIONS.

Of the verb *have*, Dr. Johnson, in his *Dictionary*, gives, as the seventeenth definition, “to wish, to desire, in a lax sense,”¹ and adds, by way of exemplification, the familiar Biblical passage: “I *had* rather be a doorkeeper,” etc.²

A still more disparaging opinion, perhaps a maturer, he records under the adverb *rather*, where, as introductory to a sentence containing the phrase “he *had rather* mankind should adore him,” after premising “to *have rather*,” defined by “to desire in preference,” he remarks: “This is, I think, a barbarous expression, of late intrusion into our language,³ for which it is better to say *will*

¹ That *have*, when it bears this signification, comes “from the Lat. *aveo*,” is the remarkable information appended to these words by one of Dr. Johnson’s editors, Archdeacon Todd.

Dr. Latham cuts down the Archdeacon’s definition and etymology to “wish, desire,” and retains the Psalmic exemplification, which must mean, for anything that appears to the contrary, “I *wished* rather to be,” etc.!

² *Psalm* lxxiv, 10. Compare “I *had* rather speak,” etc., 1 *Corinthians*, xiv, 19. The Victorian revisionists are content with “*had*” there.

³ This, in the estimation of Horne Tooke, is said “most ignorantly”; a denunciation for reasons which are left unexpressed, and which it is difficult to conjecture. For Tooke does not offer to show that the expression commented on is not barbarous, or that it is of long standing; nor does he propose any analysis or vindication of it whatever.

rather."⁴ Of *to have rather*, in the sense of it which he contemplates,⁵ or of *has rather*, cognate to it, he neglects to adduce an instance, though, of course, he should have adduced one.⁶

However, what Dr. Johnson was pleased to "think" on any point of English of which the just ruling demands a somewhat industrious inspection of our older authors, is hardly of noticeable import. "I have fixed Sidney's work for the boundary beyond which I make few excursions," he informs us.⁷ How, then, was he to know, unless by good hap, or at second hand, that *had rather*, used as in the Bible,⁸ had, at the time he conceived it to be "of

⁴ How, one wonders, would Dr. Johnson have proposed to deal with the old "I have liefer go" and "I have as lief go," if he had known the expressions? Would he have struck out their *have*?

⁵ *To have rather*, meaning, according to Dr. Johnson's notion, as above, has been found. This will be seen by and by.

It is worth noting that *rather*, for "somewhat," though not recognized by Dr. Johnson,—I remember his quotation from Dryden,—was in vogue in his day, and was not unknown, many generations earlier, in a sense which, also, he overpasses.

"I praid for it as a straunger schulde doo, alle be it myn autorite is as grete as theris, and *rather* more, as I tolde you." William Worcester (1460), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. I, p. 508. It is, in all other cases, as here, Mr. James Gairdner's admirable edition of the *Paston Letters*, published in 1872-1875, that I refer to.

"They be delyveryd hym in as good, and *rather* better, plyght than whan I had them forthe," etc. Sir John Paston (1474), *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 115. Four pages on, the same writer again has "*rather* better."

In these passages, *rather* signifies "not only so, but."

"After dinner, with my wife to the Duke's Theatre, and saw the second part of 'Rhodes,' done with the new Roxalana, which do [Pepysian for 'does'] it *rather* better, in all respects, for person, voice, and judgment, than the first Roxalana." Samuel Pepys (1662), *Diary*, etc. (ed. 1876), vol. II, p. 109. "*Rather* harder," etc. *Id.*, *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 254 (1665); vol. V, p. 174 (1668).

See also Aubrey (1680), in Bliss's *Letters*, etc. (1813), vol. II, p. 394. But *rather*, as in question, did not become common till the age of Swift and Pope.

Dr. Johnson himself, as a few minutes' search revealed to me, has *rather*, "somewhat," repeatedly, as in the *Idler*, No. 29.

⁶ A comment in which Dr. Johnson treats *had rather* as analogous to *had better* will be cited in due course.

⁷ As he was of opinion that our language, in the days of Sir Thomas More, was "in a great degree formed and settled," his ignoring it so largely as he did, and especially as found in the pages of Tyndale, can ill be reconciled with consistency.

⁸ As has been pointed out, Dr. Johnson writes, in *Rasselas*: "I *had rather* hear thee dispute." Landor, *Life and Works* (1876), vol. IV, p. 210.

late intrusion into our language," been in existence some three centuries,⁹ and, most likely, for a still longer period?

Miss Harriet Martineau is alleged to have written: "I knew a gentleman in America, who told me how much *rather* he *had be* a woman than the man he is."¹⁰ And this "*rather* he *had be*," many would contend, is no more incorrect than "he *had rather be*." For, according to the current view regarding the latter phrase, its *had* is an auxiliary verb, and so cannot be coupled with an infinitive. Thus argued Thomas Sheridan,¹¹ in 1784: "'I *had rather*.' This phrase is strangely ungrammatical. *Rather* means 'more willingly.' Now, let us substitute the one in the place of the other,—as, 'I *had more willingly go* than stay,'—and its impropriety would be manifest. The adverb *rather* is expressive of an act of the will, and, therefore, should be joined to the verb *to will*, and not to the auxiliary, *to have*. Instead of 'I *had rather*,' it should be 'I *would rather*.'" Sheridan's pretence of assigning a reason need not detain me.

Bishop Lowth remarks, in his *Short Introduction to English Grammar*.¹² "It has been very rightly observed, that the verb *had*, in the common phrase 'I *had rather*,' is not properly used either as an active or as an auxiliary verb; that, being in the past time, it cannot, in this case, be properly expressive of time present; and that it is by no means reducible to any grammatical construction. In truth, it seems to have arisen from a mere mistake, in resolving the familiar and ambiguous abbreviation 'I'd *rather*' into 'I *had rather*,' instead of 'I *would rather*,' which latter is the regular, analogous [*read* analogous], and proper expression."

Later grammarians and lexicographers, in general, accept this solution; and the editors of *Webster's Dictionary* go so far as confidently to pronounce *had rather*, *had as lief*, and *had better* to

Landor fables Dr. Johnson to have replied, on hearing this passage repeated: "I hope you do not very often find such inaccuracies in my writings. Can you point out another?"

The following passage must have escaped Landor. "I am convinced that our ministers . . . *had rather hear* that a thousand merchants," etc. Dr. Johnson, *Debates in Parliament* (ed. 1787), vol. II, p. 12.

⁹ Ample proof of what is implied is furnished in the course of this paper.

¹⁰ Quoted by Mr. Gould Brown, in his *Grammar of English Grammars* (ed. 1873), p. 365.

¹¹ In his edition of Swift's *Works*, vol. II, Preface.

¹² Edition of 1769, p. 79, note 5.

have been, "originally, mere blundering interpretations of the abbreviated form of *would*, as in '*I'd rather*,' etc."¹³

Archdeacon Hare, though of opinion that, "according to the principles of our language as now established, the expression '*I had rather do*' involves so gross an anomaly, that it would be better to get rid of it,"¹⁴ says, and rightly, with reference to the notion which the editors just quoted are so easily satisfied with: "Plausible, however, as this explanation is, a little search in our ancient writers proves it to be unfounded."¹⁵

Let us now listen to Dr. Alexander Crombie. "All words and phrases," he writes, "which, analysed grammatically, include a solecism, should be dismissed; as, '*I had rather go*.' The expression should be '*I would* or '*I'd rather go*.' . . . I must observe, also, that the phraseology . . . occurs in some of our earliest writers, and is so frequently found in Pope and Swift, that one is tempted to infer, notwithstanding its solecistic appearance, that it is

¹³ This is given under the word *rather*. Like Dr. Johnson, the editors above quoted wax in assurance as they advance in the alphabet. For, under *have*, they write: "*Had rather, had as lief, had better*, are, probably, formed by corruption, for *would rather*, etc., when contracted; as, '*I'd rather*.'" And compare what they say under *lief*.

¹⁴ *Fragments of Two Essays in English Philology* (1873), Part II, p. 71.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* Part II, p. 68. Archdeacon Hare evidently suspected an ellipsis of *to*, before the verb, in "*I had rather do*," but, strangely enough, was unable to produce any old passage in substantiation of his surmise. And there he stopped. To ponder *had* and *rather*, in "*I had rather do*," does not seem to have occurred to him.

Landon, who entertained a particular dislike to *had rather* and *had better*, speaks of one or other of them no fewer than five times. See his *Life and Works* (1876), vol. IV, pp. 62, 170, 184, 210, 249. He is positive that *had* there originated from an ignorant expansion of *I'd* or *I'ou'd*, contracted from *I would*. Nor is he satisfied with thus much of common-place. After the fashion of many others, he strikes out the middle word from *had rather be*, and asks: "Cannot our writers perceive that *had be* is not English?" Archdeacon Hare has since likewise written: "Leave out the adverb, and no one would take '*I had do*,' '*you had go*,' to be English; and the go-between can hardly be said to legalize the union" seen in "*I had rather do*,' '*you had better go*.'" *Fragments*, etc. (*ut supra*), Part II, p. 68.

In his fastidiousness, Landon prefers, to the usual phraseology: "You *would better let* that chap alone." Vol. VI, p. 124. Worse still, he has: "Those who removed it, in this instance, were little aware that they *had better left* it." Vol. IV, p. 229. On the same model would be "He *had better gone* home." Why, since he shrank from *had better have left*, did not Landon put *would better have left*, instead of trespassing into the diction of poetry?



genuine English. It is difficult, however, nay, perhaps impossible, to reconcile it to analogy. Were I to offer conjecture on the subject, I should be inclined to say, that, in such phrases as 'I *had go*,' 'I *had*' is, by a grammatical figure very common in English, put for 'I *would have*' or 'I *would possess*,' and that the simple name of the act or state, by an ellipsis perhaps of the verbal sign, is subjoined, as the object wished, no regard being had to the completion of the action; in the same manner as we say 'I *would have gone*,' when we wish the action perfected."¹⁶

That Dr. Crombie credits "some of our earliest writers" with "I *had rather go*," evinces how little he was conversant with them.¹⁷ How, too, can he be "tempted to infer that it is genuine English," seeing that he expressly classes it among phrases which "include a solecism"? By "solecism," it should be noted, he understands "construction contrary to the English idiom"; and, in the page next after that where this definition occurs, it is laid down that a solecism is "an offence against the rules of syntax," strangely exemplified by the word *peoples*, and by *attendance* in the sense of "attention." But this only in passing.

Our ancestors must have been, forsooth, a most peculiar people, if, agreeably to Dr. Crombie's extraordinary theory, they chose to frame, in their minds, so mysterious an idea, to denote a conditional wish to go, as that expressed by "I *would possess going*"; modified it, in speech, into "I *had go*"; and then slipped in *rather*, to the generation of "I *had rather go*."¹⁸

¹⁶ *A Treatise on the Etymology and Syntax of the English Language* (ed. 1809), pp. 328-330.

¹⁷ The Rev. Dr. E. A. Abbott says, in his *Shakespearian Grammar* (ed. 1871), p. 152: "In Chaucer and earlier writers, preference is expressed both by our modern 'I *had*, or *would*, *rather* (*i. e.*, sooner),' etc. Not to be misunderstood, this needs qualifying. Chaucer may, possibly, have written "I *would rather go*" and "I *had rather gone*"; but he surely cannot be quoted for "our modern" "I *had rather go*," or the like.

¹⁸ The Rev. Dr. Philip Withers defended *had rather*, as in "I *had rather go*," after a fashion of his own. Supposing an ellipsis, after it, of *to*, he maintains that its *had*, which he still holds to be an auxiliary verb, is "legitimately construed [*sic*] with an infinitive active." In the course of his tedious folly, he writes:

"Luther *had to oppose* prejudices, *rather* than to confute arguments.'

"Luther *had rather to oppose* prejudices, than to confute arguments.'

"I *had rather oppose* prejudices, than to contend against facts.'

"The first and second instances refer to a specified time. The last instance is the past indefinite." *Aristarchus* (1791), p. 197 (ed. 1822).

Besides *rather*, we find, without necessarily recurring to antiquated literature, *better, best, need, as good, as lief*,¹⁹ *liefer*, and so on, in constructions popularly supposed to be, one and all, parallel to that of the passage from the *Psalms*, adverted to in my opening paragraph.

From the Anglo-Saxon adjective *leof* we formerly had *lef*,²⁰ "beloved," "dear," "precious," "acceptable," "wished for,"

His third sentence, not to speak of its omission of *to*, drops the idea of obligation implied by the unauxiliary *had* of the two first sentences, and retains from them only the idea of preference. The distinction of tenses which he points to is nothing to his immediate purpose. Though not himself obtuse, he must have expected his readers to be so, if to be imposed on by such transparent sophistry.

¹⁹ Old spellings of our present *liefe* are *leof, lef, lefe, leff, leffe, leef, leefe, leeff, leeffe, leyf, leyff, leyfe, leif, leife, leiffe, lyf, lyff, lyef, lyefe, liefe, life, liffe, leaf, leove, leve, leuve, leive, leave, lieve, lyve, live, luef, lefte* (for rime). Add *liefs, lieves*, and *lives*, American, for the most part; with *loose* and *luze*, which I have heard in East Anglia.

Among the predecessors of *liefer* which occur are, in addition to *lever*, which is much the commonest, *leovere, levere, leveer, levte, levyr, lewyr, levir, leivier, leaver, liever, lyver, luere, lefir, lefir, leferre, leifer, leiffer, leyffer, lieffer*.

The superlative was written *leovest, levest, leveste, leofest, leofeste, liefest*.

Of course there are more varieties; but these are all that I find in the thousand and more extracts which I have made for *lief* and its conjugates.

The special Scotch forms I have made no attempt to collect.

²⁰ This is very common in old authors, qualifying *lord, master, sir, lemmán, dame, child, fere, life*, and so forth. Till past the middle of the sixteenth century, it was frequently coupled with *dear*, as in Mr. Tennyson's attempted revival of the term. See the anonymous *Kyng Alisaunder* (about 1300?), ll. 776, 2496: Robert Mannyng (1327-1338), in Hearne's *Peter Langtoft's Chronicle* (ed. 1810), pp. 44, 197: *Chester Plays* (about 1328?), vol. I, pp. 28, 77, 169, 196; vol. II, pp. 116, 128: Richard Rolle de Hampole, *Pricks of Conscience* (ab. 1340), l. 2978: Chaucer, *Poetical Works* (Mr. Bell's ed., which I uniformly refer to), vol. I, p. 204; *id.*, *Boethius*, p. 37: Gower, *Confessio Amantis* (ed. Dr. Pauli, which I always quote), vol. III, p. 108: Hoccleve (1406?), *Poems* (ed. 1796), p. 47: *Townley Mysteries* (temp. Hen. VI?), pp. 123, 323.

The work last named also has, at p. 236: "And ther is nothing me so *lefe* As murder a mycher and hang a thefe."

"In to *lef* reste his sowle wond." *Story of Genesis and Exodus* (about 1250), l. 4136. In l. 340, "*lef* or loth" means "pleasing or displeasing"; as also in Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, vol. I, p. 268, etc., etc.

"And that is to me bothe gladdé and *lefe*." Syr Tryamouré (temp. Ed. II?) in Utterson's *Select Pieces of Early Popular Poetry*, vol. I, p. 10.

In the *Ludus Coventriae* (15th cent.?), p. 396, we read: "To hurle wyth the harlotys me is ful *lef*."

"agreeable," "pleasant," and so forth,—with its comparative and superlative, *lever* and *levest*." Soon after the beginning of the

Lief was also a substantive, denoting "friend," "lover," etc. See *Kyng Ali-saunders* (*ut sup.*), l. 2906: Chaucer, *Poetical Works*, vol. III, p. 217: Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, vol. I, pp. 243, 343. "Noither *lese* no lothe northern . . . spared *lese* no loth." Robert Mannyng (*ut sup.*), p. 75. And see pp. 113, 131, 134, 215, 220, 286. "Nether for *leiffe* nor for loth." *Chester Plays* (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 92. "For *lief* ne loth." Chaucer, *Poetical Works*, vol. III, p. 96. "Youre *leyfes* and your females." *Townley Mysteries* (*ut sup.*), p. 320. See also *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse* (14th century?), p. 53 (1867): *Amis and Amiloun* (15th century?), l. 87: *Lyfe of Ipomydon* (15th century?), l. 2294: *Merlin* (1450-1460?), p. 693. Gower and Spenser, too, with many others, might here be quoted.

Unlif, "unbeloved," "disagreeable," is found in Lydgate, *The Tragedies*, etc. (Wayland's undated edition), fol. 2 v.; and in the *Chester Plays* (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 42.

Lemman or *leman*, "lover," "sweetheart," of old written *leofmon*, *leovemon*, *lesmon*, and *leveman*, was long ago shown to be *lief man*.

In the *Chester Plays* (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 169, is "gotten by *leffe* of kinde," in other words, "by natural love." Compare together the Anglo-Saxon for *love* and *lief*, namely, *lufe* and *leof*.

"*Lefe-long*," qualifying *day*, for which see Mr. Halliwell's *Illustrations*, etc. (1845), and his *Dictionary*, is, apparently, for *lese long*. Is it the same as our *live-long*. And did this originate as two words, *lief long*; the *lief* being ironical, like *precious*, in "precious fool"?

Liefsome is used by the Earl of Surrey. See Dr. Richardson's *Dictionary*. Its predecessor, *liefsly*, occurs in *Early English Alliterative Poems* (15th cent.), p. 67; and in Thomas Chestre's *Romance of Launfal*, in Mr. Halliwell's *Illustrations*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 28. For *lefful*, "dear," "precious," see *Story of Genesis and Exodus* (*ut sup.*), ll. 155, 2524.

"Androgeus him was *leovere*." Layamon, *Brut* (not long after 1204), vol. I, p. 306.

"*Levere* him were with his kinne." *Floriz and Blanchestur* (about 1280), l. 806, in *King Horn*, etc. (1866).

"It were me *lever* than twenty pound worth lond," etc. Chaucer, *Poetical Works*, vol. II, p. 224. And see vol. III, p. 143.

"Him was *levere* his oghne [*i. e.*, own] deth desire." Gower, in *Political Poems and Songs*, vol. II, p. 14. "Now chese and take whiche you is *lever*." *Id.*, *Conf. Amant.*, vol. II, p. 205. See also vol. III, p. 281, etc., etc.

"So, withoute your better avyse, I and my brothyr purpose us to be with you ther at that tyme; for, the sonner, the *levyr* me." John Clopton (about 1454), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. I, pp. 284, 285. For the equipollent "the rather, the *levere*," see John Shillingford (1447), in *Letters and Papers* (Camden Society), p. 24. Note the similarity, here, to the German "je eher je lieber"; and compare "so lengre so *leovere*," in *Scinte Marherete*, p. 2.

"I have but on [*i. e.*, one] gowne at Framyngham, and an other here; and that is my *levere* gowne," etc. John Paston, Jr. (1462), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. II, p. 120.

seventeenth century, these words became, however, save in phrases, virtually extinct; no one then any longer venturing them, except Philemon Holland²² and a few others, who affected the diction of a bygone age.

"My lord, Syr Gareth, is to me more *lever* to have and welde as my husband, than any kyng or prynce that is crystned." Sir Thomas Malory, *La Mort Darthur* (1469), vol. I, p. 242 (Southey's edition).

"That were me *lever*, sayd dame Elayne. than alle the gold that is above the erthe." *Id.*, *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 168.

Many more quotations in point will be seen in subsequent notes.

"A mon that were the *levest*," etc. *Ancren Riwe* (13th century), p. 244.

"As *levest* him thoght," "The *levest* thing for thy luf." *Sir Gawayne and the Green Knight* (about 1320-1330), ll. 49, 1802 (ed. 1864).

"What signe is the *levest* to have . . . ?" *William of Palerne* (about 1350), l. 3213 (ed. 1867).

"Love is the *leveste* thinge that our Lord askith." William Langland, *Vision of Piers Plowman* (1362), Passus I, l. 180 (ed. 1867).

"Thre pointes, which, I finde, Ben *levest* unto," etc. Gower, *Conf. Amant*, vol. II, p. 133.

"Yf that ye lyst to wedde her your self, that is me *levest*." Sir Thomas Malory (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 282.

"God knowyth myn entent, Whom I besech to send yowe your *levest* herts desyr." Sir Thomas Brews (1477), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. III, p. 177. "Your *levest* desyers." Margaret Paston (1477), *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 194.

But like references need not be multiplied.

Perplexed by "ye best and *leuiest* hors of al ye host," in Lord Berners's *Frois sart* (1523-1525), vol. I, p. 12 (ed. 1812), I turned to the French, which has "le plus petit, maigre, et chétif cheval qu'il put trouver." The horse was, then, "the least and leanest."

Sir John Paston wrote, in 1474, instead of *levest*, *lesvest*, as though he thought he was having to do with a French word. See the *Paston Letters*, vol. III, p. 120.

²²"My *leeft* and onely sonne" occurs in his *Cyropaedia* (1632), p. 101: and see pp. 108, 207. See, further, his *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1609), pp. 147, 390. Holland was born in 1551, and died in 1636.

Mr. T. L. Kington Oliphant, in his *Sources of Standard English*, p. 286, names the adjective *lief* among "old Teutonic words, now obsolete, . . . which Tyndale unhappily did not employ in his great work [he did, however, if *lief* includes *liefer*], though they must have been household words in his childhood." Tyndale was born about 1477; and not only in his youth was *lief* rife, but to the end of his days, and long after. "To no man so *lieft*." Sir Thomas More, *Historie of King Richard the Thirde* (about 1513), p. 68 (ed. 1821). In the translation of Polydore Vergil, of the time of Henry VIII, published by the Camden Society in 1846, "*leeft* unto himme," etc., will be found at pp. 46, 81, 172, 294. For *liefer*, "dearer," etc., I might quote Alexander Barclay, George Ferrars, and Holinshed. Tyndale, too, has it, in his *New Testament*, 1 Corinthians, xiv, 19.

In "*him was lever have . . . Twenty bookes,*"²³ and the like,²⁴ we see specimens of the most ancient English forerunners of the group of phrases under consideration. The import of the quotation

As late as near the close of the seventeenth century, *lief*, "carus," was treated by lexicographers as if still popularly intelligible; witness William Robertson's *Phraseologia Generatis* (1681), and Adam Littleton's *Latine Dictionary* (1684).

That Shakespeare had any hand in the *Second Part of King Henry VI*, is doubted by many; and the fact that the expressions "mine *alderliefest* sovereign" and "my *liefest* liege" are found there, has some weight towards disposing one to adjudicate it from it. Though Shakespeare, in dramas unquestionably his, again and again uses "as *lief*," he does not use *lief* otherwise, and also avoids its comparative and superlative; and the quaint *alderliefest* is far from being after his manner. What is still more significant, the passages of the *Second Part*, etc., which contain *alderliefest* and *liefest* are not in the old play of 1594, on which it is founded. Was there another form of the old play than that which we possess,—one giving those passages,—which has not come down to us? Robert Greene, among Shakespeare's early contemporaries, has the adjectives *lief*, *liefer*, *alderliefest*, and *aldertruest*. Can it be that Greene contributed to the *Second Part*, etc., in some form of it which is not known to have survived, and that the *alderliefest* and *liefest* spoken of above are from his pen? I might say more; but this is not the place to say it.

²³ Chaucer, *Poetical Works*, vol. I, p. 90. See also vol. II, p. 224; vol. III, p. 237.

²⁴ "*Leovere heom his to libben,*" i. e., "to live is, to them, more desirable." Layamon, *Brut* (ut sup.), vol. I, p. 20.

"*Me wore levere*, quad Ioseph, Of eddi dremes rechen swep." *Story of Genesis and Exodus* (ut sup.), ll. 2085, 2086.

"*Me were leovere vorto don me touward Rome.*" *Ancren Riwe* (ut sup.), p. 430.

"*Levere was him to be forsworen.*" Anon., *Havelok the Dane* (about 1280), l. 1423 (ed. 1868). "*Me wore levere I wore lame.*" *Ibid.*, l. 1938. And see ll. 1193, 1671.

"Ac monnis flesch *lever him was* Than ony corn that ony mon has." *Kyng Alisaunder* (ut sup.), ll. 694, 695.

"*Him were levere meten* one hen Then half an oundred wimmen." Anon. (from a MS. temp. Ed. I), in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, vol. II, p. 272.

"*Me wor lever to be dedh.*" Anon. (early in the 14th century), *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 146.

"*Me were levere be ded.*" Anon., *Maximon* (in or before temp. Ed. II), *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 121.

"For *lever me is this lif to have,*" "*lever me hade have woned* in wildernesse." *William of Palerne* (ut sup.), ll. 3098, 3308. And see ll. 855, 994, 2022.

"*Yit war me lever that thai so ware.*" Anon., *The Seven Sages* (14th century?), l. 2843.

"For *hym was levere stele* uppon hem than come uppon hem with a bataile opounliche." John of Trevisa (1387), in *Higden's Polychronicon* (ed. 1865, etc.), vol. II, p. 395.

is: "*To have twenty books was more acceptable to him.*" The idiom is substantially Anglo-Saxon; and the pronoun which it exhibits is in the dative case.

"For *me were lever to lacke* breth Than speken of her name amis." Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, vol. I, p. 177. See also vol. I, pp. 270, 305, 329, etc., etc.

"*Me ware lever say fyve wordes in herte* devoutely, thane fyve thousande with my mouthe withowitene lykyng." *Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse (ut sup.)*, p. 38. See 1 *Corinthians*, xiv, 19.

"*Me ware lever prevely be prykyd* to the harte." Anon., *Morte Arthure* (14th century?), l. 2649 (1865).

"*Him was lever to rym* than ryde." Anon., *Syr Gowghter* (15th century), in Utterson's *Select Pieces*, etc. (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 171.

"*Hem is lever Lete* make her hyves," etc. Anon., *Palladius on Husbondrie* (about 1420?), p. 38 (1873).

"Nay, for *hym were lever to have* his tonge drawn oute." *Merlin (ut sup.)*, p. 302.

"*It were me lever*, sayd the quene, to dye in the water, than to falle in your enemies handes, and there be slayne." Sir Thomas Malory (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 93.

"*Them wer lever to leese* all that thei have besyde, then to have suche a vil-lany done them." Sir Thomas More, *Historie*, etc. (about 1513, *ut sup.*) p. 109.

"And, therefore, if thou be putt fra thi reste by devocyone, whene *the ware leveste* be stille tharat, by thy childre, thy servantes," etc. Richard Rolle de Hampole (died 1349), *English Prose Treatises* (1866), p. 30.

"And elles may she nought fulfille What thinge *her were levest have.*" Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, vol. I, p. 96; and see vol. I, p. 170; vol. II, p. 52. Also *id.*, in *Political Poems and Songs*, vol. II, p. 5.

"Therfor *lerne* the byleve *levest me were.*" Anon., *Pierce the Ploughmans Crede* (about 1394), l. 16.

"Thai may have redy passage owt of oure land, from what port thai come too unto what port *thayme is levest to drawe* to by youre advis." King Henry V (1417), in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, etc., Third Series (1846), vol. I, p. 63.

"Arthur sone hathe take the land That *hym was leveste* in to lende." Anon., *Le Morte Arthure* (before 1460?), ll. 3058, 3059 (1864).

Compare the German, as in: "*Ist es Euch lieber, so nehmt die Kerze.*"

"Be ðæm is awriten ðæt betra bio se geðyldega wer ðonne se gilpna, forðæmpe him bið *liofre* scande to *Colianne* ðonne ðæt god to cyðanne ðæt he digollice deð, ðylæs he for ðæm unðeawe ðæs gilpes hit forleose. Ac ðæm gilpnan bið *liofre* ðæt he secge on hiene selfne, gif he hwæt godes wat, ge ðeah he nyte hwæt he soðes secge, him is ðeah *liofre* ðæt he leoge ðonne him mon ænigra ungerisna to wene." *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care* (edited by Mr. Henry Sweet), p. 216.

Mr. Sweet has obligingly communicated to me the following extract from an Anglo-Saxon will, in which a man says of his wife: "Gif hire *liofre* sie on mynster to gangenne," or, "if it be more agreeable to her to go into a convent."

To the first half of the fourteenth century, perhaps, belongs the origin of expressions like "I have lever it layne,"⁷⁶ or "to conceal it I regard as preferable"; and "As she was essheked [*i. e.*, asked] of him, whether sheo hadde lyver have him than his sone that stode ther by, into housbond, sheo chees his sone."⁷⁷ Of very

⁷⁶ *William of Palerne (ut sup.)*, l. 918. And see l. 546. As to "I have lever," for "I have it lever," it is similarly omitted in our "think best, better, fit, good," in the old "think long," and in "make sure," "take upon," etc., etc.

Hearne (*ut sup.*) quotes, at p. cxcvii, the following anonymous passage, which he doubtfully assigns to the year 1310: "I have lever that thou do me to dethe then defowle my body."

"Yet have I lever leese My lif"; "Yit hath this brid . . . Lever to be in forest," etc. Chaucer, *Poetical Works*, vol. II, p. 248; vol. III, p. 242.

"This knight hath lever for to dreie," etc. Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, vol I, p. 93.

"And, by my trouthe, I have wel lever No more kyn than my a b c." From some verses probably written about 1418, in *Political Poems and Songs (ut sup.)*, vol. II, p. 243.

"Sith lever I have with some edge tole To ~~ste~~ my selfe, than lyve in shadder and dole." Lydgate, *Tragidies*, etc. (*ut sup.*) fol. 44 v. and 45 r.

"Lever I have my life now to lose, Rather than soyle my wydowes chastitie." *Id.*, *ibid.*, fol. 49 v. Even Hallam uses *rather*, as here, superfluously: "But those who had introduced the bill very wisely thought it better to sacrifice a point of dignity, rather than lose so important a statute." *Constitutional History* (ed. 1842), vol. II, p. 206, foot-note.

"I have lever to be deed than to be cristin." *Merlin (ut sup.)*, p. 592. See also p. 241.

"And y have leefir forto seie sumwhat of the trewe substancial answers longing therto," etc. Bp. Reginald Pecock, *Repressor*, etc. (about 1456), p. 78. See also pp. 85, 91.

Between 1456 and 1464, the Rev. Thomas Howes and Sir Robert Williamson wrote, respectively, "I have lever other men go" and "I have lever to go." *Paston Letters*, vol. I, p. 407, and vol. II, p. 81.

"For I have lever dye with worship than lyve with shame." Sir Thomas Malory (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 280. And see vol. II, p. 275.

"Rather than it shold be done, I have lever to guytte yow, and gyve yow my parte, soo that his lyf may be saved." Caxton (1483), in the *Knight of La Tour-Landry* (ed. 1868), p. 101.

"For I have leuyr abyde respyt," etc. *Ludus Coventriae (ut sup.)*, p. 121.

⁷⁷ From the anonymous prose addition to Robert of Gloucester's *Chronicle*, quoted by Hearne (*ut sup.*), p. 12.

"Theo riche . . . saide they hadden, sikirliche, Leovere steorve," etc. *Kyng Alisaunder (ut sup.)*, ll. 1232-1234.

"They hadde lever to don soo," etc. Anon., *Richard Coer de Lion (temp. Ed. I?)*, l. 6105.

"Tryamouré swore by Goddes myghte, I had lever it had on the lyghte." *Syr Tryamouré*, in *Utterson's Select Pieces*, etc. (*ut sup.*), vol I, p. 56.

much less common occurrence is the superlative *liefest* similarly collocated, as in the sentence: "For, yf I shold speke of all, I shold never make an ende. So saye me, thenne, wherof thou hast *lievest for to here*."²⁰ *Have* and *had*, in these passages, are

"Otherhuil hy byeth ynogh awaked to nyedes thet hi *hedden levere lyse* vour messen thanne ane zuot other ane slep." Dan Michel, *Ayembile of Intwyt* (1340, in the Kentish dialect), p. 31.

"At grete festes, and for straungeres, thei setten formes and tables, as men don in this contree; but thei *had lever sytten* in the erthe." Sir John Maundevile, *Voiage and Travaile*, etc. (1356), p. 29 (ed. 1839).

"For also moche as many men ne may not suffre the savour of the see, but *hadden lever to gon* by londe," etc. *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 126.

"I *had lever* go to Rome." Townley *Mysteries* (*ut sup.*), p. 308.

"*Lever* ich *had to dyen*." Chaucer, *Poetical Works*, vol. II, p. 191.

"I *hadde lever* to be lewed," etc. Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, vol. I, p. 295. See also vol. I, pp. 212, 240, etc.

"He wolde hurte ne greve no body, but *hadde lever* to selle his wyves golden vessell," etc. Anon., *Cronycle of Englonde* (1483), sig. F 3 v. (ed. 1510). And see sig. I 3 v., I 4 r., K 3 r., R 5 v.

"I *had lever* thus homely *for to dine*." Rev. Alexander Barclay, *Mirroure of Good Maners* (about 1523), sig. D 3 r. (ed. 1570).

"He woulde not breake hys pennance; he *had lever dye*." Anon., *Lyfe of Roberte the Devyll*, l. 1072, in Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's *Remains*, etc., vol. I, p. 260. *Had* is here a preterite.

"*Lever* he *hadde for to be deed* than langour in soche maner." *Merlin* (*ut sup.*), p. 540. Here, too, *had* is a preterite.

Of what is about to be asserted the proofs have been supplied by a careful scrutiny of scores of old books and modern, and by a collection of several hundred pertinent quotations which this scrutiny has yielded.

From about 1450, *had liefer* enjoyed great vogue for a century or so, and then gradually declined in popularity. It is noticeable, that, in the reprint of Tyndale's works which was published in 1573, either Day or Fox twice altered the reformer's *had liefer* into *had rather*. *Merlin*, Sir Thomas Malory, and Lord Berners are studded with *had liefer*; and the expression was a favourite with Alexander Barclay, Sir Thomas More, Tyndale, and Sir Thomas Elyot. After 1600, or thereabouts, few except archaic or otherwise peculiar stylists, such as Philemon Holland, are found to employ it. At no time since its introduction can it, as a provincialism, or colloquialism, have been in abeyance. Since the year 1800, it has been practically accepted by Southey and the Rev. H. F. Cary; and Mr. Charles Reade uses it repeatedly. Nay, we read, in the pages of a very elegant living writer: "And yet *had* men *liefer* by knowledge never *find* that which they seek, than by love possess that thing which, also, without love, were in vain found." Mr. Walter H. Pater, *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873), p. 32.

²⁰ Lydgate (?), *The Booke of the Pylgremage of the Sowle* (1413), p. 75 (ed. 1859).

"Yef he lyve longe, he shall be the beste knyght that ever was, and that I *hadde levest* to resemble." *Merlin* (*ut sup.*), p. 456.

not auxiliaries, just as they are not in the passages here ensuing:

"So gret liking and love I have that lud to bihold,
That I *have lever* that love than lac al mi harmes."¹⁹

"Notheles, ful feole and fille
Beoth yfounde, in heorte and wille,
That *hadde lever* a ribaudye
Than to here of God other of Seynte Marie."²⁰

"For he *had had lever* than all the good of the world, he myghte have ben revenged upon Sir Mellyagraunce."²¹

"*Having leifer* to committ their cause to open disputing, then to seeme, to the people whom they had subverted, to have nothing to say," etc."²²

Had had, in the third of these extracts, is to be inter-

"Of alle knyghtes that ben on lyve, excepte thre, I *had levest have* yow." Sir Thomas Malory (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 109.

"Yet *had* I most *liefest* to yield and confess the matter," etc. George Caven-
dish, *Life of Cardinal Wolsey* (about 1560), vol. I, p. 249 (Mr. Singer's ed.).

¹⁹ *William of Palerne* (*ut sup.*), ll. 452, 453. The sense is: "So great pleasure and love have I in beholding that man, that I reckon that love of more account than the being free from all my sorrows."

"If the place that is beside Walsyngham stand cler, I *have hit lever* then the tother." Sir John Fastolf (1449?), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. I, p. 94.

²⁰ *Kyng Alisaunder* (*ut sup.*), ll. 19-22.

"I *hadde lever* than my schert," etc. Chaucer, *Poetical Works*, vol. III, p. 224.

"I *had* her *lever* than a mine Of gold," etc. Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, vol. II, p. 130.

"I *had lever* thene alle Fraunce . . . Fyghte with the," etc. *Morte Arthure* (*ut sup.*), ll. 1344, 1345. See also ll. 872, 4160.

"For the saule *had lever*, that in payn dueles, A day of pardon than anythyng elles." Richard Rolle de Hampole, *Pricke of Conscience* (*ut sup.*), ll. 3936, 3937.

"I *had hym lever* than othyr fyve; For he was stronge in stowre." Anon., *Sir Cleges* (14th century?), ll. 491, 492.

"I *had lever* than al the gold betwixe this and Rome, I had ben there." Sir Thomas Malory (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 100. See also vol. I, pp. 90, 138, 141, 281; vol. II, pp. 368, 394.

Like expressions are used by Margaret Paston (1450), the Rev. Thomas Howes (1454), Richard Calle (1469), and Sir John Paston (1470, 1477, 1486), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. I, pp. 111, 307; vol. II, pp. 351, 416; vol. III, pp. 190, 338.

²¹ Sir Thomas Malory (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 379.

²² Rev. Dr. Thomas Stapleton, *The History of the Church of Englande* (1565), fol. 25. Dr. Thomas Fuller, where he quotes the passage recited in the text, very gratuitously surmises, in "having rather," some error of the press.

preted by "would have deemed,"³³ *Have*, *had*, and *having*, in the other extracts, are one with "deem," "should deem," and "deeming," respectively.

Have, the neuter verb, meaning "be obliged," takes an infinitive. But very different is the nature of *have*, etc., in the passages cited above and in subjoined notes. The occasional presence, after those words, of *to*,³⁴ and also of the objective case, shows, at the same time, as I have already said, that they are not there auxiliaries.

³³ "But thei leste fulle of hir owen reste in comtemplacion, when thei *had* welle *lever have ben* stille, that, for love of hir even cristene, thei intermettid hem with worldely besynes, in helpynge of hir sugettis; and, sothly, that was charite." Richard Rolle de Hampole, *English Prose Treatises* (*ut sup.*), p. 25. The writer meant "*had had welle lever be*."

"Ich *had lever*, til domesday, *Have lived* in care and wo." Anon., *Amis and Amiloun* (15th century?), ll. 2321, 2322. Correct to "*had had lever . . . live*."

"Thou seiste trewe; for *hadde lever a be* in grete aventure than thou sholdest dye." *Merlin* (*ut sup.*), p. 35. Here, besides ellipsis, there is the same fault as above.

Tyndale writes: "Lucretia *had lever have been* slain, if he had not been too strong for her, than to have lost her glory." *Doctrinal Treatises*, etc. (1848), p. 185. He ought to have put *had had lever be slain*. Note, too, the illogical double preterite. This error, which many persons still fall into, was ancient even in Tyndale's day.

In *Merlin* (*ut sup.*), p. 468, we read: "I *hadde lever* she *hadde be* biried all quyk, than this *hadde hir befallen*." Here there is much freedom of ellipsis.

"That, I kno well, the kyngis grace *hade lever hade be* done." etc. John Flamank (1503?), in *Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII*, vol. I, p. 232. The second *had*, in this extract, is an example of the past-participial infinitive. It is here cut down from *have had*.

³⁴ As *to*, after *bid*, *dare*, *feel*, *help*, *make*, *need*, etc., may now sometimes be dispensed with, so it was, of old, occasionally dispensed with after, for instance, *advise*, *begin*, *behove*, *beseech*, *chance*, *charge*, *command*, *constrain*, *dare* (defy), *desire*, *endeavour*, *enforce*, *enjoin*, *forbid*, *force*, *forget*, *grant*, *intend*, *know*, *license*, *move*, *observe*, *ought*, *permit*, *persuade*, *seem*, *suffer*, *suppose*, *teach*, *think*, *use*, *vouchsafe*, *will* (wish), *wish*. To the same category belongs *cause*, the *to* after which is still dropped by many Scotchmen. Add *can* (be able), *do* (cause), *learn* (teach), *leave*, *like* (please), *lust* (wish), *now* (be able); and likewise *beleeve*, *fortune*, *gin*, *list*, *rede*, *ween*, *wit*, *wone*.

Contrariwise, *to* was once often put after *hear*, *let*, *see*, etc., as might be proved out of the *Paston Letters*, Lord Berners, Sir Thomas Hoby, Dr. Henry More, etc., etc.

As well as after many verbs, an ellipsis of *to* was formerly allowed after certain adjectives, in phrases. *To* is dropped, after *allowable*, by Bp. Pecock; after *better*, by Lydgate, Alexander Barclay, Sir Thomas Wilson, Lord Herbert, etc.; after *free*, by Gower; after *lawful*, *profitable*, and *speedful*, by Bp. Pecock; after *wholesome*, by Hoccleve; after *wont*, by Bp. Pecock and Abp. Warham; after *worthy*, by Bp. Pecock and Alexander Barclay.

The infinitive, as *to die*, instead of *dying*, after *had liefer*, etc., is nothing strange, as an old idiom,⁸⁶ if we bear in mind the sense of the words preceding it. "I think to die more desirable," which is still tolerated, was once a current mode of expressing "I think dying more desirable," or "I think it more desirable to die."

Even as late as Queen Elizabeth's time, the infinitive accompanied by its sign being still sometimes put after *had liefer*, it was distinctly recognized that *had* is there a notional verb; and, as the context forbids the idea that it imports obligation, it must have been felt that *liefer* is an adjective. Thus: "The poete *had liefer* to halte in his life then in his verse."⁸⁷

Like *εχειν*, *habere*, *avere*, *haber*, *avoir*, *haben*, our *have*, in the natural course of development, came to signify "deem," "hold,"

Hence, there is nothing that is not normal enough about *had liefer die*, instead of *had liefer to die*.

⁸⁶ "We wold do thus myche, as for *to put* the coort in contenuans." John Paston (1465), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. II, p. 246.

"As for *to kysse* yow, said Sir Launcelot, I maye doo that and lese no worshyp." Sir Thomas Malory (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 377. See also vol. I, p. 170; vol. II, pp. 88, 199, 413.

"The grete lordes of Englonde were ayenst to *conferme* the peas and the trewes above sayd." Anon., *Cronycie of Englonde* (1483, *ut sup.*), sig. T 4 r.

"But, trust me, Coridon, there is diversitie Betwene to *have* riches, and riches to have thee." Rev. Alexander Barclay, *Egloges* (about 1520), sig. A 5 v. (ed. 1570).

"As touchyng to *gyve* them saveconduct," etc.; "As to *retourne* all the landes agayne," etc. Lord Berners, *Froissart* (1523-1525), vol. I, p. 757; vol. II, p. 599 (ed. 1812). "Without to *wyll*," etc. *Id.*, *The Golden Boke*, etc. (1534), sig. Mm 7 r. (ed. 1546).

"As touching to *please* God," etc.; "Then was Christ to blame for to *say*, that," etc. Tyndale (1532), *Expositions*, etc. (1849), pp. 102, 121.

"For, as for [*sic*] *accuse* folke openly for heresye," etc. Sir Thomas More, *Apologye* (1533), fol. 226 v.

"And shee putteth in hazarde to *staine* the renowme of honestie." Sir Thomas Hoby, *The Courtier* (1561), sig. Q 7 v. (ed. 1577).

"As to *come* to him, he was not then so determined." Richard Grafton, *Chronicle* (1569), vol. II, p. 156 (ed. 1809).

"After he had done . . . to *rave*," etc. Anon., *New Custome* (1573), Act I, Scene II.

"They thought the same difference to bee . . . that is betwixt to *sin* and not to sinne." Anthony Stafford, *Niobe* (1611), pp. 75, 76.

⁸⁷ James Sanford, Translation of Agrippa (1569), fol. 179 v. See also fol. 104 v. and 106 v.; and the extract lately made from Stapleton.

For earlier instances, see Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 393; *Expositions*, etc. (*ut sup.*), pp. 22, 306.

"regard," "consider," "account," "rate"; that is to say, originally denoting possession, it grew to be factitive.

³⁷ King Alfred (*ut sup.*), p. 134, writes: "He wilniað ðæt hie mon *habbe* for ða betstan and ða halgestan."

"The Chane and alle the men of Tartarye *han* the nombre of 9 in gret reverence." Sir John Maundevile (*ut sup.*), p. 228.

"But men *han* hem suspect of eresie for many causis." Wicliffe, *Three Treatises* (1851), p. 43. And see p. 44.

"Ye schul also *have* in suspect the counseil of such folk," etc. Chaucer, *Poetical Works*, vol. III, p. 146. See also vol. III, p. 152.

"Trusty and welbeloved, I greet you wel; praying you that you wil *have* in tendernesse and favor my welbeloved cousin," etc. John, Lord Scrope (1432), in the *Plumpton Correspondence* (Camden Society), Historical Notices, p. xxxvi.

"*Hadde* in favor." Clement Paston (1461), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. II, p. 43. In the next page, John, Lord Beauchamp (1461) uses the same expression.

"That cyte was never *hadde* in worshyppe." Anon., *Cronycle of Englonde* (1483, *ut sup.*), sig. A 4 r. "But, with an hevy hoste, he torned ayen, and was *hadde* worthy to suffre, for [i. e., for all] his ryghtwysenes." *Id.*, *ibid.*, fol. 2 r. of an arbitrary signature between Z and Aa.

"Men *had* it ever inwardely suspect." Sir Thomas More, *Historie*, etc. (about 1513, *ut sup.*), p. 126.

"Farthermore, wepyng, he besought and required hym, for all amyte and love whiche had ben bytwene them, and for all the faythfull service which he had done to hym in foretyme, nat to *have* hym suspected in so cruell a dede." Rev. Alexander Barclay, Translation of Sallust (Pynson's second ed.), fol. 55 v. "Nat to *have*," etc., represents "ne . . . suspectum se *haberet*"; and, accordingly, Barclay's "have" may be a Latinism.

"Truely, wyse men *have* hym as suspect," etc.; "was *had* in great reputacion." Lord Berners, *The Golden Boke*, etc., (*ut sup.*), sig. G 3 r. and M 2 r.

"*Had* in most vile reputation"; "*had* in moost price." Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus* (1545), pp. 52, 113 (Mr. Arber's edition).

"And of this ariseth, that men . . . *have* them in very small reputation," etc. Sir Thomas Hoby (*ut sup.*), sig. N 7 v. See also sig. Q 8 r. "To be *had* in suspition of any vice." *Id.*, *ibid.*, sig. Y 7 v.

"King Rycharde *had* them in suspition and gealosie." Richard Grafton, *Chronicle* (1569), vol. II, p. 149 (ed. 1809).

For *had*, with "in estimation," "in reputation," "in fear," "in veneration," see Nicholas Lichfield, *The First Booke of the Historie*, etc. (1582), fol. 34 v., 55 r., 84 r., 92 v.

"*Have* them in great estimation and admiration"; "*we have* the temples in great respect and reverence"; "*had* alwaies in singular recommendation." T. B., *The French Academie*, Part I (1586), pp. 383, 680, 711 (ed. 1589).

The Biblical "*had* in derison," "*had* in honour," and "*had* in reverence" present no difficulty to the run of readers; but it is all but certain that "I pray thee *have* me excused" is generally misunderstood, and by the educated as well as by the uneducated.

It is pertinent to remark, here, that *had*, for "should have," "would have," appeared in our language as far back, at least, as the

³⁰ *Should, should have*, etc., long had senses which, for the most part, now seem very strange,

"And thys daye rennyth a tale, that the Duke of Bretayne *sholde be ded*. I beleeff it not." Sir John Paston (1472), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. III, p. 60.

"I am informed that one of my brethren, late Bishop of Chichester, *should be departed*." Abp. Parker (1568), in *Correspondence*, etc. (1853), p. 331.

"Even as spitefully as unlearnedly, you affirm that Beza *should teach* that St. Luke wrote false Greek," etc. Rev. Dr. William Fulke, *A Defense*, etc. (1583), p. 135 (ed. 1843). And again at p. 138.

"Of his contre the signe was Thre fisshes, which he *shulde bere* Upon the penon of a spere." Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, vol. III, p. 56. See also vol. III, pp. 257, 298.

"And, as touchyng that poynt, that the seide maier and comminalte *sholde fayne and coloure* their answer with sotelnesse, yu desiryng of lenger delay, they remytte tham to your grete wysedomes," etc. John Shillingford (1448?), *Letters and Papers (ut sup.)*, p. 132.

"Sir Thomas Howes hadde a free chapell at Castr, wher of the gyfte longyth to me, whyche chapell, as I understande, *scholde be* in the olde tyme, er the place at Caster wer bylte." Sir John Paston (1469), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. II, p. 339.

"At this question, al the lordes sat sore astonied, musyng much by whome thys question *should be ment*, of which every man wyst himselfe clere." Sir Thomas More, *Historie*, etc. (about 1513, *ut sup.*), p. 71.

"About this epistle hath ever been much doubting, and that among great learned men, who *should be* the author thereof." Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 521.

"Socrates . . . saith . . . he would followe him as though he *should followe* God himself." Sir Thomas Wilson, *The Rule of Reason* (1551), fol. 15 (ed. 1567). And see fol. 77 (*bis.*) Also *id.*, *The Arte of Rhetorike* (1553), fol. 99 (ed. 1567).

"The first guess is, what Damasus *should mean* by these words." Bp. Jewel (1565), *Works* (ed. 1845, etc.), vol. I, p. 160.

"But didst thou hear, without wondering, how thy name *should be hanged and carved* upon these trees?" Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, Act III, Scene II.

"Sir W. Warren told me how my Lord Brouncker *should take* notice of the two flaggons he saw at my house at dinner, at my late feast, and merrily, yet I know enviously, said I could not come honestly by them." Samuel Pepys (1667), *Diary*, etc. (*ut sup.*), vol. IV, p. 204. See also vol. IV, p. 398 (*bis.*) We still say, for instance, "whom *should* I meet," etc., putting *should* for *did*, but only to express something unexpected.

"Don't forget the bailliy of Hykelyng, who said I *should forge* [*i. e.*, had forged] evidence," etc. Sir John Fastolf (1450), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. I, p. 168.

"And quatkin tre it *suld ha bene*, His eldres tald him all bedene." *Cursor Mundi* (about 1290), ll. 21579, 21580.

eleventh century ; and *would have* emerged as long ago, certainly, as the twelfth century.

The *had* in *had liefer* was rarely, it seems, a simple preterite. Primarily it implied, in this phrase, a condition, and then, dropping the implication of conditionality, became a sort of gnomic or adagial aorist.²⁸ It was, apparently, owing to the popularity which

"It is talkyd here how that ye and Howard *schuld a strekyn* togueder on the scher-daye, and on of Howards men *schuld a strekyn* yow twyess with a dagere, and soo ye schuld a ben hurt, but for a good dobelet that ye hadde on at that tyme." John Paston (1461), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. II, p. 42.

"Gods, if you *Should have ta'en* vengeance on my faults, I never Had lived to put on this." Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, Act V, Scene I.

Should has, also, been used as expressive of the proximate future.

"Therfor, whan he *schuld deye*, the Cardinales saide he was not worthi to be biried in Seynt Petir cherche, for the habundauns of blood which he had spilt. And he answerd ful sobirly," etc. Rev. John Capgrave, *Chronicle of England* (about 1464), p. 124 (1858).

"So, likewise, Christe, when he *should be taken* of the Jewes, saied to his Apostles, . . . 'slepe on, sirs, and take your rest,'" etc. Sir Thomas Wilson, *The Rule of Reason* (1551), fol. 69 (ed. 1567). Also *id.*, *The Arte of Rhetorike* (1553), fol. 77, 98 (ed. 1567).

"When he *should depart* from our ship, he required, by signes, of Nicholas Coello, to have his boat to carrie him to lande." Nicholas Lichefield, *The First Booke of the Historie*, etc. (1582), fol. 15 r.

These passages, a few out of scores collected from various sources, illustrate the laxity, in comparison with present usage, with which moods and tenses were occasionally employed, in former times.

For the age of *had*, for "should have," and that of *would have*, see Mr. T. I. Kington Oliphant's *Old and Middle English*, pp. 131, 177.

²⁸ The time when *had*, *went*, etc., long potential, began to be used quasi-aoristically was, I suspect, much more remote than I am now prepared to show it to have been.

"It semeth that it were skylful [*i. e.*, reasonable], and also necessary, that al these wardeyns *wente* to their pilgrims, for to kepe them redily fro malice of their enemyes." Lydgate (?), *The Booke*, etc. (1413, *ut sup.*), p. 7.

"If thou burnest blood and fat together to please God, what other thing dost thou make of God than one that *had* lust to smell to burning flotess [*i. e.*, scum]?" Tyndale, *Expositions*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 215.

"And, when he saith it is sin to believe too much, I say we *had* the more need to take heed what we believe, and to search God's word the more diligently, that we believe neither too much nor too little." *Id.*, *An Answer*, etc. (1530), in *Works* (Parker Society), vol. III, p. 95.

Had need will be treated of at length, before I shall have done. In this place I adduce a few passages in which, as just above, the expression is modified.

"Item, ther be dyvers of your tenantrys at Mauteby that *had* gret ned for to be reparyed ; at [for "yet" ?] the tenaunts be so por that they ar not a [*i. e.* of]

attached to the word topically thus accepted, that *have liefer*, as if akin to a superfluity, was at no time in very great vogue.

Considering that the foregoing exposition, or the more essential part of it, cannot but be known to many students of older English, it is unexpected to be told, by Mr. Oliphant, that the verb in *had liefer* "reminds us of the Latin *mihi est*." "

Closely allied to *had liefer* is *had as lief*, "should consider as equally acceptable," "would consider as equally acceptable." " This expression, though, possibly, not so old as *had liefer*, is yet of venerable antiquity." The modern *would as lief*, like *would*

power to, repair hem." Margaret Paston (1465), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. II, p. 176.

Bp. Joseph Hall wrote, in 1605: "Those which seek to mend the pace of time, spur a running horse. I *had* more need to redeem it with double care and labour, then to seek how to sell it for nothing." *Works*, p. 41 (ed. 1648).

Also, in 1610, regarding a clergyman, as such: "No man *had* such need to keep a strict meane." *Ib.*, p. 314.

"They that worke hard all day *had* more need to rest then dance all night." William Prynne, *Histriomastix* (1633), p. 255.

The annexed passages, again from Tyndale, are also worthy of consideration.

"Where the officers be negligent, and the woman not able to put herself to penance, if she *went* where she is not known, and there marry, God is the God of mercy." *Expositions*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 52.

"For, if I were bound to do, or believe, under pain of the loss of my soul, anything that *were* not written, nor depended of that which is written, what help me the scripture that is written?" *An Answer*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 26.

⁴⁰ *Old and Middle English*, p. 442. Professor F. J. Child writes: "I hadde lever = *j'aimerais mieux*; 'hadde' being, of course, in the subjunctive. Germ. *lieb haben*, 'to like,' is much the same." *Memoirs of the American Academy*, New Series, vol. IX, p. 312. The French equivalent here given is one of sense only, not one of syntax. *Lieber haben*, in some constructions, is not merely "much the same" as *had liefer*, but exactly correspondent to it; and the adjective *lieb* in *lieb haben* similarly answers to our *lief* in "had as lief."

Prof. George L. Craik, in his excellent *English of Shakespeare* (ed. of 1857, p. 89), explicitly teaches that *I had liefer* means "I should hold it preferable."

"I *had as lief go* as stay" originally imported "I should consider going to be equally acceptable with staying"; and, afterwards, its *had* was modified into a species of aorist. There is, in the phrase just instanced, more positive implication of conscious inclination than there is in "I *had liefer go*," "I *had rather go*."

⁴¹ First I may quote for it the *Chester Plays* (about 1328?), pp. 48, 72:

"In fayth, Noye, I *hade as leffe* thou slepte."

"I *hade as leve* my selfe to die, As thou, my deare darlinge."

"I *had as lefe be* in the wood." Anon. (*temp.* Hen. VI?), in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, vol. I, p. 3.

liefer, which is by no means of recent birth,⁴² is justified by signi-

"The kyng, . . . saying that he *had as leef sette* his coroune biside hym, as to se him were a cardinals hatte," etc. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester (1440), in *Wars of the English in France*, vol. II (1864), p. 441.

"Sum man *had as lefe to dye*." Anon. (*temp.* Hen. VI), in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, vol. I, p. 74.

"I *had as lef be killid* of the in Ingland, as of a Sarasine in Surre." Rev. John Capgrave, *Chronicle of England* (about 1464), p. 141.

"They *had as leffe*, al most, *be tenants* to the Devell as to the Duke." Margaret Paston (1465), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. II, p. 194.

"We *had as leef to departe* from oure lyves." Sir Thomas Malory (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 366. See also vol. II, p. 154.

Further quotations might be given from the *Interlude of the Four Elements* (1510?), p. 18 (ed. 1848): Mary, Queen of France (1514), in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, etc., First Series (ed. 1825), vol. I, p. 118: Lord Berners, *Froissart* (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 342; vol. II, pp. 186, 324: Tyndale, *An Answer*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 7: Sir Francis Bryan (1531), in *State Papers*, vol. VII (1849), p. 278: Sir Thomas More, *Apologye* (1533), fol. 224 v., 226 r.: Earl of Sussex and others (1540), in *State Papers*, vol. VIII, p. 302: Sir John Cheke (1554), in *Nugae Antiquae* (ed. 1804), vol. I, p. 49: Edward More (1557), in Utterson's *Select Pieces*, etc. (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 114: Sir Thomas Wilson, *The Arte of Rhetorike* (1553), fol. 71 (ed. 1567): Abp. Parker (*ut sup.*, 1573), p. 428: Anon., *New Custome* (1573), Act II, Scene III.

And so I might go on and refer to a great number of Elizabethan writers, including Bp. Pilkington, Thomas Nash, Lyly, Shakespeare, Chapman, Ben Jonson, etc., followed by Bp. Joseph Hall, Robert Burton, Dr. Peter Heylin, Sir Th. Browne, William Cartwright, Dr. Th. Fuller, Sir Roger L'Estrange, Aubrey, Sir William Temple, and many of their contemporaries and successors, among the latter of whom are Swift, Samuel Richardson, Goldsmith, "Junius," R. B. Sheridan, Gen. Conway. For still more recent patrons of *as lief*, and Horne Tooke's remark on *lief*, etc., see my *Doctor Indoctus* (1880), p. 50.

Have as lief, for a reason suggested where I discuss *have liefer*, is very much less common than *had as lief*. Some quotations for it follow:

"And thus a frere or a prest *hath as leve to be* seurerly a confessour of a lord or of a lady, as to be a simple bischop." Wicliffe, *English Works*, etc. (1880), p. 333. One MS. is said to have "mych leve."

"I *have as leef* thy leeing as thi soth saw." Anon., *Reply of Friar Dawe Topias* (1401), in *Political Poems and Songs* (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 87.

"Happen what may happe, I *have as leef* to abyde my fortune as to seeke it and not fynde it." Mary, Queen of Scots (1568), in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, etc., First Series (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 249.

I have lief was preceded by *me is lief*. "Let nothing to the *be lef*, Which to another man is gref." Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, vol. I, p. 370. And see note 20, *supra*.

⁴³ I recollect none but modern instances of *would as lief*. To this the older expression is changed by Thomas Sheridan, where Swift writes, in the Conclusion to *A Tale of a Tub*: "I *had as lïve* he may be the person as Congreve."

fications of *lief*, adjective and adverb," that is to say, "willing" and "willingly," which I have not before had in view.

Here are oldish quotations for *would liefer*, with one for *would liefest*:

"But they that *wolde lever* be in the quier," etc. *Myroure of Our Ladye* (before 1450), p. 29. See also p. 264.

"They *lever wolde dye* folys than byde a strype." Rev. Alexander Barclay, *Shyp of Folys* (1509), vol. I, p. 257 (ed. 1874).

"He *wolde lever dye* a marter." Rev. William Roy and Jerome Barlowe, *Rede me and be nott wrothe* (1528), p. 42 (Mr. Arber's edition).

"Now see whether of these two conditions you *would leaver have*." Rev. Richard Bernard, *Terence in English* (ed. 1598), p. 213.

"Sir, my trust is, ye will not judge me unconstant for this universitie, in choice of my living, but rather one that *wold levest live* as I find myself fittest to serve my prince and my contrye." Roger Ascham (1553), in *Original Letters*, etc. (Camden Society, 1843), p. 18.

Compare the German: "Ich *will lieber* ein armer Mann werden, als erröthen vor ihm."

"The Almanz alle wer *lefe* be suorn to be Inglis" Robert Mannyng (*ut sup.*), p. 257. And see pp. 246, 339. For *lief*, "glad," "willing," as here, see also *William of Palerne* (*ut sup.*), l. 517: *Generydes* (about 1440), l. 5507: *Religious Pieces*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 80. Already in the Anglo-Saxon *Blickling Homilies*, p. 109, we have "inwit to *leof*," "too fond of guile." Chaucer's "I am nought *leef* to gabbe," in vol. I, p. 204, *Poetical Works*, is rendered, by Tyrwhitt: "I am not *pleased* to prate; I take no pleasure in prating."

Lief, joined with *loth*, "unpleasant," besides meaning "pleasant," as in Chaucer, vol. I, p. 147, often signified "willing," "consenting," "pleased," "glad"; *loth* bearing its present sense. For proofs, see Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, vol. I, p. 234; vol. III, pp. 13, 50: a poem called *On the Death of Edward III* (1377), and the *Libel of English Policy* (1436), in *Political Poems*, etc. (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 215, and vol. II, p. 162: *Townley Mysteries* (*ut sup.*), p. 71: *The Seven Sages* (15th century?), l. 1881: Skelton, *Poetical Works* (ed. 1843), vol. I, p. 309. See also Barclay's *Shyp of Folys*, vol. II, p. 103 (ed. 1874), the *lefe* at which place the editor wrongly defines by "agreeable."

In an erroneously explained passage in *Sir Gawayne*, etc. (*ut sup.*), l. 1251, *liefer* is equivalent to "gladder." And so it is in the *Townley Mysteries* (*ut sup.*), pp. 37, 40, 89. The first of these three passages runs: "Nay, yit were I *leyffer* my child were dede." Alexander Barclay has: "Sylla . . . sayd that he was sent from Marius, the consul, to enquire if he wold *lever* peace, or war." Translation of Sallust (*ut sup.*), fol. 83 v.

Of *liefest*, "gladdest," there is an instance in the last extract in the note immediately preceding.

Be leyf, by *leyff*, in the *Townley Mysteries* (*ut sup.*), pp. 164, 275, has been interpreted "farewell." Add *be lyve*, found in Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's *Remains*, etc., vol. I, p. 25.

Uneven, in the *Chester Plays* (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 10, looks like an error for *unleve*, "unwilling," "loth."

Before dismissing idioms in which *lief* and *liefer* play a part, I have to speak of a notable catachresis found in connexion with the

For the adverb *lief*, meaning "affectionately," "willingly," "voluntarily," "gladly," "fain," see *Story of Genesis and Exordus* (*ut sup.*), l. 49: *Havelok the Dane* (*ut sup.*), ll. 1888, 2606: *Morte Arthure* (*ut sup.*), l. 1035: *Townley Mysteries* (*ut sup.*), p. 243: *Ludus Coventriae* (*ut sup.*), p. 267. "It is death to doe it: as *leeft* die as seek." Bp. Andrewes (1618), *XCVI Sermons* (ed. 1661), p. 111.

The comparative of this *lief* is synonymous with *sooner*, *rather*, in their secondary sense. "But *lever* than this worldes good She wolde have wist how that it stood." Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, vol. II, p. 46. See also vol. II, p. 92. "The Pope myght *lewyr* wyshe to wype . . . by lissens, with hys brevys, then to send them," etc. Sir John Hackett (1533), in *State Papers*, vol. VII, p. 532. See also the Rev. Thomas Howes (1454), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. I, p. 307: Tyndale, *Expositions*, etc. (*ut sup.*), pp. 270, 275: George Cavendish (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 329.

As will be seen shortly, *had* was once saddled with a confusing variety of significations. This fact and others being remembered, perhaps it is not wholly certain that, in the following passage, *liefer* is not an adverb: "He seide *lever* he hadde lose the lesser frende than the greete frende." Richard Calle (1464), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. II, p. 161. And it may, I think, even be questionable how we are to take the same word in this verse of Spenser's: "For *lever* had I die then see his deadly face." However, the philological consciousness of any time but our own is a matter of most delicate handling.

Liefest, "most gladly," "fainest," occurs in Gower: "Alle women *levest* wolde He sovereign of mannes love." *Conf. Amant.*, vol. I, p. 96. It signifies "most willingly," in some anonymous verses *On the Deposition of Richard II* (1399), in *Political Poems and Songs* (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 372.

As has been pointed out, *lief*, "beloved," came to mean "loving," etc. In other words, at first objective, it got to be subjective, to boot. And this kind of change is by no means unexampled. Consider *dearly* in "dearly beloved," and then in "loving dearly." Sentiments may be *tender*, but not after the manner of a laudable beefsteak. "*Preferable* esteem," for "esteem marking preference," and like phrases, abound in Samuel Richardson and some other authors of the last century. Again, the poet Gray has, in his second letter to West: "Do not think that I make a merit of writing to you *preferably* to a good supper." Lydgate has *credible* for *credulous*; and, in 1447, the Rev. H. Webber used *desiderable* for *desirous*. Bp. Fisher wrote, in 1509: "Our Lord hath herde my prayer, and also *acceptably* taken up my petycyon." *English Works*, Part I (1876), p. 21. Bp. Richard Mountagu and Feltham, respectively, make *disconsolate* qualify *darkness* and *misery*. *Comfortable* now has "enjoying ease" as one of its significations; and a phthisical patient, equally with his disease, is spoken of as *consumptive*.

On the other hand, subjective adjectives become objective. *Curious* and *suspicious*, in "a *curious* machine," "a *suspicious* circumstance," have many a fellow. Bp. Bale and James Sanford substitute *desirous* for *desirable*, just as Tacitus puts *credulus* for *credibilis*. See, for further germane particulars, my *Modern English*, pp. 167, 168, foot-note; and *On English Adjectives in -able*, etc., p. 77, foot-note 4.

latter of these words. Chaucer supplies several examples of it, as in:

"*Him hadde wel lever . . . That sche hadde had,*" etc.

"I dar wel say *hire hadde lever* a knyf," etc.

"Al *had hir lever han had* a knave childe," etc.

"*Him had lever* himselfe to *mordre and dye,*" etc.⁴⁶

For all the four passages, as here read, there is excellent manuscript authority; and, as might be expected, the peculiarity which marks them is repeatedly paralleled in our older literature.⁴⁶ We

⁴⁶ *Poetical Works* (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 206; vol. II, pp. 39, 138; vol. VIII, p. 91. Mr. Bell has, in the second passage, *sche*; but *hire* (her) is the reading of several MSS., which, in the other passages, also, have the pronoun in the nominative.

Him seems. "it seems to him," I speak of elsewhere. But the same words have been used for "he seems."

"*Hym seemes* wearye on his waye"; "Greater then thou *hym seemes* to be." *Chester Plays* (*ut sup.*), vol. II, pp. 51, 75.

"This lady was gyrd with a swerd with a thwong, al with gold apparaylled. *Hyr semed* wel a lady of ful huge estate, as duchesse, or pryncesse; ne none was, that sawe hyr, that he ne tremblyd for drede." Lydgate (?), *The Booke of the Pylgremage*, etc. (1413, *ut sup.*), pp. 36, 37.

She seemed, used with equal lawlessness, occurs in the same work. See note 65, *infra*.

⁴⁶ In Mr. Utterson's *Select Pieces*, etc. (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 139, there occurs, in *Syr Degore*, an anonymous poem assigned to the beginning of the fourteenth century:

"*Me had lever* than all my kyngdome here,
That nowe is seased into my hande,
That I were fayre out of this lande."

For two obscure passages, containing, respectively, *him had liefer* and *liefer had him*, see the anonymous *Richard Coer de Lion* (*temp.* Ed. I?), l. 3502 (in Weber's *Metrical Romances*), and the *Romans of Partenay* (about 1500-1520), l. 3205.

It is in place to adduce Shakespeare, *Richard II*, Act III, Scene III:

"*Me rather had my heart might feel* your love,
Than my unpleas'd eye see your courtesy."

I may add, from the *Ludus Coventriae* (*ut sup.*), p. 274:

"On of you hath betrayed me,
That at my borde with me hath ete:
Bettyr it hadde hym for to be
Both unborn and unbegete."

Elsewhere, however, than in such phrases as those now before us, *had* has been used, carelessly enough, sometimes for *had been*, and sometimes for *were*, etc.

have, in them, a confusion of the ancient *him* or *her were liefer* and the later *he* or *she had liefer*. Of very slight weight, if of any at all, is the suggestion, that, in *him had liefer*, for instance, *him* is to be taken as an exclamation, with an ellipsis before it, and another after it; as if the sense were, "consider him: he had liefer."

I now proceed to investigate expressions of which "*I had rather go than stay*" and "*I had rather that he stayed*" are samples.

"I aunsuerd, yff my maister had, before the maryage, be laboured, hyt *had* moche esyer to bryng aboute then now." William Worcester (1456), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. I, p. 433.

"At hes comyng, he undrestode ye were not there; and, if *ye had*, my Lorde desired you to come and spoken with hym." Richard Calle (1461), *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 55. And so Margaret Paston (1465), *ibid.*, vol. II, p. 208.

Samuel Pepys wrote, in 1661: "The Benevolence proves so little, and an occasion of so much discontent everywhere, that it *had* better it had never been set up." *Diary*, etc. (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 346.

According to a lection which, all circumstances weighed, may be the one we should accept, Shakespeare has, in the *Second Part of King Henry IV*, Act V, Scene IV: "Thou *hadst* better thou hadst struck thy mother, thou paper-faced villain."

"I *hadde* had goode inowe, And never more *have* needed to goon to the ploughe." Lydgate, *Minor Poems* (1840), p. 190.

"Other wyse, the sayd kyng *had* not so sone *have* returnyd in to Castyl." John Style (1509), in *Memorials of King Henry VII*, p. 433. Style's *had* is for *would*, or else implies necessity.

"*Had* not he *have* be, we shold never have retorned." Sir Thomas Malory (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 152.

"For, *had* nott yit that danger *have* been, I mygh [*sic*] yit have ben at home," etc. Sir John Paston (1475), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. III, p. 139. And so William Wayte (1450), *ibid.*, vol. I, p. 151; and often throughout the work.

"Cleanthes might well have fail'd in his judgment, *had* not accident *have* helped him to the obscured truth." Owen Feltham, *Resolves*, etc. (ed. 1696), p. 37.

"By all lyklyhode, yf any stuf or pouaire of Englissh pouple *had* be here, he *might* never *have had* escaped, by reason, untaken." Bp. Bekynton (1442), in *Official Correspondence*, etc., vol. II, p. 213.

"For the which the seid Sir John, . . . *would have* largely *have* recompensed." William Paston (1482?), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. III, p. 297.

Such extracts might be multiplied to any extent, with others exhibiting *hath* for *hath been*, *might* for *might be*, *would* for *would have*, *should* for *should be*, etc.

In the Scotch "he had obliged to go," the peculiarity, as I am informed by Dr. J. A. H. Murray, is not in its *had*, but in its *obliged*, which is to be taken adverbially, in the sense of "perforce."

Rathe, *rather*, *rathest*, "quick," "speedy," "hasty," "early," "quicker," "speedier," "prior," "former," "older," etc., were long in use, as adjectives; and so they were, as adverbs, signifying "soon," "sooner," "soonest," etc., etc.⁴⁷

If, owing to the natural prepossession entertained for what is established in existence, the adjective *rather*, like *first* and *foremost*, acquired, in succession to the sense of preceding in time, that of greater eligibility, there is no cause for surprise.

Robert of Gloucester⁴⁸ has "deye we *rather* wyth honour"; and Bp. Pecock⁴⁹ writes: "Certis, it is miche more likeli that, bi the stoon, the persoon of Peter schulde be undirstonde, *rather* than the persoon of Crist, or eny other thing than the persoon of Peter." While, in these passages, *rather* no longer points to comparative chronological position, it is, in the first of them, subjective, and, in the second, objective, and to be rendered, in turn, "preferently" and "preferably." In correspondence to the adverb thus altered

⁴⁷ *Rathe*, as a literary word, was falling into desuetude, when Milton sang of "the *rathe* primrose"; and it was the same with *rather* and *rathest*, in all their acceptations specified in the text. This being the case, the subjoined quotations are not without interest.

"Intending to aske her what shee made there at so *rathe* an houre," etc. James Hayward, *The Banish'd Virgin* (1635), p. 191.

"First, I will begin with strawberies, as the first and *rathest* fruit in the beginning of summer." William Vaughan, *Directions for Health* (revised ed. of 1633), p. 55.

Bishop Sanderson, in 1647, used *rathest*, as an adverb, for "soonest." See his *Works* (ed. 1854), vol. I, p. 353. In the edition of 1681, vol. II, p. 198, *rarest* is given, by mistake.

"God makes no difference betweene the *rathnesse* and *latenesse* of time." James Hayward (as just above), p. 220.

It has not, to my knowledge, been recognized, by our recent lexicographers and glossarists, that, equally with the culinary *rare*,—a contraction of *rather*,—*rathe* has borne the sense of "underdone." Littleton, in his *Latine Dictionary* (1684), renders *ovum sorbile* by "a *rathe* egg" and "a poached or *rath*-roasted egg." *Rere* I pass by.

Rather *er*, "sooner than," is seen in Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, vol. III, p. 45; and *rather* *or*, the same, in the notes to the *Chester Plays* (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 209.

"Our *rathers*" was used by Palsgrave (1530), for "our *forefathers*."

Wicliffe has the adjective *rathermore*, "former."

Likely grew from *like*; and *rathely*, adjective and adverb, was, of old, now and then put for *rathe*. The adverbs *rathelike* and *radly*, also, are found.

⁴⁸ *Chronicle* (about 1300), Hearne's ed. of 1810, p. 397.

⁴⁹ *Repressor* (about 1456), p. 441. See also pp. 106, 111, 112, 392, 423, 516.

in meaning,⁵⁰ the adjective *rather* would, of course, be synonymous with "preferent" and "preferable." As one with "preferent," it is unknown to me; but there is evidence, though it has escaped the attention of philologists, that it has actually been employed to import "preferable," "to be preferred," "better," "more important."

An anonymous poem, supposed to date before 1430, contains the couplet:

"It is *rathir* to bileeve the waginge wiinde
Than the chaungeable world that makith men so blinde."⁵¹

Bp. Pecock is next to be adduced: "And, certis, in such aventure, it were *rather* to truste to the conscience and discrecion of him which is in state of a reuler, than to the conscience of hem whiche ben in the state of hem that ben to be reulid."⁵²

Then comes Lord Berners, who contributes: "For I had [*i. e.*, should deem] *rather* the welth [*i. e.*, weal, welfare] of hym that hath maryed my doughter, than of hym that never dyd nothyng for me, though I have maryed his suster."⁵³

Sir Philip Sidney has: "Poesie . . . hath *rather* be troubled in the net with Mars, then enjoy the homelie quiet of Vulcan," etc.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ *Ratherest* is put, by Shakespeare, into the mouth of the pedantic Holofernes. But the word has been used in all gravity.

"For, if you otherwyse behave your selfe in the reading of it, it shall anon lose the vertue and quicknesse in stirring and moving of your soule, when you woulde *ratherest* have it sturred." Bp. Fisher (1535), *English Works*, Part I (*ut sup.*), p. 352.

"When you have most plentie, then *ratherest* provide against wante." William Barkar, *The Bookes of Xenophon*, etc. (1567), sig. E 4 v.

Among living provincial substitutes for *rather*, registered in various glossaries, are *ratherly*, *retherly*, *ratherlins*, *ratherlings*.

⁵¹ *Hymns to the Virgin and Christ*, etc. (1867), p. 86.

⁵² *Repressor* (*ut sup.*), p. 393.

⁵³ *Froissart* (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 41. Compare Lord Berners's "*had rather* the welth" with "*have lever* that love," "*hadde levere* a ribaudye," "*have hit lever*," "*had lever* . . . A day of pardon," and "*I had hym lever*," at p. 293, *supra*, text and foot-notes 29, 30. In connexion with the passage cited in the text, that which follows is, on several accounts, noteworthy. "What is that realme that sleeth theim that wold their welth, and are angry with theim that woulde helpe their yll?" Lord Berners, *The Golden Boke*, etc. (1534), sig. Hh 8 r (ed. 1546).

⁵⁴ *An Apologie for Poetrie* (1581), p. 61 (Mr. Arber's edition).

Samuel Pepys wrote, in 1667: "But her mother, by command of the Queen-mother, thought *rather* to bring her into England; and the King of France did give her a jewell," etc.⁶⁶

Also, the next year: "But it was denied, so furious they are against this bill: and thereby a great blow, either given to the King or Presbyters, or, which is the *rather* of the two, to the House itself," etc.⁶⁷

From an anonymous translation I take: "To have *rather* be indifferent in a sublime employment, than excellent in an indifferent, is a desire rendered excusable by generosity."⁶⁷

These extracts⁶⁸ being scattered over a space of two hundred and fifty years, or thereabouts, no doubt the discovery of many others to match them, belonging to that period, would reward continued research. Nor is the conjecture unreasonable, that, *had rather* apart, the infrequency of occurrence, in writing, of the special signification of *rather*⁶⁹ which they exemplify, may illustrate the fortune of a colloquialism. Quite possibly, the history of this *rather* may be compared with that of the word *palate*, in its sense of "uvula," so familiar to every American. *Palate*, thus understood, though a deviation from the living speech of the old country, classical and provincial alike, may fairly be inferred, from forth-

⁶⁶ *Diary*, etc. (*ut sup.*), vol. IV, p. 313. "Thought *rather*" I take to mean, here, "judged it to be *better*"; but I am not blind to the possibility, the bare possibility, of wresting another sense from the words.

⁶⁷ *Diary*, etc. (*ut sup.*), vol. V, p. 184. This passage was indicated to me, before I had read Pepys with an eye to his language, by Dr. J. A. H. Murray, whom I have to thank for the quotation next following, also. Both are from the vast magazine of extracts destined for the great *English Dictionary* now in preparation.

⁶⁸ *Gracian's Courtier's Manual Oracle, done into English* (1685), p. 18.

⁶⁹ Those which follow, as being, at least at first sight, less cogent, are assigned a subordinate position:

"For I had *rather* then any good, that this kinde of people were driven sum-where oute of my sight," etc. Ralph Robinson, Translation of *Utopia* (1556), p. 52 (Mr. Arber's edition).

"Before God, I had *rather* then an angell [the coin so called] I had chosen some other." Thomas Deloney, *Thomas of Reading* (1632), p. 24 (ed. 1827).

Not wholly irrelevant is even this: "I had *rather* anything, almost, than that you should strain yourselves," etc. Swift (1711), *Works* (ed. 1778), vol. XIII, p. 241.

⁷⁰ The adverb *rather*, "preferably," may have forerun the adjective to which it answers. Still, *rather*, as it was of old an adjective, and one bearing senses from which its later sense could be readily developed, differs very widely, as importing "preferable," from the adjectives *often*, *seldom*, and *soon*, which are, without dispute, transmutations of adverbs.

coming facts,⁶⁰ to have belonged, at least for some time, to the accepted vocabulary of educated Englishmen. The dictionaries of our day will be explored for it in vain.

And now it is submitted whether *had rather*, in "we *had rather go* than stay,"⁶¹ was not, with those who originally used the

Except to very recent dictionaries, *rather*, "somewhat," is as unknown as *rather*, "preferable." See p. 282, note 5, *supra*.

To enumerate the various shades of meaning which have attached to the adverb *rather*, is beyond the scope of my present paper.

⁶⁰ "The *palat* of his mouth was down, when hee lay upon his *pallet*." Richard Hodges, *The Plainest Directions for the True Writing of English*, etc. (1649), p. 15. Hodges speaks of the two words italicized as "altogether alike in sound."

"My cold and pain in my head increasing, and the *palate* of my mouth falling, I was in great pain all night." Samuel Pepys (1664), *Diary*, etc. (*ut sup.*), vol. III, p. 49.

Adam Littleton (*ut sup.*) explains *columella*, the medical term, as "the swelling of the uvula, or falling down of the *palate* of the mouth." Guy Miede, in his *Great French Dictionary* (1687, 1688), gives, as the definition of *luette*, "the *palate*, or uvula, a little piece of spongy flesh in the root of the roof of the mouth"; and he also has: "The *palate* of the mouth down, *la luette abbatue*."

In various English dialects, the *uvula* is now called the *kecker*, the *pin* of the throat, etc.

⁶¹ "For the poer man *had rather have* a 100 marks in hand than a 100 pound by any assignement," etc. Sir John Fortescue (about 1471), *Works* (1869), p. 454.

"Ellys, by my trowthe, I *had rather that ye never maryed* in yowyr lyffe." Margaret Paston (1478), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. III, p. 231.

"Yett *haid* I *rether dye*, For his sake, ons agayne." Anon. (15th century), in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, vol. I, p. 72.

"For ye sayd ye *had rather lose* the towne." William Joddopkan (about 1481), in the *Plumpton Correspondence* (Camden Society), p. 42. *Had* is a preterite here.

"I trow you *had rather have* it of my owne hand," etc. German Pole (about 1499), *ibid.*, p. 140. Also *id.* (1504), *ibid.*, p. 193.

"For i *hadde rather have* no parte off hys goodds," etc. Dean Richard Pace (1513?), in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, etc. (*ut sup.*), Third Series (1846), vol. I, p. 176.

"They *had rather* that their lorde therle shulde take to his wyfe the kyng of Englandes doughter," etc. Lord Berners, *Froissart* (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 168.

"Of trouth, if it laie in my handes to do, I *had rather gyve* lyfe to a simple oxe than to a malicious ideot." *Id.*, *The Golden Boke*, etc. (1534), sig. N 1 r. (ed. 1546). Similar to these two passages there are some forty others in the works from which they are taken.

expression, simply substituted for *had liefer*, as consciously an exact synonym of it. Indeed, the attitude of suggestion, on this

"They do all things of a good zeal, they say: they love so well, that they *had rather burn* you than that you should have fellowship with Christ." Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 43. See also pp. 101 and 523.

"I *had rather have spent* a crowne." Roger Ascham, *Toxophilus* (1545), p. 28 (Mr. Arber's edition). And at p. 30. Also *id.*, *The Scholemaster* (1563-1568), pp. 51, 78, 131, 159 (Mr. Arber's edition).

"I *had rather referre* that to Abell, Adams sonne." Thomas Langley, Abridged Translation of Polydore Vergil (1546), fol. 66 (ed. 1551).

"I *had rather louse* it." Robert Savill (1546?), in the *Plumpton Correspondence* (*ut sup.*), p. 251.

"If Marcus Attilius Regulus *had rather lose* his life then," etc. Sir Thomas Wilson, *The Rule of Reason* (1551), fol. 33 (ed. 1567). Here *had* is a preterite. See also fol. 80 (*bis*).

"No, I *had rather be torne* in pieces, and slaine." Rev. Nicholas Udall, *Roister Doister* (before 1553), Act IV, Scene V.

"Let them, therefore, have him in admiracion, honour him, reverence him, folowe him, who so ever *hadde rather perishe* than to be saved." J. Olde, *Anti-christ* (1556), fol. 122. See also fol. 165, 182, 187.

"I *had rather be good* then wilie." Ralph Robinson, Translation of *Utopia* (*ut sup.*), p. 23. See also pp. 24, 38, 62, 84, 90, 92, 98, 121, 140 (*bis*), 142.

"They *hadde rather obey* him then you." William Barkar, *The Bookes of Xenophon*, etc. (1567), sig. T 8 v. See also sig. Y 7 r.

"They *had rayther suffer* destruction to overtake them," etc. Stephen Gosson, *The Schoole of Abuse*, etc. (1579), p. 65 (Mr. Arber's edition). And see pp. 68, 73 (*bis*).

"Plato, therefore, whose authoritie I *had much rather* justly conster then unjustly resist," etc. Sir Philip Sidney, *An Apologie for Poetrie* (1581), p. 58 (Mr. Arber's edition). See also pp. 24, 36, 59.

"I *had rather die* then suffer so long time . . . I *had rather die* then to tarrie upon the same." Nicholas Lichfield, *The First Booke of the Historie*, etc. (1582), fol. 40 v.

"So they *had rather say*," etc. Rev. Gregory Martin (1582), in Fulke, about to be quoted, p. 249. And see pp. 422, 527, 569.

"So I *had rather call* them." Rev. Dr. William Fulke, *A Defense*, etc. (1583, *ut sup.*), p. 72. And in ten other places.

"I *had rather seate* myselfe there," etc. Sir Walter Raleigh (1584), in Bliss's *Letters*, etc. (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 521.

"We . . . *had rather die* than turne from the lawes of our God." T. B., *The French Academie* (1586, *ut sup.*), p. 92. And so twenty-three times again.

"*Had I rather now laugh*, and heereafter weepe, then now weepe, and heereafter laugh, not for dayes, or yeares, but for ever and ever?" Bp. Babington, *A Profitable Exposition*, etc. (1588), p. 127 (ed. 1615).

"Yet *had I rather any thing befall* me, then loose my sonne." Rev. Richard Bernard, *Terence* (*ut sup.*), p. 249.

point, is warrantably changed to that of contention, when it is seen that the infinitive after *had rather* was frequently introduced along with the rhematic sign;⁶³ a circumstance which definitively excludes

Noteworthy is the vulgarism in the following: "But I *had rather have* your rome as your companie." Anon., *Marriage of Wit and Wisdom* (1579?), p. 27 (ed. 1846).

"*Had* the Apostles *rather a man should perish* of famine then be releived of his owne?" Edward Brerewood (died 1613), *A Second Treatise of the Sabbath* (1632), p. 17. Here, with some probability, *had* is preteritive.

In the *Chester Plays* (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 166, is the line: "Whether *had* you *rather have* paine, or blesse?" Those plays are referred to about 1328, but are printed as they were transcribed in 1592; and the editor remarks, in vol II, p. 210, that "the persons who made the various copies from the original MS. of the *Chester Plays* took great liberties with the text." Hence I attach very little credit to the evidence of those plays, that *had rather* was known in the fourteenth century. The earliest date at which I have found it is recorded at the beginning of this note; a date which ill comports either with Dr. Johnson's opinion, or with Dr. Crombie's assertion, as to its age, already cited in this paper.

⁶³ They *had rather to be taxed* yerely, to the halfe of theyr substances, than to be under the handes of the Englisshemen." Lord Berners, *Froissart* (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 266. See also vol. I, p. 562.

"I *had rather to bee* Cato," etc. *Id.*, *The Golden Boke*, etc. (*ut sup.*), sig. L 7 r. See also sig. C 6 r., O 4 r., Dd 2 r.

"I thincke thou *haddest rather* alyve to be flayne." Anon., *Thersydes* (1537).

"*Rather had* they to dwell still in the earthly beggary," etc. Bp Bale (1550), *Select Works* (1849), p. 439.

"He counted it much better for himself, and *had rather to be loosed* than to live." Bp. Nicholas Ridley (1555), *Works* (1841), p. 425. *Had*, pretty certainly, is a preterite here.

"They love no more strawe; they *had rather to fast*." Thomas Tusser, *A Hundreth Good Peyntes of Husbandrie* (1557), st. 40.

"And, for so much (quoth he) as thou *haddest rather to conveye* awaye the rebell and traytour to our gods, then deliver him up," etc. Rev. Dr. Thomas Stapleton, *The History*, etc. (*ut sup.*), fol. 17.

"I *had rather . . . to use* the common accustomed speache of all men, then the odious new termes of a fewe." *Id.*, *A Fortresse of the Faith*, etc. (1565), fol. 3. See also fol. 29.

"The like is reported, in divers histories, of the Grecians at this day, who doe hate so much the name and dominion of the Latines, as they *had rather to endure* all the miseries which dayly they suffer under the Turke, for their religion, and otherwise, then, by calling for aid from the west, to hazard the subjection to the said Latines." Rev. Robert Parsons, *Leycesters Commonwealth* (1584), p. 6 (ed. 1641).

"Yet, alas! how much *rather had* you, I know, to have still enjoyed, then thus supplied his life!" Rev. John Gaule, *A Defiance to Death* (1630), The Epistle Dedicatorie.

the supposition that *had* there ungrammatically supplanted an auxiliary. If instances of "we *have rather* go," and the like, are extremely rare, it is, I surmise, because *have liefer* was fast waning

"Wherefore he contracted with all the graziers and rich farmers thereabouts, who *had rather* to give him, every quarter, a certain sum of money, then to be liable to those thefts and dangers, both by day and night." Anon., *Robin Hood* (1662), p. 7 (ed. 1827). *Had* is here in the past tense.

Before *had rather* arose, *would rather* had obtained for ages. Its *rather*, besides being an adverb, is subjective.

As preterite of the notional verb *will*, *would* used to be connected with a following verb by *to*.

"Elles we *wolde* truly to have *had* tyme," etc. John Shillingford (1448), *Letters and Papers* (Camden Society), p. 55. See also pp. 40, 47, etc., etc.

"Jac Napes *wolde*, one the see, a maryner to ben." Anon. (about 1450), in *Political Poems*, etc. (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 232.

"It semyth, be my moders langage, that she *wold* never so fayn to have be *delveryd* of her as she woll now." Margaret Paston (1453), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. I, p. 251.

"It was uncertayne, it was hyd, what the wysdome of God *wolde* to be *understande* by this aspercyon or sprenklynge of blode." Bp. Fisher (1509), *English Works*, Part I (1876), p. 110.

"Who that hath wisdom *would* rather deafe to be, Then dayly to heare such vile enormitie." Rev. Alexander Barclay, *Egloges* (*ut sup.*), sig. B 2 r. (ed. 1570).

"He thought I *wolde* not, for a thowsand pounds, to ren, onlesse I were as well trymmed as I have byn in tymes past." Edward, Duke of Buckingham (1516 to 1521), in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, etc., Third Series (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 216.

"Here I *would* not More to *flit* from his literal plain sense." Tyndale (1533), in *Works* (Parker Society), vol. III, p. 252.

"Therefore it were no marvaile that Saincte Frauncis *wolde* his brethern to be obedient to the Bisshoppe of Rome, being their prelate." Roland Lee and Thomas Bedyll (1534), in *Letters on the Suppression of the Monasteries* (Camden Society), p. 43.

"The goddes ymmortall *wold* hym to bee borne into this world." Rev. Nicholas Udall (before 1557), in *Original Letters*, etc. (Camden Society), p. 5.

"Certaine Jewes, hearing Christians swearing in most fearful maner, as if they meant to have pulled Christ out of Heaven, said they wondred they *would* to outrage him, if they did beleewe that he died for them." Anon., *A World of Wonders* (1607), p. 39.

"I *would* rather never to have light, than not to have it always: I *would* rather not to have light, than not to communicate it." Bp. Joseph Hall (died 1656), *Works* (ed. 1837, etc.), vol. XI, p. 98. See also p. 100 of the same vol.

It may be noted that the past participle *would*, whose existence "Webster's" *Dictionary* denies, occurs not only in Chaucer and Lord Berners, but in Dr. Donne's *Auncient History of the Septuagint*, p. 216 (ed. 1633). Moreover, Bp. Sanderson, in 1620, used the substantives *woulder* and *woulding*.

to obsolescence, when *had rather* came in. Still more prochronous would be "*us were rather go*."

In order to explain *had rather*, I recurred to *had liefer*. It is needful, however, to go back a stage further, or to, for instance, "*us were liefer go*," the precursor of "*we had liefer go*," in order to work out the rationale of "*we had better go*."³ Punctually analogous to "*us were liefer go*" is our remote forefathers' "*us were better go*."⁴ Of this there first sprang up a corruption,

Now, for those who may choose to look upon the *had*, in *had rather to*, as an auxiliary, and as having been put, by carelessness, for the notional *would*, there is no escape, that I can see, from the further assumption, that the *to* of their superseded *would rather* to was retained by still greater carelessness. But, even if the *to* were away, and the *would* were not notional, why should the auxiliary *had* of such theorists have usurped the rights of another word, and in violation of syntax? An appeal to the *had* of *had better* is nothing helpful.

As to *would rather*, the following extracts exhibit it in unwonted contexts:

"How many that lyve in horryble synne, that yet have the saythe of Chryst Iesu, and *wolde rather dye* or they shold renye theyr saythe! But, for all that, they be not justyfyed." Bp. Fisher (1521), *English Works (ut sup.)*, p. 328.

"I have conceived that hope of your goodnes, that ye *wolde rather my person to bee saved* then spilled." Rev. Nicholas Udall (bef. 1557), in *Original Letters*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 4.

³ Under *had*, Dr. Johnson writes: "'I *had better*,' 'you *had better*,' etc., means the same as '*it would be better for me or you*,' or '*it would be more eligible*.' It is always used potentially, not indicatively; nor is *have* ever used to that import." And then come quotations for *had rather* and *had better*, though the former of them has not been mentioned, and though the definition given of the latter does not fit it. There is nothing to show that Dr. Johnson knew what *had better* succeeded; and it is plain that he was unacquainted with the preteritive *had rather*, and with the old "*I have liefer*," "*I have as lief*," etc.

⁴ "*Better him wer* with eise in clostre *haf led* his life." Robert Mannyng (*ut sup.*), p. 172. See also pp. 91, 198. "*So betere him were*" is the Anglo-Saxon of *St. Mark*, ix, 42.

"And therefore *you is better* hyde youre counseil in youre herte," etc.; "*The is better holde* thy tonge stille than to speke." Chaucer, *Poetical Works*, vol. III, pp. 142, 147.

"*Betere me were ded* Then thus alyve to be." Anon. (*temp.* Ed. II, or earlier), in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, vol. I, p. 122.

"Into the whiche if that he slide, *Him were better go* beside." Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, vol. III, p. 241. See also vol. II, pp. 94, 296; vol. III, p. 14.

"*Hym hade bene better*, in good saye, *Hade spared* oyntmente that daie." *Chester Plays (ut sup.)*, vol. II, p. 12.

"*Hym were bettyr* never to be sayn On lyve, be nyth ne day." *Ludus Coventriae (ut sup.)*, p. 38.

"*Me were bettur* be hengul and drawyn." Anon., *Thomas and the Fairy Queen* (before 1450?), in Mr. Halliwell's *Illustrations*, etc. (1845), p. 65.

"we were better go";⁶⁶ and then, the dissimilarity of *had better*

"Hem were beter take the furre," etc. Anon., *Knight of La Tour-Landry* (about 1372?), p. 31.

"The Duck had be beter then a mli. that it had never be don." Margaret Paston (1465), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. II, p. 250.

"Whether is me better to treate with Kynge Arthur, or to fyghte?" Sir Thomas Malory (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 56. See also vol. I, pp. 12, 29, 237; vol. II, p. 262.

⁶⁶ "She hadd ben beter to have ben stille, thanne to have reproved a man opiny afore the companye." *Knight of La Tour-Landry (ut sup.)*, p. 32.

"Thowe haddyst be better have gold or fee: More nede therto thou hade." Anon., *Sir Cliges* (14th century?), ll. 425, 426.

"Bettur he were, to yow sey y, So to do, then for hunger dye." Anon., *Kynge Roberd of Cysille* (about 1390?), in Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's *Remains*, etc., vol. I, p. 278.

"I ware the better dye." Anon. (15th century), in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, vol. I, p. 73.

"Thou hadest ben better have be a myle behynde," etc. *Merlin (ut sup.)*, p. 652.

"I were better be hangyd." *Townley Mysteries (ut sup.)*, p. 99. See also pp. 187, 234.

"Peraventure he had ben better to have performyd my desyer." John Paston (1477), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. III, p. 197.

"He were better to ben hyllt." *Ludus Coventriae (ut sup.)*, p. 401. See also pp. 284, 349.

"Thou were better flee by tymes." Sir Thomas Malory (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 202.

Additional apposite passages are at hand from the Rev. Alexander Barclay, Lord Berners, Tyndale, Sir Thomas More, H. Brincklow (about 1542), Bp. Jewel, Roger Ascham, J. Sanford (1569), Stephen Gosson, Sir Philip Sidney, Nicholas Lichfield, George Whetstones, the Rev. Robert Parsons, Bp. Bavington, Gabriell Harvey, Anthony Munday, Bacon, Shakespeare, Dr. Donne, Ben Jonson, the Rev. Robert Burton, Thomas Randolph, John Wilson, and so on, till past the Restoration.

Extracts lie before me, in which occur *me, us, thee, you, him, her, them,—dread, iacketh, liketh, list, loathe, needs, ought, repenteth*, and the like; that is to say, the dative case where we now put the nominative, and the verb in regimen, not, as at present, in agreement. Even Sir Thomas More has "*me needeth* not to bost." Relics of this construction remain in the concretions *methinks, me-thought*, and *meseems*. According to Dr. Johnson, who rightly apprehended *meseems*, *methinks* is "not easily reconciled to grammar," is "an ungrammatical word," and "is imagined to be a Norman corruption; the French being apt to confound *me* and *I*." Is *methinks*, then, for *I thinks*? While it would have been prudent, in the lexicographer, to let the French alone, it would have called for only a very moderate acquaintance with old English, to introduce him to "*me, him, us, think or thinketh*," "*him, her, them, us, thought*," etc., including Sir Thomas More's *me thinking*, or "seeming to me"; *think* having had, of yore, two meanings. Answerable to *methinks* is the German *mich dünkt*.

to *had liefer* and *had rather* passing unheeded, appeared the phrase now established." Much the same is to be said of *had*

My thinks and *my thought*, used by the Rev. William Baldwin (1563), and *my thinketh*, besides these, in *New Custome* (1573), are simply bad spellings. *Methoughts*, used by the Rev. William Cartwright, Addison, and others, is a gross error.

Such constructions as *him likes*, etc., we have laid aside; but we have not allowed *it pleases me* to be ousted by the newer *I please*. Certain innovations in the same direction as *I please* and *he likes* have, however, been attempted ineffectually. "*He behoved* to bringe his wif." *Merlin* (*ut sup.*), p. 295. And see p. 403. This is still Scotch. "I . . . wyl nought dishonoure the honeste of wyymmen with so fowle a name as *she semyd* worthy." Lydgate (?), *The Booke*, etc. (1413, *ut sup.*), p. 63. "Yf ye seme hit be over-longe or ye have ansuere," etc. Bp. Bekynton (1442), in *Official Correspondence*, etc. (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 184. The Bishop's *it is seemed* and *it shall be seemed* may just be noted here. "For a lady soo ledde the where *thow semyd* thy broder was slayne." Sir Thomas Malory (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 273.

By this time it must be patent, in good part, if not altogether, why "*us were better go*" was displaced by "*we were better go*." I express myself thus, because, possibly, the supersession of the former by the latter was owing, in some measure, to the fact that *better* implies, besides the conferring of advantage, the receiving of it. An old translator has: "For they wold not byleven hit. Soo sholde they never be the *better*, though that it were told them." Lydgate (?), *The Booke*, etc. (1413, *ut sup.*), p. 72. And Tyndale writes: "If I be good for the offering of a dove, and *better* for a sheep, and yet *better* for an ox, and soever the better thing I offer, the *better* I am, oh, how accepted should I be, if I offered a man, and, namely, him that I most loved!" *An Answer*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 66.

Landor, personating Isaac Barrow, discourses as follows: "Among the few crudities and barbarisms that yet oppressed our language, in his learned age, Bacon has this: 'A man *were better rise* in his suit.' Indeed, he uses *were better* more than once, with the simple verb after it, and without *to*." *Works and Life* (*ut sup.*), vol. IV, p. 381.

Just as we still say *deserving his attention* or *deserving of his attention*, Dr. Johnson, and sundry of his contemporaries, as Goldsmith and Sir Joshua Reynolds, occasionally omitted *of* after *worthy* and *unworthy*; and, so long as the omission was held to be optional, they committed no barbarism. On similar grounds, neither did Bacon commit one, in slighting *to* after *were better*. The elegant Sir Thomas Wilson (1560) did not hesitate to write even: "If others never gette more by bookes then I have doen, *it wer better* be a carter then a scholar, for worldlie profite." *The Arte of Rhetorike* (ed. 1567), sig. A 5 r.

A Landorian attempt at a genetic explication of *were better rise* would, doubtless, have been a curiosity.

*None but very finical stylists scruple, now-a-days, at *had better*. Lord Macaulay has it once in his *History*, and five times elsewhere. *Had rather*, however it may be in conversation, has gradually been falling into disfavour, with the best authors, during the last eighty years. Lord Macaulay uses it only three times.

best, towards deducing its origin, as has been said of *had better*."

In the pages of Jane Austen, Lord Byron, "George Eliot," Mr. Matthew Arnold, Mr. Leslie Stephen, and Mr. W. H. Mallock, I find *had better* twenty-nine times; *had rather*, only twice. But in Cowper, of the last century, while there are four instances of the former, there are seven of the latter.

Of the three old quotations for *had better* which immediately follow, the first may belong to the days when the expression was still a novelty.

"They *had better have fet-me* an errande at Rome." Anon., *Thersytes* (1537).

"Who livethe in cowrtes muste marke what they saie; Who livethe for ease *had better live awaie*." Sir John Harington (1594), in *Nugae Antiquae*, vol. I, p. 168 (ed. 1804).

"The Israelites *had better have wanted* their quailles, then to have eaten them with such sauce." Bp. Joseph Hall (1605), *Works* (ed. 1648), p. 45.

It is from no want of material, from the days of Queen Elizabeth onward, that I do not add to these quotations by hundreds.

"*Better he had to have be away*" occurs in *Torrent of Portugal*, l. 1186. The manuscript, avowedly a very careless one, from which this poem is printed, is referred, by its editor, Mr. Halliwell, to the fifteenth century. I am rather sceptical that *had better* dates back so far.

"Quotations for *had best* and its forerunners may be despatched summarily.

"Yete *me is best take* mi chaunce." Anon., *Lay le Freine* (14th century?), l. 107.

"And in the meane while he cast What thing *him were best to do*." Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, vol. II, p. 306. And see vol. III, p. 38.

"He wyste not what *he was beste to do*." Anon., *Cronycle*, etc. (1483, *ut sup.*), sig. Q 6 v.

"She, . . . doutfull, in her mynde, what *she were best to do*," etc. Bp. Fisher (1509), *English Works* (*ut sup.*), p. 292.

"*Ye are best to retourne* into Fraunce"; "*Ye were beste so to do*." Lord Berners, *Froissart* (*ut sup.*), vol. II, pp. 723, 725.

"*Ye were best . . . to revive* againe." Rev. Nicholas Udall, *Roister Doister* (*ut sup.*), Act III, Scene III.

"*Ye were best to keep still*"; "I think *he were best to be* a little colder in his zeal." Abp. Parker (1565, 1574), in *Correspondence*, etc. (*ut sup.*), pp. 238, 459.

Add Thomas Ingelend (about 1550?), Bp. James Brooks (1555), Dr. Robert Recorde (1556), Rev. Dr. Meredith Hanmer (1581), Rev. Dr. William Fulke (1583), Rev. Richard Bernard (1598), Anthony Munday, Rev. Robert Greene, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and a host of unnamed authors, the latest of them writing after 1660. More than half of them have *were best to*. *He was best to is* seen in Richard Johnson's *Tom a Lincolne* (1635), p. 30 (ed. 1828); and in the anonymous *Ariana* (1636), p. 102.

"You *had best omit* the worke." Dr. William Cuninghame, *The Cosmographical Glasse* (1559), p. 61.

"Thou *hadst best to prove* me, whether I can reede." Anon., *Netto Custome* (1573), Act I, Scene I.

"I *had best go back*"; "You *had best to use* your sword better, lest I beswinge you." Rev. Robert Greene, *Dramatic Works* (ed. Rev. A. Dyce), vol. I, pp. 37, 51.

Comparable with *had as lief*, as concerns form, if not as having had an analogous ancestor,⁸⁸ and with *had better*, in respect that it involves an abusive employment of *had*, is the phrase *had as good*. "*Us were as good go*"⁸⁹ was succeeded by "*we were as good go*";⁹⁰ and that, by "*we had as good go*."⁹¹

"And you *had best say*," etc.; "You *had best go* dreame againe." Anon., *First Part of the Contention*, etc. (1594), in *First Sketches*, etc. (1843), pp. 40, 68.

A large number of other authorities being omitted, I pass to De Foe: "I could not well tell what I *had best to do*." *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), vol. I, pp. 36, 37 (ed. 1840).

Had best, followed by *to*, is still current among the vulgar. Without this addition, it has all along, from William III's time to this day, been common in writings of a familiar style, and is also to be met with, here and there, in books of a graver cast. For instance, "*had best be settled*" occurs in Mr. Bernard Cracroft's thoughtful *Essays* (1868), vol. I, p. 85; and "I *had best not give her any*," in Mr. W. H. Mallock's *New Republic*, p. 145 (ed. 1878).

⁸⁸"*Us were as lief go*," or the like, though a style of expression which all but certainly once existed, I have not yet come upon, whereas I have come upon an expression akin to "*us were as good go*," as will be seen presently.

⁸⁹"*Me had been as good to goo To the brynnyng fyre of hell*." Anon., *Thomas and the Fairy-queen*, in Mr. Halliwell's *Illustrations*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 66.

⁹⁰"*A man were as good to be dede As smell therof the stynk*." Anon. (*temp.* Hen. VI?), in *Reliquiae Antiquae*, vol. I, p. 3.

"*One were, in a maner, as good be slayne*." Anon. (15th century?), in Uttersen's *Select Pieces*, etc. (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 36.

"*A man had ben as good to have be smytten with thonder*." Anon., *Lyfe of Roberte the Deyyll*, in Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's *Remains*, etc., vol I, p. 233.

If, as is quite possible, these three extracts have datives in connexion with *were* and *had been*, they belong to the note immediately preceding this.

"*We were as good to go towards Flaunders as to Boloyn*." Lord Berners, *Froissart* (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 754.

"*A man were as good, in a maner, to come in to the paynys of hell*," etc. Henry Brinklow, *Complaynt*, etc. (about 1542), p. 24 (ed. 1874).

"*Then I were as good to saye nothings*." Ralph Robinson, *Translation of Utopia* (1556), p. 66 (Mr. Arber's edition).

"*You were as good speake to one that is dead*." Rev. Richard Bernard, *Terence*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 453.

"*He were as good be hanged as once deny her*." Henry Porter, *Pleasant Historie*, etc. (1599), p. 38 (ed. 1841).

"*I were as good save five or six pound, as not, uncle*." Ben Jonson, *Every Man out of his Humour* (1599), Act II, Scene I.

"*The poore seculars were as good to be all hanged up togetherward, as live*," etc. Rev. William Watson, *A Decacordon of Ten Quodlibeticall Questions*, etc. (ed. 1602), p. 174.

"*He were as good go a mile on his errand*." Shakespeare, *Measure for Measure*, Act III, Scene II. See also *Troilus and Cressida*, Act II, Scene I; *Titus Andronicus*, Act IV, Scene III.

Those who, in these later days, use *had rather* and *had as lief*, doubtless imagine that *rather* and *lief* are there adverbs. Their sense of grammatical propriety being, hence, doubly offended by *had as good*, because of its adjective, an attempt at reducing error has been made in the substitute *had as well*. This, though it now and then creeps into books,¹⁸ is, however, well nigh wholly restricted to conversational currency, as are the very much commoner *had sooner* and *had as soon*.

Of the existence of "*us was like to go*" there is, to the best of my information, only a possibility. But there is certitude, dating from a long way back, as regards "*we were like to go*,"¹⁹ the antecedent of "*we had like to have gone*," a corruption which, it may be,

"*Were not Christ as good have a troubled Church as none at all?*" Anthony Wotton, *An Answer to a Popish Pamphlet*, etc. (1605), p. 59.

"If the Jesuits should prevaile, the poore seculars *were as good to be hanged up together*," etc. Rev. Dr. Thomas James, *The Jesuits Downefall Threatned*, etc. (1612), p. 24.

"*I were as good lie under*," etc. Dr. Donne, *Works* (ed. 1839), vol. I, p. 200.

"*I thinke I had as good Goe with you, as tarrie heere to be hangde*." Anon., *The True Tragedie*, etc. (1595), in *First Sketches*, etc. (1843), p. 169.

And so Dr. South, Bp. Jeremy Taylor, Feltham, Sir Roger L'Estrange, John Wilson, the Rev. Jeremy Collier, Archdeacon Echard, Sir Richard Steele, Garrick, Goldsmith, Lord Chesterfield, etc., etc. Steele puts *to* after *had as good*.

The following quotation is made, lest it may mislead others, as it might have misled me: "The Pope is labouring it, I know; but *he has as good keep* his breath to cool his porridge." Sir Roger L'Estrange, etc., *Twenty-two Select Colloquies*, etc., p. 287 (ed. 1725). Turning to the edition of 1689, published in Sir Roger's life-time, I find, at p. 271, *had as good*.

Dr. Johnson says: "*Good*, placed after *had*, with *as*, seems a substantive. But the expression is, I think, vicious; and *good* is, rather, an adjective, elliptically used; or it may be considered as adverbial."

There would have been no occasion for anything of this incertitude, if Dr. Johnson had searched English literature as it was his duty to search it.

"You must give way; and you *had as well do* so voluntarily, and with a good grace." Rev. Dr. J. B. Mozley (1844), *Essays Historical and Theological* (1878), vol. II, p. 27.

"*Hercules . . . was like to have be kyng*." Lydgate, *Tragedies*, etc. (*ut sup.*), fol. 109 v.

"Now brik . . . *forto chyne* [*i. e.*, crack] *is like*." Anon., *Palladius on Husbandrie* (about 1420?), p. 156 (1873).

"*He is like*, as y conceve, *to have the grete rule yn this mater*." John Shil-lingford (1447, *ut sup.*), p. 7. And at pp. 9, 10, 11, 16, 38, etc.

"*We are like to be wery*," etc. *Ludus Coventriae* (*ut sup.*), p. 124. Also at p. 136.

was not developed before the days of Queen Elizabeth.¹⁴ *Had likely* followed by an infinitive is canvassed in a foot-note.¹⁵

Different from any of the expressions examined in the preceding pages is *had like*,¹⁶ *hadst like*, inasmuch as, here, *had* or *hadst* clearly

¹⁴ "His horse leapt, and fell on his knees, and *hadde lyke to have cast hym* over his necke." William Barker, *The Bookes of Xenophon*, etc. (1567), sig. C 7 r.

¹⁵ "I *had like to have mard* all." Rev. Richard Bernard, *Terence*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 439.

¹⁶ "We *had like to have had* our two noses snapped off." Shakespeare, *Much Ado about Nothing*, Act V, Scene I.

"He *had like to have dyed* presently after." Anon., *The Wonderfull Yere* (1603), in J. Morgan's *Phoenix Britannicus* (1732), vol. I, p. 47.

"A raging rabble . . . *had like to have left* but small parcels of them untouched and whole." Philemon Holland, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (1609), p. 409.

"As a theefe, when he is pardoned, lookes backe to the gallows, or to the halter that *had like to hangd* him, so lookes shee on her son." Rev. Dr. Robert Wilkinson, *A Paire of Sermons*, etc. (1614), p. 11. Here we have the past-participial infinitive, long so common.

Dr. Johnson cites Sir Walter Raleigh for *had like*; and I have quotations for it, which may be spared, from Pepys, Dr. Henry More, Sir Roger L'Estrange, Sir T. P. Blount, Hickes, Collier, De Foe, Roger North, Leonard Welsted, Swift, Dr. Sheridan, Richardson, Goldsmith, Cowper, and Mr. Ruskin.

¹⁷ John Flamank wrote, about 1503: "I hade no wittnes then but my sylfe; but, as hyt hapned afterwarde, I caused hym, by good crafte, to confesse the same he had said to me be fore hym that was marshell here at that tyme; and, els, I *hade lykly to be putt* to a grett plunge for my trothe." *Letters, etc., of Richard III and Henry VII* (1861, 1863), vol. I, p. 235.

If explicable with reference to *had liefer*, "*I hade lykly*," etc., is to be construed: "I should consider as likely my being put," etc. But we here have to do with a sentence belonging to an age when ordinary writers of English dashed down very recklessly what they had to communicate; and Flamank's phrase, in order to warrant any stable philological conclusion, would have to be matched by others.

Henry, Earl of Monmouth, also uses *had likely*. "A very hot skirmish *had likely to have been*, had not the King," etc. *Compleat History of the Warrs of Flanders* (1654), pp. 274, 275.

Had likely here signifies "was likely." What follows it was to be expected.

¹⁸ Ignorance has connected the *like* of *had like* with the verb *like*, and has engendered the vulgarism *had liked*, in its stead.

"I *had liked to have begged* a parrot for my wife." Pepys (1662), *Diary*, etc. (*ut sup.*), vol. II, p. 31.

"The rabble *had lik'd to have pulled* him to pieces." Mrs. Aphra Behn (died 1689), *Novels* (ed. 1871), vol. I, p. 282.

"I had formerly the very same [memorial] from himself; and so had the judges, whom he *had liked to have provoked* by his clownish behaviour at the bar." Abp. William Nicolson (1716), in Sir Henry Ellis's *Original Letters*, etc. (*ut sup.*), First Series, vol. III, p. 396.

stands for *was*, *were*, or *wast*. Nor is this all. On looking narrowly at the entire phrase "we had like to have gone,"¹⁷ who can avoid seeing, in it, a mere monstrosity? To its lawlessness touching *had* it joins free play with *like*, which, by virtue of its context, becomes an adverb; and, besides this, it would convey the idea of indefiniteness of time by the infinitive perfect. Since what is intended by it is, "there was a likelihood of our going,"¹⁸ it is, if I am not mistaken, a most portentous device. As if after conference, and in concert, the anomaly which it typifies has been eschewed unanimously by the best writers of our century.

Need being, as a neuter verb, one after which, in regimen, *to* may often be forgone, it is not singular that the nominal verb *had need*¹⁹

"Here I *had liked to have suffered* a second shipwreck." De Foe, *Robinson Crusoe* (*ut sup.*), vol. I, p. 60. See also vol. I, p. 61.

"There is another thing that *had liked to have slipped* out of my memory" Sir C. H. Williams (1741), *Works*, etc. (1822), vol. II, pp. 92, 93.

Only the other day I heard an English gentleman say: "I *had liked to lost* the train." Not a whit more aberrant is the *runned*, for *run* and *run*, of my humbler neighbours in Suffolk.

¹⁷ Not of so frequent occurrence, and slightly less objectionable, is "we had like to go."

¹⁸ The notion seems to me utterly unsustainable, that the expression first meant "we should look on going as likely." At all events, I have chanced on nothing that makes for it in the least.

¹⁹ Here there is an idiomatic ellipsis of *a*, precisely as there is in *make mention*, *give ear*, etc., etc.

Landor, in one of his Imaginary Conversations, makes Sir Isaac Newton impeach *had need have* in a sentence from Lord Bacon: "He that is only real *had need have* exceeding great parts of virtue." Dr. Isaac Barrow is feigned to reply: "The true words, which all authors write amiss, are '*ha*' need *of*.' *Ha*' need sounds like *had need*, and *have* sounds like *of*, in speaking quickly. Hence the wisest men have written the words improperly, by writing at once from the ear, without an appeal or reference to grammar." *Works and Life* (*ut sup.*), vol. IV, p. 382.

This is very shallow criticism. As *had need be* must always have been quite as common as *had need have*, if not more so, how would Landor account for its *be*? Again, for several generations after *had need* arose, the verb which it governed was generally introduced by *to*. These considerations cannot have occurred to Landor, who, moreover, nowhere gives token that he had read older English to any mentionable extent, or with any approach to close study. For the rest, it is not irrelevant to note, that, among the predecessors of Bacon who were separated from him by a shorter interval than that between Addison and ourselves, there were those, as I know from several passages, that wrote "*have need to mercy*," etc., putting *to* for *of*. See the foot of p. 322, *infra*.

Isaac Barrow, as it must strike any one who has observed his English at all scrutinizingly, was whimsically chosen, by Landor, as an exponent of linguistic

should, in like manner, frequently dispense with the sign of the infinitive, as in "we *had need go*." ⁸⁰ All that, over and above this; is peculiar about *had need*, consists in its *had*, the vagueness of which, in marking time, is here once more observable.

scrupulosity. *Anthymis* for *anthems*, *department* for *departure*, *disingenuity* and *ingenuity* for *disingenuousness* and *ingenuousness*, *overflown* for *overflowed*, *respective* for *respectful*, *tenent* for *tenet*, *inhability*, a *seraphim*, *monstruous*, *stupendious*, *have underwent*, *beseched*, *blowed*, *catched*, *shaked*, and the verb *critize*, being specimens of what he put forth as English, he would hardly have frowned on *had need have*. Is it, indeed, perfectly certain that he has nowhere used it?

⁸⁰ First I will quote passages in which *to* is expressed.

Five such, ranging from 1465 to 1633, are given in note 39, at p. 298. *supra*.

"And ye purpose to bargayn with hym, ye *had need to hve yow*." John Paston (1472), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. III, p. 34. Also *id.*, *ibid.*, vol. III, pp. 133 (1475?), 143 (1472), 220 (1478), 257 (1479).

"Wherefore ye *had nede to warne* Wylliam Gogyne and hys felaws to purvey them of wyne i now," etc. William Paston (1489), *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 352.

"If my lord send for T. Bange, or the woman, some of my lordis servauntes *had need to come* for theym." Sir John Paston (1495), *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 390.

"We *had need to take heed*, everywhere, that we be not beguiled with false allegories, . . . Here a man *had need to put on* all his spectacles, and to arm himself against invisible spirits." Tyndale, *Doctrinal Treatises*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 425.

"If the kings of the earth, when they break that sacrament between them, do say on this wise, . . . then is it a terrible oath; and they *had need to take heed* how they make it, and, if it be lawfully made, not to break it at all." *Id.*, *Expositions*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 301.

"John Baptist said to Christ: 'I *had need to be baptized* of thee; and comest thou to me?' Whereof did John confess that he *had need to be washed and purged by Christ*?' *Id.*, *An Answer*, etc. (*ut sup.*), pp. 206, 207. Tyndale, in his *New Testament*, has "I *ought to be baptysed*." The authorized version has: "I *have need to be baptized*."

"Who so hath suche bees as your maister in hys head, *Had neede to have* his spiritres with musike to be fed." Udall, *Roister Doister*, Act I, Scene IV.

"Liars *had need to have* good memories." Attributed to Bp. Latimer (1556), in Bp. Ridley's *Works* (*ut sup.*), p. 110.

"Alas, they be people rude of their own nature, and the more *had need to be looked to*, for retaining them in quiet and civility." Abp. Parker (1560), *Correspondence* (*ut sup.*), p. 123.

"We *had need to see* more, before we be convicted of corruption." Rev. Dr. William Fulke, *A Defense*, etc. (1583, *ut sup.*), p. 181.

"We see heere a short time limited; and yet wee have a long way to go, even as far as it is from earth to heaven: and *had wee* not, then, *need to pray* to have our life in some measure prolonged?" Rev. Dr. Robert Wilkinson, *A Paire of Sermons*, etc. (1614), pp. 26, 27.

"What though thou art seated in an eminent place, where thou overlookest all! . . . It tells thee thou *hadst need to looke* about thee. What place left for retired thoughts?" Rev. Thomas Ailesbury, *A Sermon*, etc. (1623), p. 45.

Upwards of five and twenty years have passed since I committed to paper the substance of the essay now laid before the public. Wider reading, or more attentive, would, I am convinced, have enabled me to support my arguments by an ampler exhibition of

"And the best *had need* to be carefull to keep themselves awake; or els this sleep will seize upon them." Rev. Daniel Dent, *A Sermon against Drunkenness* (1628), p. 12.

"Our houre runnes apace: wee *had need* to worke hard." Rev. George Hughes, *The Saints Losse and Lamentation* (1632), pp. 53, 54.

"Seeing, then, that truth consisteth in the right ordering of names in our affirmations, a man that seeketh precise truth *had need* to remember what every name he uses stands for," etc. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 15 (ed. 1651).

"When I have most freedom, I shall most suspect my self. He that is turn'd into the sea *had need* to look to have his pilot along." Feltham, *Resolves*, etc., p. 200 (ed. 1696).

And so I might go on indefinitely. Even in our own age, instances like the foregoing are not unknown.

"The Petersburg telegrapher . . . *had need* to be a strong hand, if he is to be permanently telegraphing to us about places and things between Russia and India" Viscount Strangford (1868), *A Selection*, etc., vol. II, p. 233.

"If the bad-tempered man wants to apologize, he *had need* to do it on a large public scale," etc. "George Eliot," *Impressions of Theophrastus Such*, p. 129 (ed. 1879).

But, from the very first, not improbably, *to was* optionally dropped after *had need*.

"But and it lyke you to take the worchip uppon you, ye *had nede* high you to London, . . . Neverthesse, if ye be dysposed, ye *had nede* send a man by fore, in all hast, that no thing be to seke." Thomas Playter (1461), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. II, pp. 13, 14.

A vast collection of extracts which I have got together brings out the fact, that the phrase in question enjoyed marked acceptance all through the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Divines, historians, and dramatists alike favoured it, both then and afterwards. Sir Th. Wilson, Bp. Aylmer, Dr. Th. Lodge, Shakespeare, Donne, Ben Jonson, Bp. Jos. Hall, Prynne, the Rev. Edmund Calamy, Bp. Taylor, the Rev. Jasper Mayne, Bp. John Gauden, Sir Roger L'Estrange, Archdeacon Echard, Swift, and a hundred other well-known writers, have admitted it to their pages. Cowper has it again and again: so has "George Eliot": and who has not heard it from the best speakers of English? Yet one can learn little or nothing of all this from the makers of our dictionaries and grammars.

Near the beginning of this note, Tyndale is quoted, more than once, for the quasi-aoristic *had heed* followed by an infinitive. What is still more noticeable is his aoristic *had need of*.

"And, after the same manner, though our popish hypocrites succeed Christ and his apostles, and have their scripture, yet they be fallen from the faith and living of them, and are heretics, and *had need of* a John Baptist to convert them." *An Answer*, etc. (*ut sup.*), p. 45.

Similarly, as the context shows, writes the Rev. Dr. William Fulke: "We *had need of* a better demonstration than the former, by which you yourselves are proved heretics, rather than we." *A Defense*, etc. (1583, *ut sup.*), pp. 36, 37.

usage than, under existing circumstances, is practicable. And yet I cannot help believing that the evidentiary quotations which it has been in my power to produce will be acknowledged, by all but unreasonable cavillers, to substantiate the conclusions here referred to the judgment of scholars.

FITZEDWARD HALL.

"A man wronged *had need* of a more noble hart to forgive his enemie, than to be revenged of him and to kill him." T. B., *The French Academie* (1586, *ut sup.*), p. 360. Also at pp. 124, 165.

And so Bp. Joseph Hall (1604): "Worldly pleasures, like physicians, give us over, when once we lie a dying: and yet the death-bed *had* most need of comforts." *Works*, p. 21 (ed. 1648).

Likewise, in 1609: "If there be any opinions whose mention confutes them, these are they. None can bee more vaine; none *had* more need of solidity." *Ibid.*, p. 397.

The convertibility of *had need* and *have need* is seen from Tyndale's *had need to be baptized*, spoken of above, and the *have need to be baptized* of the received translation of the New Testament. And here are other passages testifying to their former identity of meaning.

"George . . . They have bene up this two daies. *Nicke*. Then they *had* more need to go to bed now." Anon., *The First Part of the Contention*, etc. (1594), in *The First Sketches*, etc. (1843), p. 50.

"George . . . They have been up these two days. *John*. They *have* the more need to sleep now, then." *Second Part of King Henry VI*, Act IV, Scene II. Just after occurs "so he *had need*," aoristic.

For *had need to*, aoristic, not followed by a verb, see the second quotation in note 65, at p. 313, *supra*, where *thou* precedes it. *Have need*, as ordinarily employed, but with *to* or *unto* and an accusative case, is used by John Paston (1469 and 1472), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. II, p. 343, and vol. III, p. 46; and it occurs in the anonymous *Cronycle of Englonde* (1483, *ut sup.*), sig. P 1 r.

Of such phraseology as *have need be* I am aware of but two instances.

"Ye *have nede fare sayre* with hym; for he ys full daungerouse, when he wille." William Worcestre (1456), in the *Paston Letters*, vol. I, p. 375.

"All men, therefore, . . . *have need be taught* to distinguish well between what is and what is not necessary to eternall salvation." Hobbes, *Leviathan*, p. 321 (ed. 1651).

In older English, an unwarrantable *th* is often seen, where we write *d* or *dd*; witness *hundreth*, *lather*, *meath*, *murther*, *ruther*. On the other hand, the etymological *d* or *dh* of many words has been changed to *th*; and the medieval *fader*, *further*, *gader*, *hider*, *ledder*, *moder*, *oder*, *tedder*, and *thider* were slow in yielding to the present *father*, *further*, *gather*, *hither*, *leather*, etc. At the time when *th* and *d* were largely interchangeable, *had* was now and then put for *hath*, singular and plural, at least when written. In case this spelling was not from carelessness, but represented actual pronunciation, "he, you, etc., *had need*" was, at first, nothing but a variation of "he, you, etc., *hath need*." On this theory,—one which I set little by,—there is a difficulty about "*I had need*," though *I hath* is not unknown; but it may have been a corruption induced by an aim at uniformity. "*Thou had need*" I have not fallen in with, except in the passage lately referred to.

II.—THE VENDIDÂD AS TRANSLATED BY M. DARMESTETER.

The fourth volume of Max Müller's edition of the Sacred Books of the East contains part of M. Darmesteter's English translation of the Zend-Avesta, namely, the Vendidad, prefaced by a general introduction to the work. The Vendidad is not, perhaps, the book of the Avesta to which the student of religions attaches most value; but the variety of its contents makes it the most explicit, though not most reliable, witness to the facts and drift of Mazdeism. It is composed chiefly of details, as tedious as they are minute, respecting the ceremonial of purification, a matter of great moment to the Mazdean, on whose timorous faith the contact of the world entailed a perpetual peril of pollution; but breaking in upon this theme, and otherwise not closely connected with it, are found various fragments of an interesting nature, as, for instance, the geographical data of the 1st Fargard, the legend of Yima and of the deluge (II), the almost epic narrative of Zoroaster's contest with Ahriman (XIX), some snatches of poetical strains (III), and, besides, many passages which arrest the attention by the light they cast on the private life and social habits of the early Iranians (VII, XII, XVIII, etc.). These episodes are certainly better calculated than the sober fervor of the old hymns to win favor with the public at large; and if it was any part of M. Darmesteter's plan to reach this wider circle, we must admit that no translation is better qualified than his to accomplish this result. Anquetil-Duperron's version, which once embodied all that European scholarship knew of the Avesta, seems to us of to-day written in an unintelligible jargon; Spiegel's version, which was published nearly twenty years ago and supplanted Anquetil's, and that which an eminent Belgian scholar, M. de Harlez, has just given to the public in a very complete work on the Avesta, are by no means deficient in qualities of style, yet their scrupulous literalness betrays the scientific preoccupations of their authors to a much greater degree than M. Darmesteter's. In truth, no Zend scholar excels M. Darmesteter in the art of bringing out the salient features of the text, and of lending to the awkward and involved diction of the

original the order and elegance of modern writing. Fully to appreciate this merit, one must pick out in Spiegel's version one of the many passages which stand there like algebraic equations bristling with unknown quantities, and then suddenly turn to the almost transparent clearness of the same passage in M. Darmesteter's rendering (conf. I, 53-58; III, 44-72, etc.). To be sure, recent labors have done away with the opinion, current in a period not far remote, that the Mazdean writers thought and composed by fits and starts and according to mental processes unheard of among other Indo-European nations; but the literary features of M. Darmesteter's work go even beyond the simple requirements of a version. One might almost suggest that the studied simplicity and regular rhythm of his sentences cast too uniform a drapery over a book which is marked by great unevenness, and that his seldom dimmed clearness disguises failings of the text too obvious to be forgotten; and yet no one could earnestly take M. Darmesteter to task for being, in point of mental resources and style, better equipped than his originals.

These, however, and other equally attractive features, are but the outward merits of the work; the inner worth is that with which we have to do. Indeed, the more popular a work of this kind promises to be, the more deeply it ought to be searched by all interested in the texts. Translations, above all translations of the Avesta, are long-lived. The errors they may convey are not so easily eradicated as spread, and may prejudice not only the studies immediately depending on them, but also the drift of public opinion. Not to go very far, Mr. J. Fiske, in a recent article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, quoted the opening verses of the *Vendidad* in Spiegel's version, apparently unconscious that it is now seventeen years since the German scholar recanted that rendering in his *Commentary*.

The simplest way to bring to light the merits or failings of a translation is, usually, to compare it with others. This proceeding is open in the present case to an objection. It might be curious and often amusing to point out the discrepancies between Spiegel's version, for example, and M. Darmesteter's, but it would be also unfair to the older scholar. In so new a science as ours, a score of years tells heavily on books. Spiegel's work appears to us strewn with errors for the same reason that a newly cleared field is dotted with stumps, and we must not forget that the clearing itself was no small task. Besides, Spiegel has modified his view in many points in his *Commentary*. With more recent versions the case is differ-

ent ; and I might find here a fit occasion to do justice to the meritorious labors of M. de Harlez¹ and to the spirited renderings of Geldner in Kuhn's Zeitschrift ; but in reality we have to deal with something more than a question of relative merit, for problems of scientific import are involved in comparison with which clearness and force are of little moment. The interpretation of the Avesta is still made up, in great part, of suggestions which science slowly corroborates or invalidates, and in a science of promises it is not so much the results we must consider as the promises themselves and the guarantees behind them ; in other words, the methods used by the translators are even more important than the translations. In respect to this point M. Darmesteter's ready pen has much facilitated the task. The scope of his work did not allow him room for justificatory notes, but this lack is amply made up by the outspokenness of his Introduction, where we find not only very direct information touching his method, but the many axioms, suggestions, theories of large or small compass, which constitute the writer's convictions on the subject of Mazdeism. These theories are woven with the translation itself into so ingenious and close a fabric that it would be impossible to disentwine them, and his introductory statements must come in for as large a share in my criticisms as his translation. I might add, in a spirit of fairness, that though M. Darmesteter's statements are clothed with an absoluteness which courts opposition, his presentation of them is neither aggressive nor disparaging to other views, and that while endeavoring to give my objections all the force of which they are susceptible, I do not impugn his talents and the right a scholar has to convictions of his own.

Preliminarily and to clear off the ground, as it were, I wish to mention one of M. Darmesteter's surmises concerning the age of the Avesta. There can be no absolute objection to our believing with him, *a priori*, that although the Avesta is pre-Sassanian, some parts of it may have been written by the editors, that is as late as the IVth century of our era. The fact that this opinion opens a vast field of new conjectures is not, of course, an adverse proof. Nor is the fact that the Pahlavi version dates from that time an insuperable objection, though it is more plausible to admit a considerable

¹ The revised edition of this scholar's work reached me too late to be used extensively in this criticism. Besides it is too important a work to serve merely as a foil.

interval between the closing of the Mazdean books and the wants which brought forth the Pahlavi version and Commentaries. What is worth noticing is the evidence adduced. The argument is based on an axiom, a form of speech too much favored, perhaps, in this Introduction. "The ability to translate a dead language," he says (p. xxxvii), "is a good test of the ability to write in it," etc.; that is to say, since the editors knew how to edit the Avesta they knew how to write Zend and may have written Zend. This, however, is too quick a gait for us; for, as to those editors and first translators, it is believed by some that, let alone writing, they did not know how to read the Avesta, that they had lost the key to the grammar if not to the sense of their books and translated according to transmitted data. I venture then to say that this argument is forestalling a question which must be solved by something more than axiomatic maxims. From the hypothesis that they may have written to the statement that they did write, there is, as one might expect, a short step. M. Darmesteter alleges two passages as showing traces of a very late composition: the first in F. XVIII, 10, where Ahura Mazda speaks of the sham priest of the Mazdean faith: 'He who should set that man at liberty when bound in prison does no better deed than if he should flay a man alive,' etc. This anathema, M. Darmesteter comments, indicates a time when Mazdeism was a state religion and had to fight against heresy; it must therefore belong to Sassanian times. What impairs this reasoning is that the word *āzō* rendered by 'prison,' means simply 'distress,' and the word rendered 'liberty' may mean 'cheer.' Indeed, these are the meanings he gives both words, respectively, in a verse preceding almost immediately the one in question, so that this passage, of his own showing, must mean: 'He who should bring that man from distress to joy does no better deed than if he flayed a man alive,' etc., a sense which is so tame that we should scruple to accept it even had we not another and better one to offer, namely: 'If he (the sham priest) should bring a man of mine (a believer) from distress to joy, he would do him no more good than if he should flay him alive,' etc., which amounts to saying that the benefit conferred by a false priest turns to evil.

It is likewise Ahura-Mazda who speaks in the second passage, F. IV, 46, seq.: 'Verily I say unto thee, O Spitama Zarathustra! the man who has a wife is far above him who begets no sons; he who keeps a house is far above him who has none; he who has children is far above the childless man; he who has riches is far above him who has none; and of two men, he who fills

himself with meat is filled with the good spirit much more than he who does not so,' etc. This passage also is susceptible of another rendering, but for the sake of brevity I will let it stand, and pass to M. Darmesteter's comments. 'We find in this passage,' he says, 'an illustration from the Avesta itself of the celebrated doctrines of the three seals with which Mani had sealed the bosom, the hand and the mouth of his disciples' (xli). M. Darmesteter himself weakens the force of his ingenious suggestion by quoting in the foot-note (p. 46) the remark made by Herodotus eight centuries before Mani, that 'in Persia there are prizes given by the king to those who have most children.' It does not seem to us, however, that the correspondence between the two injunctions is as salient as our writer's words purport; it is still less apparent in Haug's and de Harlez's versions, and disappears entirely in the rendering, for us preferable to all others, outlined by Spiegel, so that M. Darmesteter's statement rests solely on M. Darmesteter's translation. We find a similar and clearer injunction in F. III, 33, there in its right connection, in the midst of a praise of agriculture, which a sort of metrical movement and rhyme mark out as belonging to the older strata of the Vendidâd: 'No one who does not eat has strength to do works of holiness, strength to do works of husbandry, strength to beget children.' Here the precept assumes the numeric form of the Manichean formula; but, at the same time, the internal coincidence fades away, which explains, perhaps, why our writer did not quote this wording. In reality, both the context and the passages bring to mind a doctrine more general and also more directly adverse to the favorite maxims of Mazdeism, namely, asceticism. In enjoining the pursuit of agriculture and cattle-raising as a holy work, the early books gave the note which was to be echoed by all following generations. It is not necessary to descend as far as the 3d or 4th century of our era to explain a conflict which must have risen repeatedly between Mazdean thrift, hallowed by the highest warrant, and the ascetic doctrines which spread so early over the East. A contemplative life must have been looked on by the believer as not only idle but impious. Which peculiar sect is meant is not a problem to be solved easily, yet I cannot but notice the words immediately preceding the passage quoted from F. IV. M. Darmesteter translates: 'Before the water and the blazing fire, let no one make bold to deny having received from his neighbor the ox or the garment' . . . , which is not only marked

doubtful in the foot-note, but is also out of all connection with the context. As none of the several suggestions offered is more apposite than this, I venture my own surmise: the word *aiwyδ* instead of the dative plural of *ap*, 'water,' may be the same case of the demonstrative *aēm*, and the passage may mean: 'They have so stated in regard to the men *taptibyδ* (or *taptaēibyδ*) that one should not preach the renouncement to husbandry and cattle-tending.' This would be a becoming introduction to a praise of these occupations, and, at the same time, an allusion to some ascetic sect that had found its way from India to Iran and propagated the peculiar observances understood there under the name *tapas*. This rendering offers syntactical difficulties of its own, and, besides, so definite a clue ought not to be accepted too lightly; yet when a path has led so many away from the goal, it is but fit that a new one should be struck out.

Testimony which proves so refractory to M. Darmesteter's views cannot have imposed itself upon him; he must have sought for it. Indeed, the trained hand of the lawyer may be seen behind the depositions of the witnesses. If one asks what the point at stake is, I see but one possible answer: Decide that the editors knew how to write Zend and wrote part of the Avesta, and the question so momentous in Zend studies as to the value of native and traditional learning takes at once a new and unexpected turn.

The controversy bearing upon the relative worth of tradition and comparative philology in the interpretation of the texts is not due to the hasty temper of the controversialists, as one might think who had heard the clash of Zend polemics, but to the peculiar conditions under which our studies were born. The language of the Avesta was dead in a much deeper sense than the word ever had in regard to Sanskrit, and its deciphering almost entirely dependent on outer help. The first investigators, without puzzling themselves with hair-splitting distinctions of priority, laid their hands on all that was tributary to their object. They were as prompt to accept the data of native tradition as to welcome the method of comparison as soon as discovered; yet it was evident that as the latter was improving in accuracy and getting a keen edge, it would gradually push to the first place, and drive the other auxiliaries from the field after they had yielded their harvest. The conflict was precipitated by the impetuous personality of Haug, as much perhaps by his aggressive attitude in regard to prior researches as by the too absolute authority

he gave to the Vedas in purely Avestic matters. The failings of Haug's work and his ultimate adherence to Parsee tradition in its narrowest form show that he was hardly prepared to lead the movement which he initiated; yet, though by his aggression he forced several Zend scholars of high repute to accentuate the value of traditional help more than had previously occurred to them, he also brought others to realize the importance of his suggestions, and thus gave the study a new momentum. Since his death the controversy to which he was a party has lost much of its bitterness, and is chiefly evinced in the remarkable care which recent authors take to define their attitude accurately, and the efforts of some to bring tradition and comparison to pull together in the same harness. As for M. Darmesteter, no one could ride two horses more dexterously if we were to take his statements at a glance (Introd., p. xxviii). 'The Vedas,'—and by 'Vedas' he characterizes here and elsewhere the comparative method—'the Vedas,' he says, 'generally speaking, cannot help to discover matters of fact in the Avesta, but only to explain them when discovered by tradition . . . ; tradition gives the materials and comparison puts them in order; it is not possible to know the Avesta without the former or to understand it without the latter.' Nothing, indeed, could be more equitable. Only one might object that the writer is so intent on doing justice to the two witnesses that he forgets the real party in court, namely the Avesta itself, for fear, perhaps, that being called upon to testify it might incriminate itself. It would have impaired the brief elegance of his statement, but not its completeness, to say that there have been, and are yet, several scholars at work on the arduous task of eliciting, partly from outside comparison, but at this stage from the texts themselves, a grammar, a syntax, and a system of phonetics, which will not owe to the Vedas much more than the Vedas owe to other branches of the Indo-European family of languages. Still we must not lay to his unwillingness that which is due to the epigrammatic brevity of his style, but rather look for the sober meaning of his statement. What are the 'materials' that we are to accept from the tradition? Is it the lexicography? One would scarcely think so after reading the foot-note which he subjoins to his rendering of F. III, 31: "The translation 'acts of adoration and oblations' (of which he made use in the verse indicated) is doubtful; the words in the text are *ἀπαξ λεγόμενα*, which are traditionally translated by 'feet and breast,' etc. If we add to this instance the many words marked

doubtful in his notes, which are only the cases in which he was willing to impeach his own work, the evident pains at which he has been to reconcile the Pahlavi and the text, we will be forced to the belief, which we might have expressed *a priori*, that the tradition consisted of a certain rendering which was given and transmitted in the bulk, but which the teachers were often at a loss to adapt closely to the individual forms and words. There would be, for all that, little danger in admitting the help of Pahlavi lexicographers. As long as the sense of a word must pass through the double crucible of comparative etymology and adaptation to the text, there can be little harm done, if also little help given, that way. If, however, by 'materials,' M. Darmesteter means,—and everything tends to prove that this is his meaning,—to accept the concrete sense, the sense in the rough, of the tradition, and to give to a certain rendering a privileged position at the gates of the Mazdean Scriptures, then we must confess our sincere disappointment. Nor is this feeling allayed by M. Darmesteter's comforting assurance that 'the more one enters into the meaning of the text, the fuller justice is done to the merits of the Pahlavi translation,' for, if it proves anything, it proves that he has deferred a little more than his predecessors to the model before him. I will not repeat all that has been said about the untrustworthiness of that translation and the low plane on which the native interpreters were placed in regard to their own books; I claim that we may and must decline such an exclusive privilege in favor of any one translation, no matter what the dialect or the age, on the plea of individual responsibility and scientific independence. The texts are placed before us not that we may see how far they agree with the Mazdeans of the IVth or Vth century of our era, but that we may, spontaneously and in all integrity, elicit their meaning. If the texts cannot be made to speak in their own behalf, if the key to them is mislaid, then let us forfeit, temporarily, all claims to having knowledge of the Avesta itself, and give all our efforts to the patient labor of deciphering these hieroglyphs. But, indeed, philology has furnished us with a grammar, the agreement of tradition with etymology has given us a partial lexicon, and it remains for individual scholars to do the rest, complete the lexicography and wrestle with the text. The Avesta has or ought to have outgrown the tutelage of tradition.

Is it possible to elicit any sense without starting from the traditional data? It would seem, on reading M. Darmesteter's Introduction, that there is no method but his. He draws, it is true,

the extravagant outlines of a nondescript which he calls 'comparative method.' The name I know, but I do not recognize the traits. I will gladly join him in condemning the view, if it now exists, that 'the Avesta and the Vedas are two echoes of one and the same thought,' and that 'the Vedas are both the best lexicon and the best commentary to the Avesta'; but, this done, I ask again: Is there not another and more sensible method? Many will think with me that there is one which aims at finding the meaning of a word by following its history in an ascending march, and might therefore be named 'comparative etymology' in contradistinction to unqualified 'comparison,' which seems to imply for M. Darmesteter a wholesale use of Vedic texts and a forced assimilation of forms, phrases and ideas.* This method is identified with Vedic studies in so much only that early Sanskrit offers the first and nearest relay in the search, and that we find there, steeped in light, words and forms which bear to the words and forms of the Avesta a likeness oftentimes amounting to identity. Likeness of form,—let us bear this in mind, and not forget that phonetic identity, even when absolute, is no voucher for identity of meaning, and that, in religious nomenclatures especially, outward analogy weighs next to nothing in regard of the inner worth of words. Haug's unsuccessful attempt to graft Zend studies on Sanskrit lexicography ought to be a warning, if simple common sense did not teach as much. As M. Darmesteter says, the Vedas cannot give us the sense of a Zend word; but, though he does not say so, they give us that which in respect to verbs is decisive for the sense also, a sure clue to the root, and part of the history, of a word. I will readily admit that after a word is traced to its root, its sense is often left as vague as that of the root itself; but the work of the etymologist does not end there. He has before him the task of specifying and individualizing the general sense by the immediate context, and by comparison with other passages and with other forms of the same root, whether in the Avesta or in kindred languages, and finally, with the data of tradition which may confirm or modify his results or give him new clues. The best proof that comparative etymology does not 'move in a vacuum and build up a fanciful language' is the fact that it sometimes confirms the traditional sense and oftener corrects it; indeed, it is this confirmation which saves M. Darmesteter's work from being placed on the low level of Pahlavi glosses and gives it a modern value. If the testimony of comparison is acceptable when it confirms—and here correction is another sort of confirmation—it ought to bear the same force when it utterly con-

demns, that is to say, it is the first and last resort. It is true, nevertheless, that, though the ascending part of the process is relatively easy, the work of individualizing the sense is liable to arbitrariness. As an illustration to the point I will adduce the rendering of v. 46 in F. XIII. After a somewhat humorous comparison of the dog with a priest, a warrior and a husbandman, successively, the writer likens him to a *vašcu*. The stem of this word is speedily traced back to *vič*, 'house' or 'village,' but not so the final stamp which is to give it its individual and local value as a word. Is it 'villager,' or 'servant,' or 'neighbor'? The context gives little help, for, apart from the divergent readings of the manuscripts, the succeeding words are as many puzzles. M. Darmesteter, walking in the steps of tradition, keeps clear of these hindrances, translates *vašcu* 'strolling singer,' and renders thus smoothly: 'The dog is like a strolling singer, he is intrusive like a strolling singer, he is meagre like a strolling singer, he is poor like a strolling singer,' etc., which is certainly a faithful description of certain musicians of our days, and may have been of the Iranian minstrels, if such a class existed, for we have nothing but the opinion of a late commentator for that sense, and whatever force there is in etymology against it. Both Spiegel and de Harlez looked to etymology for the sense of the main word, but it is best for my purpose to bring in Geldner's rendering, which rests on the sole basis of comparison: 'The dog is like a servant, he welcomes like a servant, he devours what is within his reach like a servant, he eats in the rear of the house like a servant, (he only eats three times a day) like a servant,' etc. This sense may not be better, *in se*, than the tradition's, though, if there were strolling minstrels in those days, there may also have been in Iranian houses servants' halls where dogs and menials alike were fed; but the process through which Geldner arrives at this bit of domestic information is open to strong objections. First, he selects the easiest, and not the most accredited reading (*zairimyaçma* instead of *zairimyašçma*), a procedure not countenanced by the best exegetical methods; and, secondly, he looks for the specialization of the words, not to evidence handed by the Avesta, but by Sanskrit; the word *zairimya*, if his etymological clue is correct, cannot have another meaning except that obtained by a comparison of the radical sense and of kindred Zend words, namely 'heat' or possibly 'fire-place.'

¹ I surmise that the sentence means: 'like a servant he takes his abode by the fire-place,' but the discussion of *ašçma* or *šçma* would take us too far out of our way.

For all that, Geldner's efforts seem to me to be in the right direction. They are certainly in keeping with this elementary postulate of exegesis that words must be allowed to speak for themselves. The etymological method has failings of its own, not counting the too great weight allotted to Vedic analogues. It will be a hopeless task to harmonize any two renderings as long as one can choose arbitrarily between the many and contradictory readings offered by the manuscripts; and comparative science will fall very short of its aims, unless it be accompanied by a never-relenting scrutiny of the texts, forms and phonetic phenomena of the Avesta; but this very condition imposed upon the comparative method is also the most trusty guarantee we have that Zend studies will thrive by it.

Coming back to M. Darmesteter's own method, it is fair to say that in a passage of his Introduction (c) he avers that it rests on the Parsee tradition, 'corrected or confirmed by the comparative method.' This addition does not quite meet the case, for, even should the supplementary work confirm the first, the outcome would be no better than the Avesta rendered on the low and narrow plane of a late commentator. Still the corrective is excellent, and in hands determined to apply it most rigorously might lead to positive independence. Let us examine, then, how it has served our translator, and first, mark the peril. We all know how easy it is to make a preconceived theory agree with the facts in hand; the malleability of facts is, indeed, one of the most insidious perils that science encounters on the part of theories and theorists, and I suppose that every one has had to fight against the inner and often unavowed predilections which impair the judgment and forestall the verdict. Now, words are hardly less pliable than facts, and, in interpretation, the surest way to find a certain sense is to keep it before one's eyes, the more so if the text is in the nature of things both loose and obscure. A gentle pressure, a turn of the hand, as it were, and the text will revolve as easily as a table under spiritualistic touch. I will take as an instance the opening verses of the 1st Fargard. Tradition commented upon it in a vague and unsatisfactory manner, namely, that 'where a man is born there he sees most charms,' which is a rather singular preface to this important chapter. And this is the way M. Darmesteter worked the comment into the text: 'Ahura Mazda spake unto Spitama Zarathustra, saying; I have made every land dear to its dwellers, even though it had no charms in it: had I not made every land dear to its dwellers, even though

it had no charms whatever in it, then the whole living world would have invaded the Airyano Vaējō.' This is certainly logical; one could not be more provident and ingenious than Ahura Mazda, nor think more like a philosophizing scholiast. When we come to the text, however, the fitness disappears; this opening opens to nothing, for no further mention is made of the love of country or its effects. One fails to see the 'every' of the rendering; then 'rāmō-dāitim,' to favor the scholiast, is translated 'dear to its dwellers,' which is an approach to the etymological sense and against the Zend tradition, while 'shāitim,' for the same reason, is made to mean 'charms,' in agreement with the tradition and against etymology. There is no method in all this unless adhesion to native brooding be taken for one. Construing the passage as M. Darmesteter does, but keeping close to the data of comparison, one finds that it reads thus: 'I made fit to dwell in land that was in no way inhabitable: had I not made fit to dwell in land that was in no way habitable, the whole living world had invaded the Airyana Vaējō'; and the writer proceeds to enumerate the places thus made habitable, beginning for the sake of completeness with the Airyana Vaējō, the cradle of the Aryans, though this, in the Avesta at large as well as in the verse just quoted, is spoken of as anterior to the settlements of the Iranians, and legendary more than historical.

Of this tendency to subject the texts to a gentle traction in order to render their testimony more telling, we have already given examples, and shall have to give more. But this is not the only peril. If, as suggested previously, the transmitted sense were 'in the rough,' it might not always adapt itself to the text. Now there are instances where the text seems faulty. This is not due entirely to the copyist. In many cases it is owing to the absence of precise rules among the writers of the Avesta, though there reigns a certain method even in the midst of that confusion, as Spiegel and after him Hübschmann have judiciously observed. If, however, in the case of a conflict between the text and the tradition, the adept of the latter is tempted to justify his guide at the cost of the scribe, he has in his position a ready excuse, and therefore an inducement to take the step. This is a reproach which it were unjust to cast upon the traditional method as such. It touches all who give their first allegiance, not to the Avesta, but to some source or theory outside of it. Geldner, for instance, on the plea of metrical fitness, takes liberties with the originals which his learning can palliate but not excuse, while nothing speaks more in

favor of the version of M. de Harlez, himself a moderate partisan of tradition, than his unalloyed respect for the texts he translates. The following striking example will prove that my imputation is not unfounded in respect to our version: In F. III there is an almost lyrical moment as the writer eloquently recites the advantages of husbandry. In the midst of the strain, however, there is a passage the general drift of which is clear, but which is impaired by nearly every translator's trying to make it as figurative as possible, forgetting that the lyricism of the Mazdean must not be relied on for drawing a long breath. Here is M. Darmesteter's translation: 'He who would till the earth, O Spitama Zarathustra, with the left arm and with the right, with the right arm and with the left, unto him will she bring forth plenty, like a loving bride on her bed, unto her beloved; the bride will bring forth children, the earth will bring forth plenty of fruit!' The elegant symmetry of this passage would do honor to the taste of the original writer. Unluckily it is not the loving bride who is abed, but the bridegroom, at least the word is unmistakably masculine in form. A strict adherence to the text gives a meaning less brilliant but more in keeping with Mazdean soberness: 'He who would till the earth with the left arm and with the right . . . to him, reclining on his bespread seat, she will, as friend to friend, bring for his enjoyment her progeny and array.' This last rendering agrees in the main with both de Harlez's and Geldner's; it differs from them chiefly by taking 'friend to friend' as an adverbial phrase; those words were current as early as in the Gâthâs and seem quoted here irrespective of gender.

The illustrations we have just given concern minor points, and betray a bias rather than an offensive misapprehension of the text. In truth, I believe that the Vendidâd suffers less than other books would suffer by being rendered according to tradition, for it was more on a level with the plane of the religious views and, probably also, of the linguistic knowledge of the Pahlavi translators. Moreover, the fact that the results of both methods have come even to a distant agreement gives us a tolerable certainty that we know the drift of the book. For all that, Zend studies have not attained that point when scholarship becomes an ingenious and delicate exercise of the mind. There is a certain indomitable energy wanted in the first age of a science as well as in the early settlement of a country. To confine exegetical science, at this stage, to confirming or correcting anterior data would leave out the possibility of striking out a new

path and rejecting absolutely current errors. We find occasionally passages traditionally very clear, but of such clearness as makes us wish for the obscurity that would challenge elucidation. The lives of Zoroaster, for instance, usually begin with the statement that he was the son of Pourushaṣpa, and born 'near the river Dareja on a high mountain,' in spite of the obvious impossibility of dwelling at the same time on the mountain above and by the river below. On inquiry we find that this last particular is borrowed from F. XIX, 4, 10. When we ask the interpreters to locate either river or mountain they plead ignorance and address us to the Bundelesh; but were the Bundelesh writer at hand, his answer to the same query would not unlikely sound like this: 'Of that river, or mountain, I have no personal knowledge, as is proved by my text, but you will find it in F. XIX of the Vendidad.' The word *darejya* which is at issue may certainly happen to be the name of a river, though the simple voucher of tradition does not carry much weight with all. It may also have happened that the native interpreters, nonplused by an unknown word, turned it as a last resort into a proper name, a surmise which is not a little strengthened by the fact that they recurred to the same summary process when they reached the following and equally puzzling word, *paitizbarahi*, in which some commentators see the name of a mountain, 'Zbar.' The question is further entangled by the reappearance of those two words in a subsequent verse (XIX, 11), though there, as I think, out of their connection, and possibly by a blunder of the editors. Comparative etymology had surely never come to those geographical notions of itself. Indeed, Spiegel and Windischmann as well as Haug, in various ways and with the help of comparison, sought for, and obtained, renderings widely diverging from the traditional one, though not very apposite. That was in the early days of Zend studies. Another curious fact is that all three of them, from sheer lassitude perhaps, gave up the task, the former two returning to the rendering, or rather non-rendering of the native school, while Haug struck out a new and far less inviting path. Here is the traditional version in Spiegel's final wording. Zarathustra, beset by the evil Druj, advances, holding in his hands stones of the size of a house (according to tradition), and Ahura Mazda addresses him thus: 'Where wilt thou hold them (the stones) on this earth, the broad, round one, of distant travel? by the Dreji of the Zbar, by Pourushaṣpa's dwelling.' This left room for a better version, and M. Darmesteter, who has worked so many wonders in favor of

tradition, might have performed one this time in behalf of the Vendidâd, but he preferred to abide by, and smooth over, the unmeaning material of his model. Despite his efforts, however, nothing will assuage the exquisite absurdity of his rendering: For him it is Ahriman who speaks: 'At what on this wide, round earth, whose ends lie afar, at what dost thou swing (those stones), thou who standest by the river Dareja, upon the mountains, in the mansion of Pourushaṣpa?'

This absurdity is not a slip; it seems on the contrary to be skillfully contrived to confirm the sense which his version of the whole passage tends to make out, namely, that Zoroaster is a god of light, and the river, mountain, mansion, are figures pertaining by right to the abode of the god, the heavens. The fate of M. Darmesteter's theories, however, ought not to weigh against the simple dictate of science, which is to suppose sense, not nonsense, in the texts. If there is in the Vendidâd any evidence that the common rules of logic and clearness were observed by its writers, we must reject any rendering that sins so grossly against both, and look for new clues. We might find them among those rejected too easily, after being taken up hastily by former scholars. Haug's first view that the word rendered 'mountain' (*paitizbarahi*) is a verb seems to be borne out by the symmetry of the passage and the identity of form with the preceding verb (*drashahi*), and, if it be a verb, the word rendered by a name of river is simply an adverb or a noun in an oblique case. The etymological clue proposed by Haug (*paitizbar* = *pratihar*) leads to nothing and must be rejected. This done, and these premises being acted upon anew, I hope that sooner or later a sense will be found that will meet the wants of both the text and logic. Pointing out the failures of many eminent scholars makes it presumptuous for me to offer my own rendering, yet this much can be surmised. If Westergaard's reading (*vandemnd*) is adopted for the clause immediately preceding, then our verse contains the tenor of Zoroaster's invocation to Mazda, which itself may be outlined thus: 'Where art thou who holdest him (Ahriman) fast on this earth, the much travelled, round, wide-reaching one, and defendest with might the house of Pourushaṣpa?' (*zbarahi* I take to be connected with *spar*, to fight, in Zend *ṣpar* or *zbar*).

This adaptation on M. Darmesteter's part to the tameness of native comments is not owing to a lack of scientific boldness; only his energy has found its way into other channels than the slow

processes of comparative etymology. There is, in fact, in his version another feature than the traditional leaning, one which gives it a peculiar place in Zend studies. We mentioned at the outset the singular allotment made to tradition and the Vedas respectively: the former is to give us the materials, the latter the 'understanding' of the Avesta. One might object that going to the Vedas seems a long journey out, that we have the best sense of the Avesta in the older books, that sober reason recommends the interpretation of a religious book by the spirit of the religion itself, and, finally, that exotic light should not be let in until all the light within has proved insufficient. If all this, or part of this, occurred to M. Darmesteter, it was unheeded, for we find ourselves driven from one to the other horn of his pitiless dilemma: tradition or the Vedas. This intrusion of Vedism does not seem at first to harmonize with the claims of the partisans of tradition that Zend studies are to keep aloof from outside influences and form a self-supporting branch of oriental learning. The fact that both auxiliaries, though from opposite directions, favor the mythical import of Mazdeism may explain their momentary alliance, for it has become the characteristic purpose of M. Darmesteter's works to prove that the Iranians had a mythology but no religion. A few years ago he prepared the way for his version by a work on 'Ormazd and Ahriman,' which was meant to establish, in a most sweeping argument and with an interesting display of erudition, that the Mazdean gods, beliefs, nay Zoroaster himself, were nothing but parts of the Iranian version of the favorite myth of Vedism, the fire-myth. Some exceptions were taken to this view. It was claimed that Mazdeism was too massive, too eminently original, to be explained by anything but an *ex parte* development, and that the oldest parts of the Avesta pointed to a moment in the religion when a new spirit had made irruption and changed the course of Iranian thought. The only effect of these objections, which M. Darmesteter otherwise briefly acknowledges, is seen in the increased precision with which he reiterates his statements; for him 'the gods, the ideas, the worship of Mazdeism are shown to emanate directly from the old religion,' *i. e.*, the fire-myth (p. lxxix). Indeed, so absolute is his denegation of the spontaneity of Iranian beliefs, so great his care to stop all loopholes through which any characteristic thought might find access into Mazdeism as he views it, that we are startled when in one place we find him speaking of 'the moral and abstract spirit which pervades Mazdeism and is so different from the Vedic spirit,' and in another of 'the new spirit that

breathed in the religion.' Yet, surely, the spirit that breathes in the Avesta must once have been a new spirit. We need no other witness to that effect than the Vendidâd itself, in the very version we discuss. Its manly enforcement of probity and honest work, its copious rules of purification and atonement, all points to a current of thoughts better than naturalism: it is a system of morals, turned sere as all systems will when the spirit is at its ebb, but its nobleness stands out amid the puerile fancies of the age. Nor is this moral feature peculiar to our book. The teachings of generations had so impressed it on the vast nation of Mazdean believers as to make it the national stamp, to which the early Greek travellers uniformly bear witness. In truth, the moment Mazdeism emerges from obscurity the myths recede, theology is raised above the swarming confusion of naturalism, and moral ends take the place of grovelling superstition. Placed in their natural connection, the Vendidâd and the old hymns represent a fabric of spiritual doctrines so closely framed that the wearing influences of several ages and nations will be needed before naturalism breaks through it and mixes its flimsy threads with the decaying tissue. Unless the testimony of the older Avesta be proved unreliable, and unless it be shown that myths by sheer decrepitude turn to ethics, I shall keep to the belief that the morals of Mazdeism and its early theology were born together, spontaneously, and once 'turned the stream' of Iranian thoughts into a purer bed.

M. Darmesteter has taken pains, both in his Introduction and in his notes, to prick the long streak of fire which marks the evolutions of the storm-myth in the Avesta. His version does not seem at first to present the tinge which strongly colored surroundings might be supposed to give it, for, in reality, though the mythical element is by no means absent from the Vendidâd, it is evidently additional, accumulated in places, and might be struck out without altering the general impression produced by the book. On close examination, however, one sees that there is a mythical as well as a traditional bias. In the first Fargard which gives, as the tradition and most scholars believe, the sum of the geographical data of the Avesta, he sees under no less than three or four of the countries mentioned the mythical land on high where light gods wrestle with dark demons, an opinion which is sufficiently refuted, I think, by the fact that he grants to the twelve or thirteen others a geographical status; nor, when there is a doubt, are we kept long in suspense as to the ultimate determination of the sense. In F. V, 8, the

question, most interesting for the Mazdean believer in the purity of Ahura's creation, is raised by Zoroaster whether water kills. Our translator gives Ahura's answer as follows: 'Water kills no man; *astbuidhōtu* ties the noose around his neck, and thus tied, Vaya carries him off; then the flood takes him up, the flood takes him down, the flood throws him ashore; then birds feed upon him, and chance brings him here or brings him there.' This is a very smooth version, but let us examine. *Astbuidhōtu*, the bone-breaker, is an Avestic creation easily understood without the help of the Vedas; the sleight of hand through which the writer creates an analogy to Vedic Yama, the king of death, translating arbitrarily 'ties the noose around his neck' a verb that simply means 'ties,' was more than superfluous; yet he has done more, he has enriched the Iranian mythology with a new god, for, though there is a Vayu mentioned in divers places, there is no voucher for the Vaya of our passage. Here is, on the other side, Geldner's version: 'Water does not kill man, but the bone-breaker fetters him and the current (Vayas) carries him away bound; the water draws him upwards, then downwards, and throws him out; then the birds eat him up; his self lands beyond.'

The second Fargard contains the Vendidad version of the legend of Yima (and, as many believe, of the deluge), an episode which suggests more problems than I have room even to mention. That it is an echo of an old Aryan myth is now a matter of common consent, nor is it lacking in the Iranian native note. It is furthermore possible that Semitic intercourse had its share in making up the tradition. To mark out the exact part those three possible factors have borne in the shaping of the legend is a most delicate task, and one which requires a mind free from any one-sided interest in the results; the first step, at any event, is to let the Avesta speak, without swaying it this or that way according as one is inclined. I will not, of course, magnify the gentle touch of M. Darmesteter's pen into a gross assault on the texts, yet even that touch, at a given moment, imprints on a passage the stamp needed to fix the sense. Thus, among others, the 10th verse is translated with more or less precision, thus: 'Then Yima stepped forward towards the light on the sun's noon-day path,' or, 'went forward in the light of day, at noon time, on the sun's path.' Whither he went, southwards or westwards, matters but little. M. Darmesteter renders: 'Then Yima stepped forward towards the luminous space, southwards to meet the sun,' a turn which certainly is not in strict accordance with

the text, and is obviously intended to fix more firmly on Yima's brow the bright diadem of a sun-god, if, at least, we understand the foot-note which ends with the words: 'In Mazdean mythology the sun is, as is well known, the symbol and source of royalty.'

With the preceding example my task is over; I have said enough to justify my conclusions. At the first glance, this work is a bright and spirited rendering of a book which was not held to be either, and bids fair to win for it and also for Iranian studies the attention of the reading public. If the chief aim of the translator was to bring out in the strongest light the best sense to be elicited from tradition he has been eminently successful; the outcome, however, seems to us an honor paid to the native commentators rather than the simple and direct interpretation of the Vendidâd, which we had a right to expect. As far as the sub-interpretation of the texts by the naturalistic myth is concerned, I cannot but acknowledge the frankness and skill with which the writer has avowed and championed his views. There is perhaps more truth in them than is apparent to me. Time will decide. To take them, however, out of the Introduction, and weave them through the rendering before they have risen from the hypothetical stage, seems to me an unwarranted way of gaining for them, under cover and at the expense of the Mazdean books, an adhesion and a tribute which otherwise had been denied.

JULES LUQUIENS.

III.—NOTES ON PLACIDUS.

P. 9, 9 (Deuerling). *Arceram* vehiculum in arcae modum *confixum*, non utique *plaustrum*, id est *carrum*. Comparing Gellius 20, 1, 29 *arcera* autem vocabatur *plaustrum* tectum undique et munitum, we may correct the text of Placidus thus: *arceram* vehiculum: in arcae modum *convexum munitumque plaustrum*, id est *carrum*.

P. 11, 7. Deuerling reads *Aeruscans*, *aes* minutum [colligens.] *Accurate*† *construens*. *Colligens* is an addition of Müller's, which, although it helps out the first three words of the text, makes nonsense of the last two. The MSS. give *aeruscans* (or *aeruscus*), *aes* minutum *accurate construens* (or *colligens*). Comparing Paulus p. 24 *aeruscare*, *aera* undique, id est *pecunias*, colligere, it would seem natural to suppose that two glosses have, in the text of Placidus, been made out of one, which should run *Aeruscans*, *aes minutum accurate construens*.

P. 12, 16. s. v. *agoniae*. *Hostiarum* autem [immolatione] *deos aequos fieri*, id est *propitios*, *praeter antiquos agebant*. Perhaps *preces antiquae significant*.

P. 14, 1. *Bardum*, *hebetem*, *stolidum*, *brutum*. So Deuerling: but the MSS. give *stolidum* *bretendum*. The corrupt *bretendum* may stand for *Graece* *βραδόν*: Paulus p. 34 *bardus* . . . *trahitur* . . . a *Graeco* quod illi *βραδόν* dicunt; comp. Nonius p. 10.

P. 22, 23. *Cis Rhenum*, *citra* (so rightly Deuerling for *intra*) *Rhenum*; *coniecturae factae*. Here two glosses have apparently been confused into one; the second should run *confecturae*, *σφαγαι*. *Confector* (see the Dictt.) is used by Suetonius in the sense of a slaughterer, and *confectorarius* and *confecturarius* are quoted from inscriptions.

P. 24, 5. *Coicere*, *conicere*, *coercere*. So Deuerling. The Corsianus alone has *coicere* at the beginning of the note, and for *conicere* it reads *coijcere*, while the Hamburg MS. has *coniescere*. From these indications I conjecture that the gloss should run thus: *coinquere*, *compescere*, *coercere*. Paulus p. 65 *coinquere*, *coercere*.

P. 25, 4. *Conlocare*, *deputare*. Surely *conlucare*. Paulus p. 37 *conlucare* dicebant cum profanae silvae rami deciderentur officientes lumini.

P. 25, 7. *Caesditum*, creditum. For *caesditum* Deuerling rightly prints *caesicium*: for *creditum* Christ writes *cretatum*: would not *candidum* be better? Nonius p. 539 *caesicium* linteolum dicitur purum et *candidum*.

P. 28, 2. *Conivolis*, crebro nutantibus. *Conivolis* was introduced, no doubt rightly, by Kettner, from Paulus p. 61, *conivoli oculi sunt in angustum coacti coniventibus palpebris*. The MSS. of Placidus give *conibus*. But for *crebro nutantibus*, which is the reading of the *liber glossarum*, the MSS. of Placidus have *crevornitatibus*, which may stand for *crebro nictantibus*. See Löwe, Prodrömus Glossariorum p. 15, where a gloss *conivolis* frequenter nutantibus is rightly corrected into *frequenter nictantibus*.

P. 28, 19. *Cassae* aerumnae. I conjecture *casses*, *araneae*. Servius on Aen. 11, 105 *vestimenta araneorum casses dicimus*. Schol. Bern. Georg. 4, 247 notandum araneorum texta *casses* dicta, cum *casses* proprie dicantur quidam sinus ex modico reti facti qui . . . feras decipiunt.

P. 30, 5. *Callulum* cinguli genus, a coacto loro caltulae. So Deuerling, but the MSS. readings are as follows: *caltulum* a coacto lare (or loro) calte (or *calce*). Now it is true that Isidore 19, 33, 4 says *caltulum* a coacto loro dictum; but Nonius p. 548 has the words *caltulam* et *crocotulam* utrumque a generibus florum translatus *caltae* et *croci*. It is therefore not improbable, considering that the manuscripts of Placidus have *calte*, not *caltulae*, that the gloss both in Placidus and Isidore should run *caltulum vocatum a colore caltae*; the words *a coacto loro* or *lare* standing for *vocatum a colore*.

P. 38, 20. *Echo* Graecum nomen est. Est autem imago vocis quae in concavis locis resultat offensa ac resonat . . . *Appellatus est autem ut Herculem, Liberum patrem, Castorem et Pollucem pagani dicunt*. The last part of this gloss has evidently nothing to do with Echo; some god or hero in the masculine gender is required, who may be placed in the same category with Hercules, Liber, Castor and Pollux. The hero is probably Aeneas, spelt *Eneas*: Servius Aen. 6, 134, *bis Stygios innare lacus*, modo et post mortem; quod autem dicit Ovidius Aeneam inter deos relatum, non mirum est. Nam, ut supra diximus, necesse est etiam relatorum inter deos apud inferos esse simulacra, ut *Herculis, Liberi patris, Castoris et Pollucis*. Horace Epist. 2, 1, 5, mentions *Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux*, and soon after Hercules, in the same connection.

P. 50, 1. *Gnarificationum* sermonum. So Deuerling from the *liber glossarum*: but the manuscripts of Placidus give *gnaricantionum*, for which we should perhaps read *gnarigationum*. Paulus p. 95 *gnarigavit* significat apud Livium *narravit*.

P. 58, 16. *In mundo*, in expedito vel ad manum, in procinctu. Here two glosses are probably confused, the second of which began with *in procinctu*. For *in mundo* is by no means synonymous with *in procinctu*, and Paulus p. 109 has separate notes on the two phrases.

P. 59, 9. *Iurgio*, incursatione. Surely *iurgio*, *iuris actione*. Paulus p. 103 *iurgatio*, *iuris actio*.

P. 59, 11. *In burim*, in curvationem. Deuerling suggests that *in burim* should be corrected into *imburvum*; there is however no need for this; see Servius and Philargyrius on Georg. 1, 170 domatur in burim.

P. 59, 22. *Iactatus*, inductus, captus. *Lactatus*: Paulus p. 117 *lactit*, unde *lactat*. Nonius p. 16 *lacture* est inducere vel mulcere, velle decipere.

P. 66, 24. *Magmentum* . . . Cornutus, quicquid *mactatur*, id est quicquid distrahitur. For *mactatur* the MSS. of Placidus give *mactus*, whence it is possible that the true reading is *quicquid macitur*, id est quicquid distrahitur.

P. 67, 7. *Manas*, malas, maxillas. Probably a confusion of two glosses, the first of which began *manas* or *manias* (comp. Festus p. 128 s. v. *manias*) and the second *malas*, maxillas.

P. 79, 23. *Sublevit*, subiunxit, a liniendo. *Subunxit*, a *linendo*? *Subunctio* is quoted in the lexicons from Caelius Aurelianus.

P. 84, 4. *Tabes*, cruor, sanguis. This gloss seems to be a corrupted abbreviation of a note in which *tabus*, *cruor*, and *sanguis* were distinguished: Schol. Veron. Aen. 8, 106 Asper: *cruor* proprie dicitur, nam quamdiu in corpore est, *sanguis* est, cum fluit *cruor*, cum exiit *tabus* est.

HENRY NETTLESHIP.

IV.—WHAT IS ARTICULATION?

The terms *articulate*, *articulation*, *inarticulate*, and their relatives, are in common use as applied to human speech. But, as in many other like cases, we perhaps employ them for the most part without proper comprehension, or even with a false apprehension, of what they really mean. The matter is one which is worth a little careful examination.

In a general way, articulation is held to be a distinctive character of our spoken speech, as contrasted both with our own inarticulate utterances, such as laughing, crying, groaning, yelling, and with the more or less analogous utterances of the lower animals. If this popular view is a true one, there ought to be no insuperable difficulty in the way of giving a scientific definition of the character, now that the processes of utterance are so well understood. Authorities, however, are by no means agreed with regard to the point. Professor Heyse of Berlin, for example, when I heard his general course on language in 1850, after giving notice at a certain point that in his next lecture he should define articulate and inarticulate utterance, laid down their difference as follows: "Articulate utterance is such as is naturally produced by human organs; inarticulate, such as is naturally produced by other than human organs." Since, now, we are able to reproduce with our organs many of the sounds of the lower animals, there was evidently no great satisfaction in this. Even so much as this, however, seems to have disappeared from the modern German use of the word. Thus, in Heyse's own *System der Sprachwissenschaft*, as edited after his death by Steinthal, no such definition as the one given above is to be found; but he says (p. 75) of the tone of voice, as produced by the vibration of the vocal chords, that it "is articulated only by the various shaping of the mouth-canal and the coöperation of the oral organs of speech, and so becomes a 'vowel'"; and he again (p. 120) defines consonantal articulation as "the pressure or interference (*Stemmung*) of the organs of speech." This has the aspect of being developed from the other view in some such way as the following: "human speech is articulate, or articulated; to articulate, therefore, is to utter with human organs; hence, every

act by which a human utterance is produced is an articulating act, or an articulation." The difficulty here evidently is, that all distinctive meaning is taken out of *articulation*, which becomes merely a synonym for 'human utterance.' It implies the confession: "speech is articulate; but what makes it so it is impossible to tell; articulation is simply speaking, and that is the end of the matter."

But there is still one more downward step possible in the application of the term, and that step has been taken in recent scientific usage. By Heyse, it is limited to the action of the organs above the larynx, and at least impliedly to that of human organs: in certain later treatises of phonetics, both these limitations are abandoned. To take as an example the latest (and, for the student of language, in many respects the best) of them—Sievers, in his *Lautphysiologie*, when treating of the subject, first describes or defines the condition of the organs in breathing, their "position of rest or indifference," and goes on: "So long as the organs of speech continue in such position the production of a speech-sound is impossible; in order to this, at least a part of them must be moved out of that position, and put as hindrance in the way of the current of breath: in other words, an *articulation* must take place" (p. 15; 2d edition, p. 17). Once more, in Techmer (*Vergleichende Physiologie der Stimme und Sprache*, Leipzig, 1880) we find: "We further call *articulation* every sound-forming or sound-modifying departure from the position of indifference on the part of the organs that border the current of breath" (p. 19). Both these authorities, accordingly, with due consistency, describe the vocal chords themselves as the first articulating organ, and speak of their various articulating positions.¹ To put any organ, or complex of organs, then, in position for producing a sound, is to articulate; and, as no sound can ever be produced without such putting in position, every sound made by organs of utterance is an articulate sound. Hence, to speak of an articulate utterance is tautology; inarticulate utterance is a *contradictio in adjecto*; an articulate sound is an uttered sound; to articulate is to utter. And not to utter as language only. Professor Sievers does, indeed, in his definition above quoted, specify a "speech-sound" (*Sprach-*

¹ And Sievers states that Techmer argues (probably in his *Anmerkungen*, which are not in my hands) in favor of extending the idea of articulation to the process of breathing also. Further than this, surely, no one could go. All animals with lungs, then, would be always articulating, willy-nilly, awake or asleep, till their last breath.

laut), but evidently without any justification; for precisely the same "articulating" action is necessary in order to make with the organs of utterance any audible sound whatever, as a groan, a giggle, a grunt, a sneeze. And, not less evidently, the utterances of beasts involve the same "articulation." Their organs also have a "position of rest," which must be deviated from if anything is to be heard, and which they in fact do deviate from, by action more or less voluntary, just as our organs do. All utterance, of whatever kind, by animate beings, is articulation; inarticulate are only such noises as the clapping of the hands, the snapping of the fingers, the drumming of partridges, the wing-scrappings of chafers, and the like.

All this, it seems to me, is a misuse of a term having a real and valuable significance of its own.

The word, namely, goes back to Greek *ἐναρθρος*, which means simply 'jointed,' and is, of course, used primarily in a physical sense, of a limb, a stalk of grass or of reed, and so on. The verb *ἐναρθρόω* does not appear to occur, though implied in its derivative *ἐναρθρωσις*, beside which is found *διάρθρωσις*, and its verb *διαρθρόω*; the simple *ἀρθρόω* is also used. These, then, are rendered into Latin by the verb *articulo*, denominative of *articulus*, 'joint,' with its various derivatives; and *articulatus* means 'jointed,' physically and figuratively.

Now the term "jointed" is precisely, and in the highest sense, descriptive of human speech-utterance, as distinguished from our other utterances, and from the sounds produced by the organs of the lower animals. Language moves on by a succession of parts similar and yet distinct, closely united and yet separate from one another, movable as it were upon one another's extremities, like the divisions of a limb, or the links of a jointed chain—*catenated* would have been a nearly equivalent and only less happy name for the same thing. These joints are the syllables: articulate virtually equals syllabic. And the syllabic effect, as I have shown,¹ is given by the alternation of closer or consonantal with opener or vowel elements, the interposition of the former between the latter; the continuous current of uttered tone is broken into joints to the ear just as a uniform flexible tube would be to the eye by tying threads more or less closely about it from point to point. Thus,

¹ See *Oriental and Linguistic Studies*, ii. 294, and *Journal Am. Or. Soc.*, viii. 360; where, so far as I know, the point is for the first time clearly stated and illustrated.

whereas inarticulate utterance is holophrastic or not separately significant in its parts, and limited in duration, because nothing is gained by its protraction, articulate utterance is indefinitely continuable, because each joint in the series has its own character and value, and their multiplication is the multiplication of meaning.

This understanding of *articulate* not only is deducible with confidence from the etymological sense of the term itself, as taken in connection with the essential character of speech-utterance which it successfully describes, but it is, in my view, clearly suggested by the often-quoted passage (*Hist. anim.* iv. 9) in which Aristotle lays down his view of the fundamental laws of utterance. After stating that tone (*φωνή*) is produced by the throat solely and alone, and that hence creatures without lungs make no sound, he goes on: "Speech is the articulation (*διάρθρωσις*, 'separation into joints') of tone by the tongue. So then, the tone and the larynx emit the vowels (*φωνήεντα*, 'tone-sounds'), but the tongue and the lips the consonants (*ἄφωνα*, literally 'toneless sounds')—of which speech consists." The sense seems clear enough: vowels are pure tone, made by the throat without help of the other parts (*οὐδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων μορίων*); the tongue—or, more fully, the tongue and the lips—produces the consonants: and the consonant-making action of the tongue causes that articulation or jointing of the tone which constitutes speech.

Articulation, then, consists not in the mode of production of individual sounds, but in the mode of their combination for the purposes of speech. Hence—and this is a most important part of the significance of the term—it does not depend on any peculiarity of structure in the human organs of speech, but on the manner of their use, as developed by education and practice: it is not physical, but historical. We have every reason to believe that language began with monosyllabic utterances: perhaps first pure vowels, then open syllables, then (more questionably) close syllables: one such utterance was the equivalent in meaning of a whole modern sentence; a simple voice-gesture, as it were, directly intelligible under the circumstances of its production. Then, in the growth of speech, these utterances were made complex, partly

¹ Aristotle does not make the distinction of sonant and surd sounds. To him, the *φωνήεντα* are those sounds in which the element of tone predominates; *ἄφωνα*, those lacking clear tone—including, for instance, both *β* and *π*. The intermediate class of *ἡμίφωνα*, continuable consonants, elsewhere recognized by him, he here for simplicity's sake ignores.

by repetition, passing over into reduplication, and partly by association with other like utterances. The association was doubtless at the outset, phonetically as in meaning, a rude and loose one: the speaker made one utterance, and then began again and made another; but it grew closer, in both respects, by practice; and when speech became continuous, an unbroken succession of alternating consonantal and vowel-products, then it for the first time gained a fully articulated character.¹ The articulation was in part syntactical only, syllable and word falling together as one, as even down to the present time in Chinese; in part there arose an agglomeration, in tongues of more developed structure, of the syllabic elements into polysyllabic words; and words as well as sentences became articulated, each member of both having its own part to play in the conveyance of intended meaning. We may see the whole process of development repeated in miniature in the acquisition of language by each new speaker: the at first isolated utterances, and the gradually increased facility of combination, until at last the art of continuous and rapid articulation is won. I see no reason to believe that the lower animals, so far as their organs are concerned, would not be capable of the same mode of utterance, provided they had the intellectual capacity to form and transmit, and develop in the transmission, a traditional body of expression. In fact, some animals are trained to imitate with entire intelligibility our articulated words and phrases.

It appears to me, therefore, that the term *articulate* is one of the happiest hits ever made in the way of nomenclature by the ancient founders of our civilization and science; it designates better than any other word the phonetic character of human speech, as determined by the education and development of human intelligence. We ought, it should seem, at least to be able to understand and apply it properly. If the popular apprehension of its meaning is

¹ It is by inattention to this that Sievers is misled into repeating (2d ed., p. 156), in his definition of the syllable, the old blunder that it is what "is produced by an independent, continuous effort of expiration (*Expirationshub*)."
This is true only of the ante-articulated stage of speech. As we now utter *ala*, for example, the effort is in a certain sense a single one, and in a certain sense threefold; but there is no proper sense whatever in which it is double. The *a*-tone is broken into two parts (joints) which are completely joined together by the intervening *l*-sound that makes them two; there is no stopping and beginning again; the whole is continuous; the *l* is as fully united by a slide or movement of transition to the preceding *a* as to the following one.

indistinct or incorrect, phonetic science should set the matter right, not make it worse. It is doubtless true that the exigencies of practical use are paramount, and that, if a language has no available expression for 'utter,' it is justified in impressing for that service even such a word as *articulate*; but this should at any rate be done under the excuse and with the confession of poverty, and not as if a mere thing of course, involving no regrettable degradation of a term once pregnant with valuable meaning.

W. D. WHITNEY.

NOTES.

VARIA.

I.—*Sophocles*, Oed. Tyr., vs. 328–9 in most editions read :

πάντες γὰρ οὐ φρονεῖτ' . ἐγὼ δ' οὐ μήποτε
τᾶμ' ὥς ἂν εἶπω μὴ τὰ σ' ἐκφύγω κακά.

The words τᾶμ' ὥς ἂν are plain nonsense. Dindorf says they are interpolated, but does not suggest a substitute for them. A recent critic in the *Ἀθηναίων* proposes to read ἱταμῶς τὰδ' εἶπω, which gives good sense, but involves an unnecessarily violent change. Much preferable would be ἱταμῶς ἀνείπω ; but the adverb ἱταμῶς seems to be late Greek, and ἀνείπων without an object would be somewhat difficult to render. The true reading appears to be τὰδ' ὥς ἀνείπω, which involves the change of only one letter and gives exactly the sense required. "For ye are all in ignorance ; but even so (ὥς) I will never publish these things lest I bring to light your woes." Ἀνείπων and ἐκφαίνω occur in the same sentence in Xenoph. Kyr. IV, 5, 56.

In the same play v. 37, instead of καὶ ταῦθ' ὅφ' ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἐξειδῶς πλέον, which in the circumstances would be meaningless, I would read καὶ ταῦτα φημῶν κ.τ.λ., which expresses exactly what Oedipus no doubt wished to be believed. Φήμη is frequently used, even in this play, in the sense of χρησμός.

v. 227, καὶ μὲν φοβεῖται, τοῦπίκλημ' ὕπεξελὼν, which seems to have caused so much trouble to editors, may be corrected with ease and almost perfect certainty by reading καὶ μὴ φοβεῖσθαι, which makes the whole passage simple and logical. The only objection to this emendation is that ὕπεξελὼν is in the nominative case, whereas we should expect ὕπεξελόντα ; but such anacoloutha in the case of participles are by no means uncommon. See the examples cited by Kühner, Gr. Gr. § 493.

In the difficult lines, 478–9,

πετραῖος ὁ ταῦρος
μέλεος μελέῳ ποδὶ χηρεύων

or as some read,

πέτρας, ὥς ταῦρος κ.τ.λ.

I believe we ought to read

πέτρας ὅπως ταῦρος

and correct the corresponding line in the strophe by adding a ς to πόδα, so as to read

φυγᾶ πόδας νωμᾶν.

Σθεναρώτερον in the line above may, of course, be an adverb. This makes sense and metre both perfect.

II.—One of the most curious examples of that tendency, so common among German critics, to alter the text of an author in favor of a preconceived and false theory, occurs in Pausanias V 11, 8, where the author is describing the base of the throne of the Olympian Zeus. In the ordinary editions the passage reads thus: 'Ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βάθρου χρυσᾶ ποιήματα, ἀναβεβηκώς ἐπὶ ἄρμα Ἥλιος, καὶ Ζεὺς τέ ἐστι καὶ Ἥρα, παρὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Χάρις· ταύτης δὲ Ἑρμῆς ἔχεται, τοῦ δὲ Ἑρμοῦ Ἑστία· μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑστίαν Ἔρως ἐστὶν ἐκ θαλάσσης Ἀφροδίτην ἀνιῶσαν ὑπόδεχόμενος· τὴν δὲ Ἀφροδίτην στεφανοῖ Πειθώ. ἐπείργασται δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλων σὺν Ἀρτέμιδι, Ἀθηνᾶ τε καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, καὶ ἤδη τοῦ βάθρου πρὸς τῷ πέρατι Ἀμφιτρίτη καὶ Ποσειδῶν, Σελήνη τε ἵππον ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ἐλαύνουσα. Now, for some inconceivable reason or another, all German archaeologists, *e. g.* Overbeck, Brunn, Petersen, have assumed that the subject of the work here described was the birth of Aphrodite, and that the figures were arranged in this order, beginning at the left: Helios, Zeus, Hera, Charis, [Hephaistos], Hermes, Hestia—Eros, Aphrodite, Peitho—Apollo, Artemis, Athena, Herakles, Amphitrite, Poseidon, Selene. This makes Aphrodite the central figure; but in order to have the same number of personages on each side of her, the name of Hephaistos has to be violently inserted. This the upholders of the theory justify on the ground that αὐτόν in the phrase παρὰ δὲ αὐτόν Χάρις, implies that the name of some male divinity has been left out. But it is perfectly plain, for a dozen reasons, that the subject of the work was not the birth of Aphrodite at all,—indeed, with what propriety could the birth of Aphrodite from the sea have been made the subject of the only decoration of the base of the statue of Zeus?—but the marriage of Zeus and Hera, a most appropriate subject for the position. I have demonstrated this at length in an article in the *American Art Review*. Pausanias, after speaking of the sun,

already risen above the level of the group of gods, begins his description of that group in his usual, and indeed in the only natural way, with the middle figures. The group then arranges itself in the most natural way thus: Helios (above the group), Peitho, Aphrodite, Eros, Hestia, Hermes, Charis—Hera, Zeus—Apollo, Artemis, Athena, Herakles, Poseidon, Amphitrite, Selene (above the group). The sun and moon are in the sky, the two end groups in the sea, the rest upon Olympus. On each side of the bridal pair are six figures. All that is necessary in order to make the passage in Pausanias correct, is to change one letter, and read αὐτὴν for αὐτόν—παρὰ δὲ αὐτὴν Χάρις.

III.—*Herodotos* VIII, 64. It is curious what mistakes a mere etymological and grammatical interpretation of Greek will sometimes lead people into. Herodotos, describing the preparations for the battle of Salamis, says: "Ἐδοξε δὲ σφι (τοῖς στρατηγοῖς) εὔξασθαι τοῖσι θεοῖσι καὶ ἐπικαλέσασθαι τοὺς Αἰακίδας συμμάχους . . . εὔξασθαι γὰρ πᾶσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι αὐτόθεν μὲν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος Αἴαντά τε καὶ Τελαμῶνα ἐπεκαλέοντο, ἐπὶ δὲ Αἰαχὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους Αἰακίδας νέα ἀπέστελλον ἐς Αἴγιναν. Rawlinson gives the following translation of these words: "Whereupon the Greeks resolved to approach the gods with prayer, and likewise to send and invite the Aeacids to their aid. . . . Prayers were offered to all the gods; and Telamon and Ajax were invoked at once from Salamis, while a ship was sent to Aegina to fetch Aeacus himself, and the other Aeacids." Now, in one instance ἐπικαλέομαι is translated to send and invite, in another to invoke. In the present connection neither rendering is correct. The meaning in both cases is "to send and bring." Αὐτόθεν, moreover, does not mean "at once," but "from where they were"—αὐτόθεν ἐκ Σαλαμῖνος, from Salamis where they were. This is plain from the fact that a ship was sent to Aegina to fetch the statues of the Aeacidae there worshipped. Had there been a mere question of inviting or invoking, the ship would have been entirely unnecessary.

Again, εὔξασθαι is translated, in one instance, to approach (the gods) with prayer, in another, to offer prayers. Again the translation is wrong in both cases. The true rendering is "to make vows." This is plainly shown by a passage in Plutarch's *Life of Perikles* (cap. xvii), where we are told that the great Athenian statesman sent to all the states of Greece asking them πέμπειν Ἀθήναζε τοὺς βουλευσομένους περὶ . . . τῶν θυσιῶν, ἃς ὀφείλουσιν

ὅπερ τῆς Ἑλλάδος εὐξάμενοι τοῖς θεοῖς (as having *vowed* them to the gods) ὅτε πρὸς τοὺς βαρβάρους ἐμάχοντο. We are too apt to forget that praying among the Greeks and Romans, at least on all great occasions, involved vowing, and that the vowing, indeed, was the object of the praying. I have no doubt that the Homeric phrases *πολλὰ εὐξασθαι* and *μεγάλα εὐξασθαι* should in every case be rendered, respectively, "to vow many offerings," and "to vow large offerings." One might indeed pray much (*πολλά*); but it is hard to see how one could pray large or big (*μεγάλα*). What is true of *εὐχομαι* is true of *ἀρᾶσθαι*. See Iliad I, 35 and 43, where the two words are used of the same act. In line 35, the words *πολλὰ ἤρᾱτο* can hardly mean "he prayed much"; for the prayer is given, and occupies only six lines. It must mean he "vowed much," and indeed a very large offering is *implied* in the prayer. No doubt there is plenty of examples of the use of *εὐχομαι* in which the element of vowing is not at all prominent.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

BEOWULF. An Old English Poem, translated into modern rhymes, by Lieut-Colonel H. W. LUMSDEN, late Royal Artillery. London, 1881.

The interest in "Beowulf" is unflagging. Some of the zeal which the Germans for many years have devoted to its elucidation seems to have been carried across the Channel, and besides the edition of Arnold published a few years ago (1876), which seems to have given the stimulus to this work, we now have another verse translation of the poem.

Conybeare in 1826 first gave us copious extracts translated into blank verse, and of genuine poetic merit; but Wackerbarth in 1849 first published a complete poetic version of the poem, which he began twelve years before, soon after the publication of Kemble's text. We have had to wait twenty-two years for a second poetic translation, although the texts of Thorpe and Arnold, as well as that of Kemble, are accompanied by a prose translation. Meantime, in addition to the translation of Ettmüller (1840), we have had German poetical versions from Grein (1857), Simrock (1859), Heyne (1863), and von Wolzogen (1873); the Danes have supplied two translations, Grundtvig's (1820) and Schaldemose's (1847), and the French have at last begun to study the poem, Botkine having published a prose translation (1877). These versions, with the prose translation of extracts given by Sharon Turner (1805), and the Latin translation of Thorkelin attached to his edition (1815), the first ever published—for which, with all its defects, he will be ever remembered—show that "Beowulf" is a much-translated poem, even if we have few English translations.

Col. Lumsden has done well to present the poem again in an English dress, for, as he well says: "Its real value—considered as an historical authority merely—lies in the vivid picture it gives us of the life, the manners, and the habits of thought and speech of our forefathers in that 'dark backward and abysm of time,' and doubtless few will seek this information in the original. It is evident that Col. Lumsden has regarded the poem from a literary and not a critical point of view. He has "used Grein's text," and relied much upon Arnold; but he used the text of Grein as given in the Bibliothek der A. S. Poesie (1857), the same which Arnold used,¹ and not Grein's later and revised text of the separate edition (1867), nor does he seem to have made any reference to Heyne's text. Here again we have a lover of "Beowulf" neglecting the two best German editions of the text. One passage which shows this is line 20, where Grein read "*gleaw guma*" in '57, and so given by Arnold, but "*geong guma*" in '67, which Lumsden translates "wise man." Also in line 15 Col. Lumsden translates *aldorledse* for Grein's ('67) *aldorcare*. Some other lines in which the texts vary are translated too freely to show the difference of reading,

¹ I have already (Am. Jour. Phil. I 1, 90) expressed my conviction that Arnold's text is printed from Thorpe's with some changes to correspond to Grein's text in the Bibliothek.

and one crucial passage, lines 83-86, is omitted altogether with the remark, "the meaning is exceedingly obscure." There are several such omissions, e. g., lines 767-770, 1724-1758, where Col. Lumsden thinks "Old Hrothgar displays a 'forty-parson power' of dullness," which, however true, is not the question when we come to translate a poem, even though the passage may be an interpolation; 1931-1963, 2061-2, "the sense of which is very obscure"; 2214-2231, text corrupt; 2475, where Kemble and Thorpe think some lines may have dropped out and Arnold re-arranges the text, but Grein and Heyne make no change; 2930-32, which Thorpe calls corrupt, Arnold says "make no sense in their present context," and puts after 2478 and line 2475 immediately after them, but Grein and Heyne follow the MS.; 3150-3156, text very corrupt. There is difficulty in referring to Col. Lumsden's translation because he has neglected to number the lines or give the corresponding lines of the original, and has numbered his sections differently from the usual text.

Another passage which shows conclusively that Col. Lumsden has used Grein's text of 1857 only is line 2076, the much discussed *Hondscid*, where he says, "a difficult passage which I can only paraphrase, taking Grein's explanation of *hondscid*, *impetus manibus factus*," but Grein, '67, reads this as a proper name, in this agreeing with Grundtvig, Rieger, Bugge, Heyne, and Ettmüller (1875).

In the noted passage relating to Healfdene's children, line 62, Col. Lumsden seems to have misapprehended Grein, and so translated wrongly his text, for he says (p. 101): "Mr. Arnold thinks that Ela was the name of a fourth son of Healfdene, but Grein's explanation of the defective line, making Ela the son-in-law of Healfdene, seems simpler and better." But Grein reads: *kyrde ic paet Elan cwæn* [*Ongenþeowes waes*], *Heaðoscylfingas*, *heals-gebedda*, evidently making Elan a daughter, as Arnold rightly states. If, however, the lists are open, and we must resort to conjecture to fill the missing half-line, why may we not read *æreste* or *ððere waes*, Elan being the first wife, and the Geatish maiden, mentioned line 2932, the mother of Onela and Ohthere, being the second wife of Ongentheow, or *vice versa*?

Col. Lumsden does not trouble himself about the origin of the poem, and the *Müllenhoff* or *Ettmüller* theory; but as he refers, in his Introduction, to the date and scene of the poem, it might have been as well to state that there is a "Homeric question" connected with "Beowulf."

I cannot think the vehicle used by Col. Lumsden the most suitable one for a poetic translation of "Beowulf." He must have written without the fear of Mr. Matthew Arnold before his eyes, who, in his lectures "On Translating Homer," has shown the unsuitability of the fourteen-syllable ballad measure for a translation of Homer; and "Beowulf" is our Anglo-Saxon Homer, but with a difference, which makes all the more against this measure. While Homer is "rapid in movement," to use Mr. Arnold's expression, "Beowulf" is not rapid in movement, and *a fortiori* the ballad measure is unsuitable for it. But "Beowulf" is grand, "Beowulf" is noble, in this coinciding with Homer, and, to take Mr. Arnold's testimony, "the ballad manner and movement are often either jaunty and smart, so not noble; or jog-trot and humdrum, so not powerful." There is another objection, which may apply to all rime-measures: there is a tendency to eke out the line with a word for the sake of the rime,

and this destroys the effect. The most suitable measure for a poet to use in translating "Beowulf" is the Miltonic blank verse, for the very objection to it made by Mr. Arnold in the case of Homer, its lack of rapidity, makes it all the more suitable for "Beowulf." When a knowledge of Anglo-Saxon poetry becomes a more common possession, that poet will arise, and we shall have a translation of "Beowulf" which will give the general public an idea of its manner as well as of its matter.

But Col. Lumsden has made good use of his measure, and some passages are of real poetic worth, though he is not always at his best; and sometimes we have to scan the line, which should scan itself. The following passage (569-574) may serve to illustrate the best use:

Leóht cástan com
beorht beácen godes: brimu swaðredon,
þæt ic sǣnaessas geseón mihte,
windige weallas. Wyrd oft nereð
unfaegne eorl, þonne his ellen deáh!

This is a simple passage, and Col. Lumsden renders it well, except in the last line, where he fails altogether to give the force of *unfaegne*:

"Dawned in the east God's beacon bright,—the waves were lulled to sleep,
And I beheld the windy walls—the headlands of the sea.
For weird oft helps the fearless earl who battles manfully."

As, however, the translator, according to Wackerbarth (Preface, ad init.; I recommend the whole passage, too long for quotation), has a thankless task, for "he is called to account not only for his own faults, but likewise for the ignorance of many of his readers," I must do Col. Lumsden the justice to give the first canto, to which I add Wackerbarth's translation for comparison, as it is not readily accessible, and another made a few years ago, not by a poet, which still remains in MS., and whose only claim to consideration is its literalness, being line for line, with some attempt to imitate the rhythm of the original, and permitting alliteration where it comes of itself, but not seeking it by compulsion. I am aware that Mr. Matthew Arnold says: "The peculiar effect of a poet resides in his manner and movement, not in his words taken separately," and that he insists much upon "nobleness" in the translator; but as he gives us no rules for attaining this very desirable quality, if nature has not endowed us with it, we can only lament the fact, and do the best we can without it; perhaps he would say "*ne sutor*," but then if we never attempt, how can we ever succeed?

Col. Lumsden renders the opening canto as follows:

"Lo! we have heard of glory won by Gar-Dane Kings of old,
And mighty deeds these princes wrought. Oft with his warriors bold
Since first an outcast he was found, did Scyld the Scefing hurl
From their mead-benches many a folk, and frighted many an earl.
Therein he took his pleasure, and waxed great beneath the sky,
And throve in worship, till to him all folk that dwelt hard by,
And o'er the whale-path, tribute paid, and did his word obey.
Good king was he!

To him was born an heir in after day,
 A child in hall; the gift of God to glad the people sent;
 For he had seen the long sore straits they, lordless, underwent.
 And therefore did the Prince of life, the Lord of glory, shower
 All worldly praise on him, the famed Beowulf;¹ and the power
 Of Scyld's great heir spread far and wide through all the Danish land.
 So must the wise man gift and fee deal forth with open hand
 Within his father's hall; thereby, in age and time of fight,
 That comrades true may stand by him and help the folk aright.
 In every people men shall thrive by worthy deeds alone!
 Then to God's hands went mighty Scyld, his fated hour made known,
 And to the shore his comrades dear him carried as he bade
 While yet as Scylding's chief beloved he long the people swayed.
 Ready at hithe the ringed-stem lay,—meet for a prince's bier—
 Shining like ice—and to her lap they bore their chieftain dear;
 Hard by the mast they laid him down, their glorious lord of rings.
 Well laden was the bark with wealth and far-brought precious things:
 In comelier wise no keel I trow before did ever sail,
 With weapons decked, and battle-weed, and bills, and coats of mail.
 Much treasure lay upon his breast, with him afar to go
 Into the might of waves. No lesser gifts did they bestow—
 A people's gifts—than they who sent him forth in days of old
 O'er seas, a little child, alone. And now a crest of gold
 High o'er his head they raised aloft; and gave him to the flood
 To bear away to open sea, with grief and mourning mood.
 But not the wisest man in hall, nor bravest under heaven
 Can ever tell for sooth to whom that lordly freight was driven."

Wackerbarth uses a very different measure and varies it at pleasure:

"Lo! We have learned in lofty Lays
 The Gár-Danes' Deeds in antient Days
 And Ages past away,
 The Glories of the Theod-Kings
 And how the valiant Aethelings
 Bare them in Battle's Day.
 Oft Scyld, the son of Scéf, from Bands
 Of foemen, drawn from numerous Lands,
 The Mead-thrones tare away:
 For Dread he cast on all around
 Sith he was first an Out-cast found.
 Thus he abode in easy State,
 And 'neath the Welkin waxéd great,
 And in his Glories thrave,
 Till circling Nations far and wide
 Over the Path the Whale doth ride
 Obeyed and Tribute gave.

¹ The reader must not confound this "Beowulf" with the hero of the poem, who is introduced later.

This was a Monarch good : and he
Was after bless'd with Progeny,
Young in his Palaces, by Heaven
A Comfort to the People given ;
He knew the Ill they had sustain'd
While chieftainless they long remain'd.
Therefore to him the Lord, whose Sway
Life and Death themselves obey,
Who Glory gives and takes away,
Vouchsafed a high Command :
Illustrious was Beowulf's Name,
And widely spread the Scylding's Fame
Through all the scatter'd Land.
Thus should a Warriour Chieftain bold
Enhance by prudent Gifts of Gold
His Father's Dignity,
That when age-stricken is his Hand,
And War shall come upon his Land,
A voluntary warrior Band
May round him marshall'd be.
He whom his People will sustain,
In every Land shall Honour gain,
By Deeds of Chivalry.
But Scyld, at fated Time, departs
Ripe, to the Lord's eternal Rest.
His Comrades dear with aching Hearts—
According to his last Behest
While yet he own'd the Power of Speech,—
Bare forth his Corpse upon the Beach.
A ring-prow'd Ship there ready stood
Prepared to tempt the foaming Flood,
The Car the noble love to ride
It shone like Ice upon the Tide.
Within the goodly Vessel's Hold
Their Monarch dear they cast.
Distributor of Rings of Gold,
The mighty by the Mast.
And there were Gems and Treasure fair
From distant Climes collected there.
And never did I hear Man say
Of comelier Ship, bedight
With Weeds of War for Battle's Fray,
With deadly Bills and Byrnies grey,
And Weapons of the Fight.
Rich treasure in abundant Heap
Upon his Bosom lay,
Into Possession of the Deep
With him to pass away.

They would not send their Chief away
 With less Magnificence than they
 Who sent him forth of yore,
 To wander o'er the Ocean wild
 A lonely and deserted Child.
 They high above his Head unroll'd
 A fluttering Banner's Wings of Gold,
 And bear him let the Waters cold,
 To Ocean gave him o'er.
 His gallant Band of cheer were low,
 And sore dispirited,
 For, sooth to say, no Mortal, though
 He wise may be, can ever know,
 Nor answer how or whereunto
 The pretious Cargo sped."

The periphrasis in the last four lines is bad, and foreign to the simple directness of "Beowulf," but is evidently caused by the exigencies of the measure.

The third translator does not compete with the poets, but sticks to his text (Grein, '67):

"Lo! we, of the Spear-Danes, in days of yore,
 The warrior-kings' glory have heard,
 How the princes heroic deeds wrought.
 Oft Scyld, son of Scef, from hosts of foes,
 5 From many tribes, their mead-seats took;
 The earl caused terror since first he was
 Found thus forlorn; gained he comfort for that,
 Grew under the clouds, in honors throve,
 Until each one of those dwelling around
 10 Over the whale-road him should obey,
 Should tribute pay: that was a good king!
 To him was a son afterwards born,
 Young in his palace, one whom God sent
 To the people for comfort: their distress he perceived,
 15 That they ere suffered life-eating care
 So long a while. Them therefor life's Lord,
 King of glory, world-honor gave:
 Beowulf was noted (wide spread his fame)
 The son of Scyld in Scedelands.
 20 So shall a young man with presents cause,
 With rich money-gifts in his father's house,
 That him in old age may afterwards attend
 Willing comrades, when war shall come,
 May stand by their chief; by deeds of praise shall
 25 In every tribe a hero thrive!
 Then Scyld departed at the hour of fate,
 The warlike to go into his Lord's keeping:
 They him then bore to the ocean's wave,
 His trusty comrades, as he himself bade,

- 30 Whilst with words ruled the friend of the Scyldings,
 Beloved land-prince: long wielded he power.
 There at haven stood with curvéd prow,
 Icy and ready, the prince's barque:
 The people laid their dear war-lord,
- 35 Giver of rings, on the deck of the ship,
 The mighty by the mast. Many treasures were there
 From distant lands, ornaments brought;
 Ne'er heard I of a keel more comelily filled
 With warlike weapons and weeds of battle,
- 40 With bills and byrnie! On his bosom lay
 A heap of jewels, which with him should
 Into the flood's keeping afar depart;
 Not at all with less gifts did they him provide,
 With princely treasures, than those [friends] did
- 45 Who him at his birth had erst sent forth
 Alone over the sea when but an infant.
 Then placed they still a golden standard
 High over his head, let the waves bear
 Their gift to the sea; sad was their soul,
- 50 Mourning their mood. Men indeed cannot
 Say now in sooth, hall-possessioners,
 Heroes under heavens, who that load received!"

The introductory canto is not well suited to give the general reader a good idea of the poem. It lacks action, and is but part of a general introduction extending to about two hundred lines, which is considered by Köhler and Müllenhoff as a later addition; but we could not expect the poet to plunge *in medias res*, and he prepares our minds gradually for the great contest with Grendel. Lack of space forbids a quotation from this exciting episode, lines 665-836 (section V in Col. Lumsden's translation), and the reader must seek its beauties for himself. Let him turn thence to the fight with Grendel's mother, and lastly to the final struggle with the dragon, whom Beowulf overcomes, but loses his life also. The publication of Col. Lumsden's translation will have the effect, I hope, of turning the minds of the public to this precious heirloom of our forefathers, and of showing that the minstrels in those early days of the Teutonic conquest of Britain sang such poetry as their descendants can well enjoy, and would do well to neglect no longer. It matters little whether in "Beowulf" as in Homer we have one or more lays: suffice it that the perilous adventures of the hero serve as a connecting link to bind the lays into one whole, notwithstanding the digressions, and to illustrate the poetic talent of the poet, or poets, who enlivened the feasts of ancient days, and whose productions are a substantial evidence of the literary culture to which our Anglo-Saxon ancestors had attained.

J. M. G.

Nubische Grammatik, mit einer Einleitung über die Völker und Sprachen Afrika's, von R. LEPSIUS. Berlin, 1880. 8vo, pp. [xii] cxxvi, 506.

This grammar of the Nubian language is the fruit of long-continued studies on the part of its distinguished author. Its beginning dates back nearly forty years, to his memorable expedition to Egypt and Ethiopia (1842-6), in connection with which his first acquaintance with the language was made, a vocabulary gathered, a book of the New Testament (Mark's Gospel) translated into Nubian, and a collection of native songs (unfortunately afterwards lost) written down. The presence of an educated Nubian in Germany somewhat later (1853) gave the opportunity of continuation and revision. Professor Lepsius does not explain why the publication of his results was delayed for more than twenty-five years longer: we may conjecture that it was owing partly to absorption in his Egyptian studies, and partly to his desire to elaborate the general views as to African race and language laid down by him in the Introduction (126 pages), which to the great majority of readers will be the part of the volume of highest interest, and with which we have especially to concern ourselves here. The grammar itself occupies a little less than two hundred pages, and is most clearly and attractively worked out (we miss in it a designation of the accent of the words given, which might, one would think, have been easily added); then follow sixty pages of texts, and near two hundred of vocabulary (Nubian-German and German-Nubian); and the work closes with an appendix of sixty pages on the dialects of the language, along with a criticism of Reinisch's recent work on the Nubian.

The interest taken by Lepsius in the general problem of African languages has been repeatedly testified before: his "Standard Alphabet" included a detailed account of their phonology, and presented also a classification of them, a forerunner of the more complete classification, with exposition of its grounds in their structure and relations, which the Introduction to this volume contains. The subject is one upon which great discordance of views prevails, even (or especially) among those who have given most attention to it; and it would be premature to regard the questions involved in it as definitely settled until special students shall have worked themselves out to a better agreement respecting them. Within the limited space of even so ample an Introduction to the grammar of a single tongue, Lepsius is of course able to give only a brief sketch of his views and the reasons for them, putting them forth for his contemporaries to criticize from their various points of view; without at all pretending to the knowledge which would enable me to judge them with authority, I desire here to state them succinctly, and to examine their relation to certain general principles of the science of language.

Professor Lepsius rejects, with good reason, the method of classification of human races based on so trivial a characteristic as the shape of the cross-section of their hairs, a method which has been adopted and worked out with learning and ingenuity by Friedrich Müller of Vienna; and, in striking antithesis to this scholar, who advances the somewhat paradoxical doctrine that among the four great African races recognized by him the physical differences are as great as among all the other divisions of mankind, he holds that the various African tribes, including even the Hottentots, are physically one race; pointing out, in addition to the common characteristics usually recognized, a forward-tilted position of the pelvis, setting the upper part of the body more

at an angle with the legs than in other races. The inhabitants, however, of Egypt, and of the countries stretching westward and southward from Egypt, he regards as intruders, of Asiatic descent: he calls them by the customary name, Hamites, and divides them into Egyptian, Libyan (Tuareg and Hausa), and Cushite (Beja, Galla, Somali, etc.); while the Semites (Abyssinian and Arabian), ultimately related with these, are still more recent immigrants from Asia. The Hottentot language, as will be noticed later, is classed as an offshoot from the Cushitic.

As set over against the tongues of these intruders, the disposition of the proper African languages is as follows: Nearly the whole of the southern peninsula of the continent, from 7° or 8° N. L. almost to the Cape, is occupied by the dialects of a single well-marked and compact family, the South African or Zingian or Bantu (Lepsius, following Bleek, prefers the last-named designation, which we will accordingly employ); while a broad band across the centre of the continent where it is widest, an immense border-land, as it were, toward Hamite and Semite, in extent nearly or quite equal to the Bantu territory, contains a mass of varying languages, discordant in structure and vocabulary. To explain this state of things, Lepsius holds and endeavors to prove that the Bantu and the Hamitic (of course, in their older, prehistoric forms) are the original sole factors, and that the zone between them is the diversified product of their collision and mutual influence and mixture.

This generalization of Professor Lepsius is a very grand and attractive one; and if it is or shall be well established, the working-out of the history in detail will be a most important department of the study of language. The leading point of general linguistic science involved is that of the mixture of languages, of the degree and kind of influence which one tongue can and does exert upon another in consequence of contact, along with more or less of mixture of races. If from causes of this character such effects can result as are here assumed, then the views hitherto prevalent must be very considerably modified. This is seen and pointed out by our author, who says (p. lxxxv) that the assumption now generally made, that the vocabulary of one language may indeed in considerable measure pass over into another, but not its grammatical forms and their use, is proved by African linguistics to be a prejudice. It could not, of course, enter into Professor Lepsius's plan to discuss the theoretic point in full within the restricted limits of his Introduction; but it will probably be in general thought that he has passed over it with regrettable brevity, considering its cardinal importance to his theory. An assumption may be summarily dealt with by making a contrary assumption; but the doctrine in question does not appear to be an assumption, but rather a scientific deduction from all the facts of language-mixture, historically authenticated and of unmistakable interpretation, hitherto at command. It is not derived from the mixtures taking place within the limits of a single family alone, like the Indo-European, but from those of tongues of different stock and discordant structure. It seems to accord with the best views obtainable as to the mode of working of the language-forces. It cannot, then, be set aside in a sentence as a mere prejudice. That we are authorized to erect it into a universal law, admitting no exceptions, is by no means claimed.¹ But if it be in truth inapplicable to the peculiar

¹ Some of the points involved have been discussed by the writer in a paper on "Mixture in Language," presented to the Am. Philol. Association, and expected to appear in the latter's Transactions for 1881.

conditions of early African language, the grounds of its inapplicability ought to admit of some sort of demonstration; and till that is furnished, it will be felt to stand as a powerful obstacle in the way of general acceptance of a theory involving its rejection, and will compel the inquiry whether, after all, some other theory may not be found capable of explaining the facts in question.

The method by which our author proposes to establish his view as to the genesis of the intermediate band of heterogeneous languages is to set up a certain list of leading particulars in which the Bantu and Hamitic tongues differ, and by these to test the others, ascribing the various agreements and disagreements to the influence of the one or of the other combining element. This method is not without its uncertainties. Every door must be either shut or open; with regard to any given peculiarity, every dialect must either possess it or be without it; and hence it is always possible to take the differences of two tongues, and to find that certain other tongues arrange themselves on the side either of the first or of the second as regards each point of difference. It is not by any means denied that valuable truth may be brought to light by such a comparison; we have only to be careful not to look upon it as a demonstration; that character can be given to it only by the whole complex of conditions involved: as, the circumstances of locality (which here are evidently altogether in favor of Lepsius's theory), the number and importance of the criteria, and, above all, the question whether they are explainable by the cause alleged, or are not plausibly explainable by any other.

From among the mass of differences that distinguish Hamitic and Bantu speech, Professor Lepsius makes a selection of twelve as test-points or criteria. They are, in brief statement, as follows: 1. The use in Bantu of classificatory prefixes to the nouns, in singular and plural, dividing them into so many classes, or declensions, or genders, on a basis of resemblances and differences not now clear, though still apparently in some measure traceable. This is the most fundamental item in the well-known peculiarity of the South-African as prevaillingly prefix-languages (the use of suffixes, however, being not entirely wanting), while the Hamitic agrees with nearly all the other families of the globe in having its external structure made almost exclusively by suffixes. With this stands closely connected, 3. the use of noun-making prefixes in the languages of the middle zone, against that of suffixes in Hamitic; and a part of the same general style of structure are, 4. the use of prefixed or of suffixed pronominal endings in the verbs of the two languages respectively; 5. that of prefixes accordant with those of the noun-form, added in Bantu to the words agreeing with the leading noun, making a sort of alliterative concord, of course wanting in Hamitic; and 6. that of prepositions in Bantu, but of postpositions in a part of the Hamitic tongues, namely the Cushite; for the Egyptian and Libyan have also prepositions. Further, 9. the object following the verb is in Bantu, but not in Hamitic, anticipated by a pronominal element prefixed to the verb after the subject, somewhat after the familiar manner of the incorporating or polysynthetic languages. Again, as regards the order of elements in the sentence: 7. the Bantu genitive stands after the governing noun, the Hamitic genitive either before (Cushite) or after (Egyptian and Libyan); and, 8. the Bantu verb comes always between its subject and object, while the Hamitic regularly either begins or ends the sentence (but it is pointed out later, on p. 1, that the Bantu verb-position is shared also by the Libyan branch of Hamitic).

Yet again, as regards phonetic form: 10. a Bantu syllable generally ends with a vowel, or with only a nasal after the vowel, while no such rule applies to the Hamitic; and 11. Bantu words and syllables often take a prefixed consonantal, especially nasal, element, viewed by our author as generally the relic of a former complete syllable. Then, 12. he claims as belonging originally to all the negro-languages the use of tones, like those of Chinese and the other monosyllabic tongues—that is to say, of differences of pitch and modulation applied to express material differences of meaning; he mentions in detail the authorities on which the acceptance of this element rests, as well as those (more numerous) who have overlooked or denied it: nothing of the sort, of course, occurs in Hamitic (although one authority thinks he finds it in Hausa). Finally is to be noted the criterion given in the series as 2: namely, the discordance in regard to gender-distinction founded on sex, which is present in Hamitic, but wanting in Bantu.

There is evidently considerable difference among these points in regard to their authority and value as criteria. Thus, the 12th, the element of significant tone, cannot well be much relied on until the grammarians of African languages shall have come to a better agreement with reference to its occurrence and its nature. A characteristic of so well-known and long cultivated a tongue as Zulu, for example, which is unrecognized by Grout and Doehne, and rests only upon the authority of Endemann, cannot but be regarded with suspicion. And the more, since the character of African, and especially of South-African, language is very different from that which is generally believed to have led the Chinese and other structureless languages to press this element into the service of their vocabulary: as our author himself says (p. lxix), it “has for its sole object, in all the languages in which it occurs, to increase the means of differentiation”—and here, certainly, there is no lack of other means to that end. Then again, not much stress, it would appear, can be laid upon the 6th and 7th and 8th points—the place of prepositions, of governed “genitives,” and of verbs in the sentence—since respecting them the Hamitic tongues themselves are not agreed: not to speak of the freedom and variety of arrangement prevailing among dialects of the same stock elsewhere in the world, and the obvious possibility that usage as to such matters should admit of variation by the processes of natural growth and change in African language, as it has in Asiatic and European. Nor, once more, does it seem as if such phonetic differences as form the subject of the 10th and 11th points might not well enough be developed, without foreign interference, in languages of common descent (look, for example, at the great difference between Italian and French as regards admitted finals or initial sibilant with mute, or between Sanskrit and Prakrit as regards the general complexity of syllabic structure). The former of the two is of least consequence; the putting on of a prefixed nasal might be more deeply characteristic; but if this nasal be in fact the relic of a former complete initial syllable, it would only constitute an item under the comprehensive head of prefixed elements. There remain, accordingly, as of probably highest value, the two matters of prefix- or suffix-structure, and of the absence or presence of sexual gender-distinction. These we will proceed to consider more fully.

The character of prefix-language belongs in a more marked degree to the Bantu than to any of the tongues of the middle zone, while in many of the

latter it is entirely wanting. Only the Bantu has that intricate system of distinction of noun-classes, and of their singulars and plurals, by different syllables added at the beginning, which syllables then have their correspondents in the qualifying and predicative words that follow, making an alliterative concord which is one of the curiosities of human expression, and is often illustrated.¹ In other languages (e. g. Efik, Ibo, Yoruba), there is an equally prevalent use of noun-prefixes, but they are rather of the nature of general derivative elements, not class-making or generic. Yet others (Temne, Bullom) use their prefixes to make a much less distinct and elaborate classification of objects, hardly more than a division into animate and inanimate. The most remarkable variation, however, is presented by the Pül (Fülbe), which uses suffixes in the manner and office of the Bantu prefixes; but, in addition, it has its nouns begin only with consonants, and often varies these initial consonants after the manner of prefixes (thus, *p-ül-o*, sing., 'red man,' but *f-ül-be*, pl.); whence the natural conjecture is expressed by our author that the initials in question are, after all, concealed or metamorphosed prefixes. And yet further, by a peculiarity which Lepsius calls more striking than anything he has met with elsewhere in language, the initial changes of words signifying human beings are in all respects precisely the reverse of those shown in other words: for example, while *p* of a singular human appellative changes in the plural to *f* (as in the word instanced above), and singular *f* remains unchanged, the singular *f* of an animal or thing changes in the plural to *p* (thus, *f-itta-ndu*, 'soul,' to *p-itta-li*), and singular *p* is permanent. The Wolof (it is believed, nearly related with Pül) has also the variability of initial consonants, and the same variety of suffixes, only without classifying value. And in both there is alliteration, or at least relative concordance, among words syntactically connected. On the other hand, the Pül prefixes its personal endings, while the Wolof suffixes them. Once more, the extensive Mande or Mandingo group, with some others, are as devoid of all use of prefixes as are the Hamitic languages themselves.

These are specimens of the great and perplexing variety of structure exhibited by the negro-languages; obviously, there are problems of growth here which will resist for a long time, if not (owing to lack of sufficient recorded evidence) forever, the best attempts of philologists to explain them, even in their main features. The immediate question is, whether we ought to accept as sufficient and satisfactory our author's general reference of them to the shaping influence of contact and mixture with Hamitic-speaking peoples on the part of speakers of Bantu dialects. For myself, I do not feel ready to do this, considering the question, hitherto at least an open one, as to the admissibility of such a cause as producing such effects, and considering the apparently unique nature of the phenomena, regarded as brought about in this way. Languages of diverse kindred and structure have elsewhere in the world

¹ Professor Lepsius's selected example is:

a-BA-nin *B-etu* *a-BA-hle* *BA-ya-bonakala*, *si-BA-tanda*,
'people our handsome appear, we them love';

where *ba* is the governing plural prefix to the personal noun *nin*; the corresponding sentence with the noun in the singular, meaning 'man,' would be:

n-MU-nin *W-etu* *o-MU-hle* *U-ya-bonakala*, *si-MU-tanda*.

bordered and interpenetrated one another without any analogous results. Perhaps more of the discordance than our author is inclined to allow is owing to discordant growth out of a less developed general condition, rather than to the break-down and working-over of a fully wrought-out structure like the Bantu. We are accustomed to see the grammatical apparatus of a language ruined, in form or in application, under the influence of mixture with foreign material; and the loss or obscuration of the system of class-prefixes, of alliterative concordance, and so on, involves nothing strange or unexpected; but the elaboration of the Pül grammar out of the Bantu or its like, under a Hamitic pressure, seems unaccountable without the admission of very powerful growing and changing forces in the Pül itself. I do not know what authorizes us to admit that processes of inflection or derivation, or modes of construction, are ever taken directly out of one language into another; or that foreign materials can be worked even secondarily into linguistic structure, except where the receiving language is in a plastic state, making new formations of its own. In tongues of agglutinative style and habit, we must be careful not to limit too narrowly the capacities of new production; and a notable example of their work in Africa, in the recent establishment of a *quasi* gender-distinction in certain tongues, will be pointed out a little further on.

It may even be questioned whether we do not attribute too much importance in a linguistic respect to the wide extension of the Bantu dialects, which gives to the African language-field the aspect of a body of Bantu territory with a frontier—a broad one, to be sure—of heterogeneous speech. Is there, after all, anything in this to prove that the Bantu may not have been originally even as one of the others, and have won afterward its immense spread, by the aid of favoring circumstances, along with superior endowments on the part of its speakers? Such disproportionate growth of one of the members of a group seems neither impossible nor unknown: the Latin in southern Europe is a notable example of it (one depending, to be sure, on an order of forces unknown in Africa); there may be added the Russian in eastern Europe, and the English and Spanish in America. The acceptance of a view like this would, of course, further imply that African language-structure was in its growing stage at the period of separation, and that the present condition of the divided dialects shows the results of the carrying-out of originally common tendencies in varying manner and degree, as well as the deadening of other tendencies and the uprise of new ones—in all which, the influence of contact and mixture with strange speech might have borne its part. Perhaps there is evidence in the languages themselves, when completely mastered, sufficient to show whether such a hypothesis is or is not tenable; but the first impression of the facts so clearly set forth by Professor Lepsius upon my mind, at least, is that of growth, rather than of metamorphosis under pressure; and the coherence of the Bantu dialects, as compared with the discordance of even the more nearly related of the northern tongues, might be taken as an indication of relatively recent divergence.

There remains for consideration one point of very prominent interest and importance, that of sexual gender. As a criterion, this makes a pretty sharp division between the whole body of African languages (except the Hottentot, of which later) and the Hamitic: all the latter distinguish nouns as masculine and feminine; all the former fail to do so. And yet, this failure is not without

one highly curious exception, at least in appearance: a series of dialects on the uppermost Nile (Bari, Oigob, Bongo, Shilluk) have the sex-distinction plainly marked, in article, demonstrative, etc. Lepsius, however, finds that in Oigob the fundamental distinction appears rather to be between what is big, strong, imposing on the one side, and what is little, weak, despicable on the other; the two sexes falling into the respective classes according to the usual method of estimate of a barbarous people. If his apprehension and interpretation of the facts is a correct one, we find in them (as hinted above) a striking evidence of the constructive forces recently inherent in African speech: a little body of languages having wrought out, independently of foreign influence (which even Professor Lepsius does not feel tempted to suggest in this case), a distinction which in most of them bears the aspect of a sexual-gender one; a single dialect alone betraying the more material basis on which it rests. Possibly we have here a pregnant and much-needed hint as to how our own gender may have arisen: if it had its inception in a class-division of other character and wider reach, into which sex entered as only one element, but one that came to be the prominent and to seem the fundamental one, then at least a part of the difficulties surrounding this hitherto insoluble problem in linguistic growth will be eliminated.

Lepsius attributes a more decisive weight to the element of gender-distinction than most students of language are accustomed to do: whether rightly or wrongly, must be left for the future to determine. Thus, its absence from the Nubian, the language forming the special subject of his volume, seems to him (p. lxxii) enough by itself to prove that this dialect is African and not Hamitic, although in all his other test-points its character is Hamitic. And yet we have in our own Indo-European family a familiar example, the Persian, of a language that has totally lost its old system of genders. Again, it is especially because the Hottentot has genders that our author classes it with full confidence as a tongue of Hamitic origin. His view is, that the race who speak it became separated from the mass of Hamites in the north-east by the crowding outward of the South African or Bantu peoples, and was gradually driven southward and westward, becoming at the same time so mixed with negro elements of population as at last to lose entirely its primitive physical type and assume one that is even exaggeratedly African, with the exception of a more reddish tinge of color. At the same time, no correspondences of material are to be traced between the Hottentot and any of the Hamitic dialects, which would be a natural enough result of such a history; and, while such formative elements as it has are suffixed and not prefixed, it is almost purely monosyllabic: which, again, so far as can be seen at present, may be a consequence of reduction from earlier fullness, in accordance with our author's opinion, instead of constituting an original characteristic, as some others have maintained. What is more extraordinary, now, than anything else is that the specific signs of gender—namely, *δ* for masculines and *τ* and *ς* for feminines—are identically the same in Hottentot and in Beja, a Cushitic dialect of Hamitic, and nearly related with those of the other Hamitic dialects. Lepsius puts this correspondence prominently forward, but does not appear to insist upon it as an absolute demonstration of the truth of the claimed relationship. And, as would seem, with good reason. For it were hard to tell which should be deemed more incredible: that such a correspondence should be accidental merely, having no

historical basis; or that the Hottentot signs should be in truth the inherited counterparts of those of the Beja, kept safe and unaltered, in spite of the wearing out of all the rest of the Hamitic structure, the total transformation of the vocabulary, and the thorough Africanization of even the physical type of the race. Either alternative seems impossible of acceptance; and one might well hesitate before pronouncing the former the harder of the two.

Yet again, Lepsius pronounces (p. xxvi) their agreement in the item of gender-distinction a sufficient evidence that Indo-European, Semitic, and Hamitic are branches of one and the same original stock. Now it is certainly a very striking fact that these three great light-complexioned races, leaders one after another in the world's civilization, and probably enough deriving their origin from the same quarter of the globe, are the only ones (with the exception, to be sure, of the Hottentot and the Oigob and its kin!) to have established gender as an element of their grammar; and I would not venture categorically to deny that its best explanation may one day be found to lie in their original unity; but I cannot at present think it probable—much less, already proved. Gender has altogether the aspect of a distinction gradually established in the course of structural growth, and not dating back to that structureless stage in which, if anywhere, the unity of these three great divisions of human speech must have lain. The whole subject is, to be sure, rather too imperfectly comprehended to allow of our maintaining this with dogmatism; but dogmatism on the other side is also just as much forbidden. Lepsius speaks (p. xxiv) of "frequent enough" traces in Indo-European of the original feminine sign *t* in the "softened feminine *s*," and, without change, in the neutral *t* or *d* of the pronouns, and elsewhere. What he may be keeping back that occurs "elsewhere" cannot well have its importance estimated; but it ought, in order to have any real value, to be decidedly better than that which he quotes: I do not know what a "feminine *s*" is, nor how the neuter-ending *d* of half-a-dozen pronominal stems can witness in favor of a primeval general feminine *t*.

Our author endeavors to support his opinion by establishing a psychological or moral basis for the generic classes of the African languages and the sexual genders of the three white families respectively. Noticing (p. xxi) that, among the more or less indistinct and confused divisions of objects made by the former device, those of human beings and other creatures, or of persons and things, are best maintained, and in many of the languages the only ones left, he conjectures the ground of them "to lie in the position of individuals of the oldest uncultivated races with reference to surrounding Nature. The animal world and the whole of Nature with its superior forces assumed toward man an imposingly hostile attitude; against their ever-present threatening he found aid and protection only in his fellow-men. Hence the importance which he lays upon the rapid and distinct designation of each object according to its friendly, hostile, or indifferent relation to himself." I must confess myself unable to appreciate the force of this argument. Lepsius holds the Bantu system of classes to be the original one, of which the others are wrecks and remnants; and it, certainly, is in no working order for such a defensive purpose, nor does it show signs of ever having been an efficient weapon. If human beings and all the other objects, of whatever class, have their distinctive names, how will even a sudden warning against, for instance, a hostile lion or thunderbolt be quickened by fastening to the name of it a class-sign that

shows it not to be a human being? Can any one imagine a practical way of putting our own *who* and *what* to use after such a fashion? Moreover, nature is full also of useful and helpful objects of every class, inanimate and animate; and, after all, a man's worst foes, as well as his nearest allies, are they of his own species: a pronominal distinction between friend and enemy, or fellow-tribesman and stranger, would be worth much more than all this intricate and mixed-up system of classes. Finally, the wild beasts and other products and phenomena of Asia are at least not less formidable than those of other continents, and the Asian man needed as much grammatical assistance in making head against them as the African.

The other side, however, of Professor Lepsius's theory is intended to explain the discordance between African classes and Asiatic genders. He points out (p. xxiv) that the three gender-races have been, and are likely always to continue to be, the leading ones in human history: in fact, the only "historical" ones. It is not, he thinks (p. xxvi), to be disputed "that all race-capacity of higher development must proceed from a deepened moral basis, which in great part, if not mainly, finds its expression in the family. But it is especially the distinction and division of the sexes, and their prevailingly moral regulation and antithesis in marriage, on which the family rests." And here is the desired psychological foundation for grammatical gender. "The collective race-mind, which is always faithfully reflected by language, was so dominated by this [sexual] mode of contemplating things as to transfer it from human beings to the whole of surrounding Nature, and to divide between the two sexes all her individualized and designated phenomena."

This argument also seems to lie open to the charge of fancifulness. That the higher endowment of the successful races in their first barbarous stages expressed itself in any measure by conformity to our present laws of morality is not easily to be credited; it appeared rather in an intellectual superiority which enabled them to find out and gradually incorporate in arts and institutions (of course, not without the aid of favoring circumstances) whatever would tend to their material advancement. The virtues that make for progress are different at different periods of progress. The sexual morality of that period when Hamite, Semite, and Indo-European were members of one society (supposing that this was ever the case) would be likely to please us as little in the contemplation as their respect for the rights of property and life outside their own tribal limits, or their treatment of the old and infirm. Nor is it clear that the due organization of the family has anything to do with grammatical gender. No language fails to be a gender-language so far as concerns human beings, and also all other creatures in whom the distinction of sex is a notable and practically important one. Every known tongue incorporates in words its apprehension of the distinction between man and woman, father and mother, son and daughter, brother and sister, and so on, and can proceed without linguistic obstacle to construct its laws as to the relations of the sexes in such form as its changing and developing sense of what is conducive to welfare, and therefore right, shall at any time dictate. There is no difference in this respect between Semite and African and Mongol and Polynesian, any more than between the Frenchman, to whom everything is either masculine or feminine, the German, who has also a neuter which he cannot explain (he ranks 'woman' and 'child' under it), the Englishman, who says *he* and *she*, but only when he means actual

persons, and the Persian, who cannot do even that. The very essence of a gender-language is, not that it distinguishes the sexes, but that it treats also every sexless thing as if sexual, and classifies it accordingly. This seems to many a kind of homage paid to the sexual distinction, a testimony to the power of its moral control over the mind; but it may with more plausibility be claimed to be the very opposite—an attenuation and effacement of all distinctive meaning in sex, by assuming it artificially and falsely in the innumerable cases where it does not exist at all. Just so, it would hardly evidence a controlling sense of the profound difference between good and evil to call trees good and their fruit evil, doors good and windows evil, eyes good and noses evil, and so on through the whole universe; or a sense for form to class goodness and headaches as round, and birds and the weather as square; or a sense for color to attribute redness to souls and verbs, blueness to noises and nouns, and yellowness to countries and prepositions. The keenest and most ever-present apprehension of color, it should seem, would be testified by giving colored names to things that possess color, and to no others, noting the absence as well as the presence and varieties of the element. Finally, it is a telling fact, which should not be left out of sight in discussions as to gender, that the most central sexual words in our own family of languages, those in which the moral value of the distinction ought especially to show itself—namely, the words of relationship *father, mother, sister, brother, daughter*—have no gender-character of their own, but are made with the same suffix and share the same declension.

On the whole, our author's treatment of the subject of gender, though highly ingenious and full of suggestiveness, does not seem to bring us to any definite and satisfactory result. The distinction still remains, to all appearance, one of the accidents of speech, having no moral character, any more than belongs to a dual number or an instrumental case, of problematic origin, and obscure in its bearings until it shall be better understood.

We may remark, in leaving the subject, that to Professor Lepsius the clear retention in Hamitic of the signs of both genders, while Semitic has lost the separate masculine sign, and Indo-European mainly both, seems (p. xxvii) "one of the many indications that the Hamitic stem first left the primeval home, next the Semitic, and finally the Japhetic." This is in direct and refreshing antithesis to the view still widely held, that, because the Aryan (Indo-Iranian) branch of our own family has retained on the whole more that is primitive in its speech than the other branches have done, therefore the spot where we find it at the dawn of history must be close to the original home of the family. Elsewhere, however (p. xxiv), we are told that "no one questions that locally the original abode of the three families was in Asia, and in or near the Mesopotamian plains, and that they accordingly had a common point of dispersion." The author seems hardly justified in ignoring to this extent the large and respectable party (if not a majority) of linguistic scholars who are unconvinced of the relationship of these families, and of whom some have set up other definite theories as to the place of Indo-European unity, fixing it in Europe or even in Africa, while some, like myself, have endeavored to show that no conclusion whatever respecting the matter can be drawn from the character and distribution of the dialects constituting the family.

Lepsius utterly refuses (p. cvi) to admit alongside these three great historical and cultivated races a fourth, of so-called Turanian or Ural-Altaic connection, which should have laid in Mesopotamia (as Accadians, Sumerians, or whatever else we may call them) the foundation of culture afterward built upon successively by Semites and Indo-Europeans. He believes the Egyptians to have been the originators of that civilization, and the Cushites the intermediaries by whom it was carried eastward. The grounds of his belief he hardly more than hints at, but his name and fame lend it, as mere expression of opinion, a degree of authority; it is to be hoped that he will some time take occasion to discuss the subject more fully.

There are other matters either laid out or touched upon in this most interesting work, which, for lack of space, must be left unreported here. So, especially, the history of the Cushites and their place in ancient civilization: a theme upon which, as every one knows, a vast deal of nonsense has been written, but which by Lepsius is reduced to sober and distinct historic form. Whether the main question treated by him, that of the relationship of African languages, shall or shall not prove to have been finally settled by his researches, he will at any rate be found to have contributed greatly to its settlement, by gathering and marshalling the evidences, and opening up lines of inquiry that shall lead to the discovery of the truth.

W. D. WHITNEY.

Qua in re Hymni Homerici quinque majores inter se differant antiquitate vel Homeritate investigavit J. R. S. STERRETT, Ph. D. *Dissertatio inauguralis* Monacensis. Boston: Ginn & Heath, 1881.

Dr. Sterrett has done well in publishing, after the German fashion, his dissertation, for it is a real addition to the existing helps for the study of the Homeric hymns. We find, it is true, some things not quite to our mind. We wish he had not changed the old order of the hymns, and that the proof-reading had been more careful. We wish he had seen Berthold Suhle's essay on the Hymn to Aphrodite (Program of the Gymnasium at Stolp, 1877-8) and considered his arguments for a late date of that hymn. We wish he had weighed more carefully the suggestions of Windisch's Dissertation (1867), that the recognition of the digamma in the Hymns is due to the use of Homeric formulas and that therefore it does not furnish a sure criterion of their relative dates. But, in spite of these qualifications, we heartily welcome and commend this little book. The collections, in the prolegomena, of non-Homeric words and collocations of words are valuable, but the most useful part of the book in our judgment is the text of the five Hymns, in which, by a difference of type, the reader is enabled to see as he reads the number and character of the phrases borrowed from the Homeric poems, for each of which a reference is given in the foot-notes. This device, which we do not remember to have seen adopted before, makes the book useful even to advanced students.

L. R. P.

REPORTS.

JOURNAL ASIATIQUE, 1881.

Janvier. 1. La poétesse Fadhl, scènes de moeurs sous les khalifes Abbassides, par M. Cl. Huart. M. Huart has collected from Kitāb el Aghāni, Maṣūdī and other sources a number of anecdotes illustrating the court-life under Motawakkil, who ascended the throne A. H. 232 (A. D. 845)—a compound of great literary brilliancy and unbounded licence of manners. To the earnestness of the early Califs succeeded the luxury and debauchery of the Abbassides, under whom begins the decadence of poetry. The centre of the brilliant circle of improvisatori and wits at Bagdad was the poetess Fadhl, a native of Yemam, a province of Central Arabia, a sort of Ninon de l'Enclos presiding over a Hotel Rambouillet.

2. Essai sur les inscriptions du Safa, par M. J. Halévy. (Suite.) The first report of the inscriptions at Safa, in the volcanic district east of Damascus, was made by the English traveler Graham in 1857. In 1860 Wetzstein copied 260 of the inscriptions, of which he published ten with the suggestion that they were the work of Sabeian tribes who had come to this region from southern Arabia during the first centuries of the Christian era, which view was adopted by de Vogüé. Decipherment of the inscriptions was first attempted by Dr. O. Blau in 1860 (ZDMG, XV, 3), on the supposition that the language was identical with the Arabic, and the alphabet similar to the Sinaitic or Nabatean and the Numidian-Berber or Libyan. In reply to this Professor D. H. Müller of Vienna (ZDMG, XXX, 514) pointed out that the language was Sabeian or Himyaritic, and that the Phoenician alphabet must be largely used in the determination of the value of the characters. Halévy holds that Müller, in consequence of erroneous suppositions as to the contents of the inscriptions, and by assuming too complete identity of the language with the Sabeian of southern Arabia, failed to reach satisfactory conclusions. Halévy himself began the study of the inscriptions in 1872, dropped it from paucity of materials, resumed it in 1877 when de Vogüé published a large number of inscriptions in his *Syrie centrale*, Paris, 1868-1877, and his first article appeared in the *Journal Asiatique*, 1877, No. 3; the next year he gave the substance of this in the ZDMG, XXXII, 167. In dissent from Professor Müller he maintained that the Safa alphabet though very much like the south Arabian Sabeian, yet differed from it in some points, that the two were independent members of the same family, and that the language was related in a similar way to the Himyaritic, and, against Wetzstein and de Vogüé, that the inscriptions were not made by immigrants from the south, but by a native population. In his first article he undertook to determine the characters, and the language, and translate a number of the inscriptions. The present article continues the translation, giving de Vogüé's numbers 156-230, all of which are short, consisting, according

to Halévy, except in one or two cases, of the formula: "by A., son of B."; a few times is added "prayer," or, "in memory of," but without mention of the name of any deity. The inference would thence be that these inscriptions are by Christian Arabs, such as the Ghassanites, since in the south Arabian inscriptions the name of some god is commonly given. Halévy's acute investigations have greatly advanced the decipherment.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. M. Barbier de Meynard speaks favorably of the third edition of Mallouf's *Dictionnaire Français - Turc*, Paris, 1881, brought out with numerous additions, after the author's death, by Saghirian, and revised by Batifaud. The book, he says, though, like most works of the sort prepared in the East, deficient in scientific method, is a very valuable aid to the acquisition of spoken Turkish. B. M. also notices the first number of the *Revue des Études Juives*, the organ of the Société des Études Juives established two years ago for the investigation of the history and literature of Judaism. Among the contributors to the *Revue* are J. Derenbourg, H. Derenbourg, Halévy and Darmesteter; from such names we may hope, with the reviewer, that the new society will avoid Jewish exclusivism, and do good service to oriental studies. M. Siouffi, French vice-consul at Mosul, makes a report of an Arabic Nestorian MS. containing biographies of the patriarchs from Mur Mari, A. D. 49, to the 79th and last, Yabalaḥa III, who died A. D. 1318. M. Siouffi gives an annotated translation of the sketch of Yabalaḥa's life, which is interesting from its testimony to the importance of the Christian clergy and the civil and religious power of the patriarchs in the time of the Mongol Kans.

Février-Mars. 1. Étude sur les inscriptions de Piyadasi, par M. Senart. This fifth article gives the thirteenth and fourteenth edicts, the former in the Khālsi, Kapur di Giri and Girnār texts, the latter in the Girnār, Dhauli, Jaugada, Khālsi, and Kapur di Giri, with commentary and translation. The thirteenth relates to the conquest of Kalimṅga by Piyadasi, declares that the king feels lively grief at the destruction of life incident to the war, and especially at the injuries inflicted on brahmins and ṛamanas, that he desires security and peace for all creatures, and finds his pleasure and contentment in these conquests of religion, yet attaches no great value to such contentment, but only to what bears fruit for the other life—he has engraved this inscription that his descendants may think only of the conquests of religion. Among his subjected neighbors are mentioned Antiochus, king of the Yavanas, and to the north of him, Ptolemy, Antigonus, Magas and Alexander. The fourteenth edict is merely a brief statement of the fact that the king has made these inscriptions. The subscription of the Girnār edicts Senart renders: "This white elephant is in truth the benefactor of the whole world," the elephant being a symbol of the Buddha; his conjecture is based on the figure of the elephant of Khālsi, with the legend *gajatame*, which he translates "the great elephant." An appendix gives a collation of a photographic proof, recently taken at Girnār with his transcription of the facsimiles of the survey—the differences, he thinks, do not affect his analyses.

2. Une inscription de l'époque Sāṭte, par M. Karl Piehl. The text of the inscriptions on the statuette A 84 of the Louvre Museum, published before by Sharpe in his *Egyptian Inscriptions*, and by Greene in his *Fouilles exécutées à*

Thèbes, is here given with annotated translation by Mr. Piehl (of Upsala), who compares with it Ebers's rendering of some nearly identical texts on another statuette. The content is chiefly laudation of the inscriber Harûa, who lived in the time of the princess Ameniritis and a king whom Piehl supposes to be her husband Pianchi. One of the most interesting of Harûa's titles is "head of the house of the priests of the *ka*," which seems to indicate that there was in the necropolis an organized corporation of priests of the *ka*, the man's double, or less material counterpart of the body.

3. *Essai sur les inscriptions du Safa*, par M. J. Halévy. (Suite.) The author discusses de Vogüé's numbers 231-384, of which the contents are similar to those above described.

Nouvelles et Mélanges. Chronique littéraire de l'extrême Orient, par M. C. Imbault-Huart. 1. The college of Occidental languages and science established by the Chinese government at Peking in 1861, now under the direction of the American Dr. W. A. P. Martin. The course of eight years comprises the English, French, Russian and German languages, geography, history, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, trigonometry, differential and integral calculus, physics, chemistry, astronomy, mineralogy and geology, theoretical and practical mechanics, navigation, anatomy, economics, and international law. To the college are attached a library and reading-room, a chemical laboratory, a museum of mineralogy, etc., and a printing establishment. General examinations are held every three years. Pupils of this school are now attached to the Chinese legations at London, Paris, Washington, Tokio, Berlin, and St. Petersburg. 2. Playfair's recently published Chinese Geographical Dictionary. This is merely a reimpression of Biot's dictionary, with some improvements. It adopts the inconvenient orthographic system of Wade, instead of giving the southern mandarin pronunciation, and its omissions of names of places and explanations are numerous. Nevertheless it will not be useless to sinologues. 3. Recent works on Confucianism and Tauism. Mr. Chaloner Alabaster's "Occasional papers on Chinese philosophy, No. 6, The Chinese Bible" is worthy of study. He remarks properly that the name "Classics" is misleading—the books so-called are really sacred books, and the King and the Shu may fairly be represented as the Chinese Old Testament and New Testament respectively. "Non Christian religious systems. Confucianism and Tauism," London, 1879, by R. K. Douglas, of the British Museum and Professor of Chinese in King's College, is an instructive little volume. Further may be mentioned "A guide to the tablets in a temple of Confucius," by consul T. Watters, Shanghai, 1879, and "Introduction to the science of Chinese Religion, a critique of Max Müller and other authors," by Rev. E. Faber, Hongkong, 1880. 4. The publications of the Jesuit Mission of T'chang nann. These comprise a Chinese language-course, and the first issue of a collection of memoirs on natural history, treating, among other things, of the silkworm, and the typhoon of July 31, 1879. Published at Shanghai. 5. Helps to the study of spoken Chinese. P. G. von Möllendorff's "Praktische Anleitung zur Erlernung der hochchinesischen Sprache," Shanghai, 1880, is an excellent manual, full and judicious. 6. Works on Corea. Ross's "History of Corea, ancient and modern," Paisley, 1880, favorably received by the English press, is a valuable book in spite of its inaccurate orthography. Ernest Oppert, in his "A forbidden land: Voyages to

the Corea," London, 1880, praises the people and their climate and soil, and speaks well of the work of the Catholic missionaries. To his book is added a Corean dictionary, by Hoffman. 7. Mr. H. A. Giles's "Strange Stories from a Chinese Studio," London, 1880, is a very commendable translation of a part of the famous Chinese story-book, the *Leao chaf che y*, composed in the 17th century of our era, and first published in the 18th, on which see his Introduction. Mrs. Gray's "Fourteen months in China" offers nothing new, but will be useful to the many readers who know nothing at all of that country. M. J. Acheson has prepared a useful "Index to Dr. Williams's Syllabic Dictionary." 8. Various photo-lithographed works issued by the director of the Shanghai Gazette. An English-Chinese pocket-dictionary, the first of the sort, and perhaps very useful, only one must know the language in order to use it; phrase-book from Morrison's dictionary; Morrison's dictionary, in one volume octavo; a Lexilogus, a Business-letter writer, and a Speaker; the Chinese "Panorama of Peking on the Emperor Kang-he's 60th birthday," and a Chinese atlas of China. 9. Works on Japan. "Young Japan," Yokohama, 1880, by J. R. Black, editor of various magazines in Japan, is a history of the marvellous revolution of thought and custom that that country has undergone. The first volume has appeared; it is to be hoped that the second will follow soon. Wm. Bramsen has published valuable "Japanese chronological tables," Tokio, 1880, A. D. 645-1873. 10. The third volume of Father Zottoli's admirable *Cursus litteraturae sinicae* has just appeared. Other works are announced. M. C. de Harlez notices very favorably the "Pahlavi Gujarati and English Dictionary" of Jamaspji Destur Minocheherji, fellow of the University of Bombay, of which vols. I and II have appeared, and vol. III is announced. The missionary Father Leboucq gives in his "Associations de la Chine," published at Paris, a very curious picture of a little known side of Chinese life, namely its societies political, secret, religious, philanthropic, financial, etc.

C. H. Tov.

Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft. XXXIV Band, IV Heft, 1880.

1. Der heilige Agastya nach den Erzählungen des Mahābhārata. Von Adolf Holzmann. The legends of Agastya, Holtzmann thinks, rest on historical recollections—he is the type of the first Aryan pioneers in the region south of the Vindhya mountains (thus he goes southward for good, after tricking the Vindhya into a promise not to grow any higher), and in the Deccan he is now one of the most renowned saints, and is regarded as the oldest of ancient teachers. In the M. he is a famous digester (having once swallowed and digested the ocean), hunter, warrior and devotee, and in the later parts of the poem is made superior to the gods. His father is Mitra or Varuna, his mother unnamed, and his wife Lopāmudrā of Vidarbha. He plays a prominent part in the history of Nahusha, whom he curses and casts down, and so restores Indra to the throne of heaven.

2. Eine persische Bearbeitung der sufischen Terminologie (*Istīlāhāt-aṣṣūfiya*) des 'Abdurrazzāk al-Kāschāni. Von Prof. Dr. Bacher. This Persian translation is contained in a MS. of unknown author and date, in the Breslau city

library, based on one of the Arabic MSS. used by Sprenger (and marked by him Ayin) in his Dictionary of the technical terms of the Sufies, Calcutta, 1845. The translator deals freely with his material, sometimes making great additions in the way of explanations and definitions, more frequently omitting passages of greater or less length (apparently in some cases from dogmatic considerations—he was possibly of the Shiite faith), and scattering verses, grammatical and mystical, throughout his work. He usually retains the Arabic terms, even where they are not technical, introducing only Persian inflections and syntax, so that in many places his work shows itself as a translation only in the connectives (as the substantive verb) and the Persian endings of the individual words. The translation contains many errors.

3. Karl der Grosse und seine Tochter Emma in Tausend und eine Nacht. Von Prof. Dr. Bacher. In the story of Nuraddin Ali and Maria the girdle-maker, which fills 200 pages of vol. X of the Breslau edition of the Thousand and One Nights, the heroine is the daughter of the king of France, a contemporary of Harun al-Rashid, who, captured by Muhammedan pirates, marries a Moslem and becomes a devoted adherent of Islam. In spite of various differences, Dr. Bacher finds the basis of this story in the saga of Charlemagne's daughter Emma and Eginhard, which he thinks may easily have been carried to the East in the time of the Crusades in some distorted shape. The religious motive of the tale—the glorification of Islam over against Christianity—is obvious.

4. Nāṣir Chusrau's Rūṣānānāma, oder Buch der Erleuchtung, in Text und Uebersetzung, nebst Noten und kritisch-biographischem Appendix. Von Prof. Dr. Hermann Ethé. III. For notices of previous numbers of this translation, in vols. XXXIII and XXXIV of the *Zeitschrift*, and an account of the author, see vol. I, Nos. 2 and 4 of the *Journal*. In this number the poet denounces evil company, slander, the present world and poetry, and enjoins silence and prayer.

5. Le livre de la félicité, par Nāṣir ed-Din ben Khosrou. Par Edmond Fagnan. As complementary to Dr. Ethé's publications of Nasir's works, Mr. Fagnan offers this little poem taken from the collection in No. 781 A of the Persian Supplement in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Text and translation are given, with various readings furnished by Dr. Ethé. The contents of the poem are similar to those above described. The author counsels moderation, makes little of kings and chiefs, and much of artisans and laborers, and especially of prophets, saints, and sages.

6. Phönicische Miscellen. Von Dr. Paul Schroeder. 1. An unedited inscription from Kiton in Cyprus, on a marble block, discovered in making the causeway from Larnaka to Levkosia. It consists of two lines, of 32 and 15 letters respectively, and is rendered by Schroeder: "This monument (dedicated) to Eshmun-Odoni Sardal son of Abdmelkart son of Reshefyathon, interpreter of the ambassadors." The last word, כרסים, is translated by de Vogüé "two thrones," as if from the Aramaic form כרס = Heb. כסא, which seems less satisfactory than the derivation of Levy, accepted by Schroeder, from the stem כרן, which may easily be written in Phoenician כרם. The reference would be to the ambassadors of the Persian Great King, to whom Cyprus was subject. The name Sardal does not occur elsewhere in the inscriptions. 2. Three frag-

ments from Kition. 3. Three seals with Phoenician legends. One of these reads: "(Seal) of Abd-yahu, servant of the king," whose possessor, from the divine name Yahu = Yahweh, and from the forms of the letters, Schroeder with probability supposes to have been a Hebrew. The date he assigns, the fifth or sixth century B. C., is less certain. At the end of the number, p. 764, Schroeder reports another inscription from Kition, which he renders: "the keeper of the scales, son of N . . . (erected) this (statue) to his wife." The verb is here feminine, as in *Citiensis* I, and so far supports de Vogüé's opinion that the feminine form of this verb (𐤊𐤍𐤕) is always employed where the figure carved is female. "Keeper of the scales" is the rendering of 𐤍𐤕𐤕, after the Hebrew and Arabic. The characters may, says Schroeder, be read 𐤍𐤕𐤕, in which word we should have to see a non-Semitic proper name.

7. Zwei arabische Payprus. Beschrieben von O. Loth. (Mit 2 Tafeln in Lichtdruck.) These papyri, obtained by Loth in Cairo, were found in the neighborhood of Madinat-al-Faiyūm. One of them, dated A. H. 169 (A. D. 785), is a contract of land-rent of the sort called *musāra'aḥ*, in which the owner receives a part of the produce. The writing is a well formed cursive, distinguished from the later Neskhī by the more archaic character of some of the letters, and almost entirely without diacritical points. The second papyrus is a letter from two Arab women in or near al-Fustāt (old Cairo) to three others in a village of the Faiyūm, confused, wordy, and unimportant. It is not dated, but is probably to be assigned to the second century of the Hejra. The writing, though cursive and in the style of the Magrib, approaches the oldest form of the Arabic alphabet. Some of the grammatical forms resemble those of the modern popular language: the feminine of the second person plural in pronoun and verb is lacking, and the accusative singular of the adjective used adverbially is without the nunation. In the syntactical construction is to be noted the free use of the sign of the accusative, *īyyā*, the peculiar construction of *nīma*, and the retroactive influence of the gender of the *biyān* or determinative of kind on the relative pronoun.

8. Atropatene. Von Th. Nöldeke. In his translation of the book of Artachšir i Pāpakān, Nöldeke derives the name Atropatene from that of the satrap Atropates, who declared himself independent after the death of Alexander; to which James Darmesteter (*Revue critique*, 1880, No. 16) objected that this was merely a Greek etymology, that the province had a separate existence before the death of Alexander, and therefore a separate name, and that the modern Persian etymology *adarbīgān* = Atarpātakān "the country of the descent of fire" (where Zoroaster received the fire from heaven) is preferable. In defence of his view Nöldeke here quotes the express testimony of Strabo (522 f.) that the district in question was called after the satrap, adduces evidence to show that there was only one Media before the time of Alexander, points out the probability of Atropates's having made himself master of part of it, and shows that from this time on the name Atropatene, never before mentioned, appears in history.

9. Der Kalender des Avesta und die sogenannten Gahanbār. Von R. Roth. This is an examination of the hymns in the Avesta (Westergaard's edition, pp. 318 ff.) devoted to the Gahanbār, thrown out by Westergaard as an interpolation,

and not translated by Spiegel. Roth regards them as a genuine part of the text, and as throwing light on the kalendar and home of the old Iranians. He holds the *gahanbār* to be seasons and not festivals, though each had a festival connected with it. The names he explains as follows: *Maidhyōshema*, midsummer-time, and also midsummer-day, the summer solstice; *Maidhyāirya*, midwinter and the winter solstice, properly midyear—and midsummer-day, being the 105th of the year, and midwinter-day the 290th (as the Avesta states), it follows that the Iranian year originally began March 8th; *Maidhyasaremya*, midspring, from March 8th to April 21st; *Paitishakya*, the grain-bringing time, from June 20th to Sept. 3d; *Ayāthrima*, the time of return (of the flocks), from Sept. 4th to Oct. 3d; *Ham-a-çpat-maēdhya*, time of strengthening of power, that is, of recreation, rest, from Dec. 23d to March 2d (thence 5 intercalary days to the beginning of the year). He takes *çpat* as present participle of the root *çu* (*āçpat* = *āçuvāt*) and adds a section in defence of this derivation. His kalendar of the religious feasts he bases on the fact that in each month that day is a feast-day which bears the name of the divinity of the month, as in the month Mithra the day Mithra, the 16th of the month. As to the days of the month, their names are certain, but the order of the names presents great difficulties when the two lists of months and days are compared. While in the latter the order is in general according to the rank of the divinities, in the former the Fravashi come first, and Ormazd has the tenth place. Roth finds the explanation of this apparent anomaly in a sacerdotal year which began with the summer solstice, in which case Ormazd would have really the highest place in the middle of the year, his month being from Dec. 3d to Jan. 1st. The irregular position of the Fravashi and the Tistrya (Sirius) he refers to the existence of traditional festivals in their honor. All the data of climate and land derived from this kalendar point, he thinks, to a country of elevated valleys (spring up to April 21st, hay-harvest to June 20, other harvest up to Sept. 1st), to the Oxus-valley, Bactria. In West Iran these conditions would suit only Media, and Media cannot have been the home of the Avesta, first because of the intimate linguistic and religious relations between these Aryans and those who occupied the Indus region, and secondly, because the Avesta knows nothing of the Magians.

Anzeigen. In a notice of Nöldeke's translation of Tabari's history of the Sasanidae (of which the title is: *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leyden, 1879), A. von Gutschmid, after pointing out the great value of Tabari's work, and the admirable learning, judgment and insight shown in Nöldeke's annotations and additions, makes a number of critical remarks, full of valuable matter, but too minute to be specially mentioned here. He characterizes Nöldeke's book as the most important preliminary work for this history that has yet been done. Prof. H. Jacobi's "*Kalpasūtra of Bhadrabāhu*, with an Introduction, Notes, and a *Prākṛit-Saṃskṛit Glossary*" (*Abhandl. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, VII, 1), Leipzig, 1879, is reviewed by Hermann Oldenberg. Prof. Jacobi begins his Introduction by offering proof that Buddha was not the only religious reformer of his time, that a probably earlier contemporary of his was the founder of the Jaina sects, the so-called Mahāvira, whose legendary biography makes up the most important part of the

Kalpasūtra, and who was known to the Buddhist texts under the name of Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta. He then goes on to discuss the chronology, the year of Mahāvira's death (155 years before the accession of Candragupta), and the list of kings (the main point being that he identifies Udāyin with Kālāçoka), and concludes with an examination of the older Jaina literature, and remarks on Bhadrabāhu, who appears as the author of the Kalpasūtra. Oldenberg rejects the identification of Udāyin and Kālāçoka, and holds that the Ceylon tradition gives the names correctly. He adds a few criticisms on the Glossary. Paul Haupt gives a notice of Dr. Fritz Hommel's "Zwei Jagdinschriften Assurbani-pal's, nebst einem Excurs über die Zischlaute im Assyrischen wie im Semitischen überhaupt," Leipzig, 1879. On the Assyriological part of the book he remarks among other things that the author does not always indicate the length of the vowels, that the assumption of original parallel roots is of small advantage, and that the name Astarte does not come from the Sumerian. He holds also that the primitive Semitic did not have distinction of cases. He agrees with the author in the view that the mechanical laws of sound hold in Semitic, as elsewhere, without exception, while he varies from him somewhat in his construction of the Semitic sibilant system. A statement of the positions of Haupt and Hommel is given by Professor Francis Brown, in the *Review*, vol. II, No. 6, to which the reader is referred. Dr. Loth calls attention to the beautiful photo-lithographic reproduction of the Teheran lithograph of Das Buch der Chosroen von Jeleddin Mirza, which has lately been brought out in Vienna. He recommends it as a Persian Reader. Prof. Wm. Wright of Cambridge corrects an error into which he had unwittingly led Prof. Fleischer. He did not mean that Prof. Nöldeke (instead of Julius Fürst) was the first to explain the etymology of מִנְרֵעַ (see the *Zeitschrift*, XXXIV, p. 568), but that he was the first to explain rightly the collocation of these letters in the inscription of Carpentras.

1881. I Heft.

The report of the proceedings of the convention of German philologists at Stettin last year gives the opening address of the President of the Oriental section, Prof. Dr. A. Müller—an interesting sketch of the scientific career of Andreas Müller (1630-1694), who was born near Stettin. He is characterized as a man of great activity, but deficient in accuracy and thoroughness. A very curious episode in his life was his announcement of a new and easy method of learning Chinese, whereby he could "within a year (not to say a month or less time) bring even women so far that they could read Chinese and Japanese books, and, so far as they understood the rules, translate them," and his refusal to the end to make his method public.

1. Die Christenverfolgung in Sudarabien und die himjarisch-äthiopischen Kriege nach abessinischer Ueberlieferung. Von Winand Fell. For the elucidation of the history of the Ethiopian conquest of southern Arabia Mr. Fell gives an account of three Ethiopic MSS. (Orient. 686, 687 [688], 689) contained in the valuable Magdala-collection of the British Museum, holding Ethiopic reports of native affairs to be entitled at any rate to examination, though they are often of little value. These MSS. he thinks translations from the Arabic; they agree in general with the Greek narratives, but with some peculiarities of

their own. Assuming the conquest of Najrān by the Jewish king Du-Nuwās and the slaughter of the Christians in that city, A. D. 523, as an assured fact of history, Fell endeavors to clear up several other points in the history of the period. His careful and ingenious discussion makes it probable that there were at least two Ethiopian campaigns in south Arabia, the first led by king Ela-Amida, about A. D. 480, the second being that which resulted in the subjugation of Du-Nuwās; and further that the complete christianization of Abyssinia was not effected by Frumentius in the 4th century, but only came about gradually, a great step forward having been taken by Ela-Amida. Several minor points also are handled very skilfully by Fell, and no little light thrown on this obscure period, whether or not his conclusions can be accepted as certain. At the end he gives a translation of part of the Ethiopic story, which reads like all these tedious and credulous narratives.

2. Die Grosse Mauer von China. Von Dr. O. F. von Möllendorff, Kais. Deutschem Consularbeamten in China. This is a learned and intelligent examination of the native and foreign authorities on the Great Wall, and a sketch of its history as far as the data permit. The author's results are that the present wall is an entirely different structure from the ancient—the old wall began under the Ju dynasty, in the fourth and third centuries B. C., was continued and enlarged up to the fifth century of our era, after which it fell into neglect till the fourteenth century—it was not continuous, was partly of earth and partly of stone, and was not very formidable. The present wall was built by the Ming dynasty, A. D. 1368–1644. It alone deserves the name of a fortification. But the wall has never been politically of great importance—it never kept out the western tribes, which made their inroads whenever the weakness of the empire gave opportunity. A description of the present condition of the wall and a Chinese bibliography on the general subject are prefixed to the article.

3. Zur Differenz zwischen Juden und Samaritanern. Von Rabbiner Dr. Fürst in Mannheim. In illustration of the parallel developments of Jewish and Samaritan religious and ritualistic ideas Dr. Fürst adduces various anti-Samaritan explanations of Scripture texts by the Aramaic interpreters and in the Talmud. Thus among the five words mentioned in Mekilta (Amalek, i), Talmud of Babylon (Yoma, 51, b) and elsewhere, as to which it was doubtful, whether they belonged to the preceding or succeeding context, occurs שָׁחַת in Gen. iv, 7. The Septuagint attaches this to the preceding word, rendering: οὐκ ἐὰν ὁρθῶς προσενέ; καὶ ὁρθῶς δὲ μὴ διέλγῃς ἡμᾶτες; ἡσύχασον, which supposes the Hebrew: הִלָּא אִם הִתְיַיֵּב שָׁחַת וְאִם לֹא הִתְיַיֵּב לְנֶחֱם תִּשְׁחָת רְבִי. This curious reading Fürst explains from a controversy between the schools of Shammai and Hillel. The former held that peace-offerings, with the cutting up of the flesh, were obligatory before the Mosaic legislation, otherwise nobody could lawfully have eaten meat (according to Lev. xvii); this view was favorable to the Samaritans. The Hillelites, on the contrary, held that peace-offerings were unnecessary, and in order that the people might see that the sacrificial ritual began with Moses, Cain is here condemned for dividing the flesh of his sacrifice; Cain, it is true, brought no animal as sacrifice, but the interpreters would not neglect the useful lesson on that account.

4. Bemerkungen zu Bruns-Sachau: "Syrisch-Römisches Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert." Von Dr. Perles, Rabbiner. Several emendations of text that commend themselves as natural. The explanation of the *καλὴ πρᾶσις* and *κακὴ πρᾶσις* as purchases with and without power of returning the thing bought is supported from the Midrash on Ex. xxxii, 11.

5. Mundhir III und die beiden monophysitischen Bischöfe. Von Ign. Guidi. The patriarch Severus of Antioch, so Theodorus Anagnostes relates, sent two bishops to Mundhir to convert him to the Monophysite faith; but the Arab phylarch covered the messengers with confusion by asking whether the archangel Michael died, and on their replying that it was impossible, showing them that still less could the simple divine nature have died on the cross. Guidi thinks the story doubtful, because it is older than this occurrence, and further is not mentioned by Xenaïas in his letter to the monks of Teleda on this very question, written a few years after the alleged embassy; the Arabs also found nothing strange in the Monophysite doctrine, and most of them embraced it.

6. Zur Literaturgeschichte des chaṭa' al-'āmmā. Von Ign. Goldziher. This is in continuation of the writer's former additions (vol. XXVII, p. 155 of the *Zeitschrift*) to Prof. Thorbecke's bibliography of the literature of Arabian popular grammatical errors. He calls special attention to the value in this regard of Ibn al-Aṭīr's *al-mathal al-sā'ir fī 'adab al-kātib wa al-shāir*, Bulak, A. H. 1282.

7. Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Avesta. I. Von Chr. Bartholomae. Commentary on Yaçno XXVIII, 9, 10, XXX, 11, XXXIII, 1, and the prayer ā-aryēmā-ishiyō.

8. Ueber Schem ha-mephorasch. Von Rabb. Dr. A. Nager. Against Dr. Fürst's defence of the view (vol. XXXIII, p. 297 of the *Zeitschrift*) that this expression signifies the distinctly spoken or written divine name. Dr. Nager finds from the literature that it rather means the name that is peculiar to God, expressive of the true God. But the narrative in the Mishna, Sanh. VII, 5, seems to settle the meaning of שֵׁם, and Dr. Nager's objections do not appear to be conclusive.

9. Armeniaca. I. Von H. Hübschmann. The article contains various remarks on Armenian inflections, phonology and etymology (often against De Lagarde), a reply to Fr. Müller's statement that modern Persian phonology is very like the Armenian, and a note on Persian eschatology.

10. Bemerkungen zur Theorie des Çloka. Von H. Oldenberg. The Çloka, Oldenberg remarks, has been heretofore examined (admirably by Gildemeister) only as to the metrical laws governing the separate feet; he proposes to inquire whether the several feet may not stand in such connection among themselves, that the metrical form of one determines, within the possible limits, that of the others. For this purpose he has examined the five first books of Manu, and the Sāvitrī episode of the Mahābhārata, and gives the results in a table, one of these being that the quantity of the first and last syllables of the pāda is always, that of other first and last syllables almost never, doubtful. He suggests, in explanation of the Indian aversion to the foot $\underline{\text{v}} \text{ v } \underline{\text{v}} \underline{\text{v}}$ in a first or third place, that its constitution, several short syllables leading to a long, rather suits the repose of the end, that is, the second or fourth foot of the half-çloka.

11. Indische Drucke. Von Dr. Joh. Klatt. A list of 140 books edited in India by native Hindu scholars.

Anzeigen. Georg Ebers gives a full outline of Lepsius's *Nubische Grammatik* (Berlin, 1880), with the views of which he agrees in all points—with the unitary character of the African original language, the Asiatic origin of the Hottentots, the Cushite character of the Phoenicians and Hyksos, and the Egyptian origin, through Cushite intermediation, of the Babylonian civilization: The grammatical work proper he commends as a masterpiece. Prym and Socin's "*Neuaramäischer Dialect des Tūr 'Abdin*," which gives texts and an annotated translation, is reviewed by Nöldeke, who compares the grammar with that of the Urmi-dialect and the old Syriac. With the former it has much in common, and yet the two so greatly differ that a man of Tūr (in northeastern Mesopotamia) could not understand a native of Urmi (on lake Urmi in the mountains of Kurdistan). The Tūr-dialect has the phonetic degradations and the new inflectional forms that are found in all modern Syriac dialects, and in addition a participle has been made into a perfect of intransitive verbs. The vocabulary contains many foreign words, and many difficulties in other respects. The tales themselves, taken down by Prym and Socin in Damascus from the mouth of a native of Tūr, furnish much interesting matter, partly mythical, partly illustrative of the morals of the country. The reviewer highly commends the accuracy of the editors.

C. H. Toy.

ANGLIA. Zeitschrift für englische Philologie. R. P. WÜLCKER und M. TRAUTMANN. IV Band, 1 Heft. Halle, 1881.

A. Schröder opens this number with the longest and weightiest article, on *Die Anfaenge des Blankverses in England*. While dating the prevailing use of blank-verse in drama from the publication of Marlowe's "*Tamburlaine*" in 1587, he sets to work to study the development of blank-verse from its first appearance to that time. For contemporary views on metre he prizes most highly Gascoigne's "*Certayne Notes of Instruction*," 1575, considering it much superior to Webbe's "*Discourse of English Poetrie*," 1586, Puttenham's "*Arte of English Poesie*," 1589, or Sir Philip Sydney's "*Apologie for Poetrie*," 1595. He begins naturally with Surrey's translation of the second and fourth books of the *Aeneid*, the first English blank-verse, before 1547, and examines carefully these poems in respect to measurement of syllables of single words, word-accent, and verse-rhythm, the last being strictly the iambic ten-syllable measure, but affected by the introduction of trochees, of additional syllables within the verse, by feminine endings, feminine caesura, mingling of longer and shorter verses, rime, and alliteration. The general result of the examination of Surrey's work, briefly expressed, is that the variations from strict iambic rhythm are due to Middle-English forms of versification, but the influence of the syllabic principle of Romance metre is evident: alliteration plays no important part. It is well to notice what Gascoigne says about this "*repeticion of sundrie wordes beginning all with one letter, the whiche (beyng modestly used) lendeth good grace to a verse: but they do so hunte a letter to death that they make*

it crambé,¹ and crambé bis positum mors est: therefore 'ne quid nimis.'" Several examples of a dissyllabic thesis, and its natural accompaniment feminine caesura, are given, but while rightly excluding dactyls and anapaests, it seems to me that the writer makes scarcely sufficient allowance for the expansion and contraction (slurring) of syllables so common in Chaucer, whose influence doubtless was felt by Surrey, as we see the same even in Shakspeare, e. g. (p. 30), instead of reading 23 as 8-syllable,

That with the *spoil* of my heart did go,
why not make it 10-syllable,

That with the *spóil* of my héart did gó?
and again (p. 31), 131, Schröer reads,

Like to the adder | with venomous herbes fed,
which either slurs the second *e* in *venomous* or makes a dissyllabic thesis, for *herbes* is dissyllabic, so why not,

Like tó the ádd'r with vén'mous hérbes féd?
Again, 113 on pp. 10 and 30 Schröer reads:

By the diving science of Minerva,
making a syllable of *e* in *divine* and a feminine ending to the verse. This sounds peculiarly harsh, especially in view of the rare cases when final *e* in a Romance adjective forms a separate syllable. I should prefer to read:

By thé divine sciéce of Mínervá,
even if the Romance accentuation of *science* is not elsewhere found in Surrey and if he also reads *Minerve* as a dissyllable. Compare *Arcite* and *Arcita* in Chaucer's *Knights Tale*, to show that the poets used proper names to suit their verse and were not particularly careful as to their accentuation. Lack of space will not permit notice of some other lines which I consider exceptionable.

The other works examined are, Grimald's poems in Tottel's 'Miscellany,' 1557, Sackville and Norton's 'Gorboduc,' 1561, Gascoigne and Kinwelmarsh's 'Jocasta,' 1566, Turbervile's translation of six of Ovid's Epistles, 1567, Spenser's Fifteen Sonnets in van der Noodt's 'Theatre for Worldings,' 1569, Gascoigne's 'Steele Glas,' 1576, "die erste grössere, nicht dramatische blankversdichtung nach Surrey's Virgilübertragung," which Schröer thinks "of considerable influence"; Barnabe Rich's 'Travailes and Adventures of Don Simonides,' 1584, Lyly's 'Woman in the Moone,' 1584, Peele's 'Arraignement of Paris' and other poems, 1582-5, Greene's 'Description of Silvestro's Lady,' 1587, and lastly Hughes's 'Misfortunes of Arthur,' 1587. An examination of these poems in respect to the points above mentioned shows that the variations from strict iambic rhythm disappear in Surrey's successors, and greater perfection in form appears. Also, blank-verse shows itself at its best in the drama, for which it is specially suited, as the dramatic form favors its free development.

¹ Occidit miseros *crambe* repetita magistros. Juv. vii, 154.

The article is a useful contribution to the history of English rhythms, and deserves the attention of English scholars. It proceeds, as all such investigations should proceed, by the inductive method, and numerous examples are given from which the author's conclusions are drawn.

W. Zeitlin institutes a comparison between Shakspeare's 'King Henry VIII' and Rowley's 'When you see me, you know me.' Rowley's is the older play, and as Shakspeare and Rowley were members of different companies, he thinks Shakspeare wrote his play as a rival to Rowley's. Lack of space forbids going into particulars. Suffice it to say that, while Shakspeare brings before us Catherine of Arragon and Anne Boleyn, Rowley joins Jane Seymour and Catherine Parr, barely mentioning Anne of Cleves and passing over Catherine Howard. Rowley is also much freer with the history, joining events separated by twenty years, and treating as living personages those long since dead. Both paint alike the characters of Wolsey and Gardiner, but Rowley lets us see more of Henry's private life than Shakspeare does. The conclusion is drawn that Rowley strove rather to entertain the public, and this is shown especially in his treatment of the Fool, giving one to Wolsey as well as to the king. Shakspeare did not use Rowley's play, but may have been influenced by it. No distinction is made between the parts of Shakspeare and of Fletcher in 'Henry VIII,' the articles of Spedding and of Delius being merely referred to in a note.

A. Brandl contributes metrical, grammatical, and critical notes to the Anglo-Saxon poem *Be Dômes Dæge*, published by R. Lumby for the Early English Text Society, 1876, with its Latin original, *De Die Judicii*. The poet follows his original closely but not slavishly; the influence of the old epic style is seen; the metre is alliterative, quite pure, and belongs to the close of the Old-English period: the language is pure West-Saxon of the time of Aelfric; some of the variations in forms may be due to the scribe, as the MS. belongs to the end of the 11th century. The article closes with remarks on, and corrections of Lumby's text and notes.

F. Kluge, in *Anglo-saxonica*, thinks *laessa*, *laest*, should be *læssa*, *læst*; *oferþing*, Grein II, 318, should be *of eryþwingan*; *bend* has another form *benn*, which Grein should not have changed; *sweot* should be *sweðt*; and *weor*, Andr. 1661, should be *weorc*, as in Jul. 569.

F. H. Stratmann supplies examples of the Paragogic *n*, so common in Laysmon, from the Gospels in English of the 12th century.

C. Horstmann continues his Prose-legends with V. S. Antonius (vita, inventio, translatio), from MS. Reg. 17, CXVII, in the British Museum. He gives first the contents of the MS., then remarks on the vocalization and forms, and lastly the full text of the legend. The dialect is the West-Midland, judging by the inflexions, but with Northern vocalization. The MS. belongs to the beginning of the 15th century.

W. M. Baskervill supplies the Anglo-Saxon text of the *Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotelem*, from the well-known 'Beowulf' MS., namely: Cotton Vitellius, A. XV. It was first published by Cockayne in his *Narratiunculæ Anglice Conscriptæ*, 1861, and a collation of his text was given by Holder in *Anglia* I, 507. This text rests upon a collation made by Wülcker, and explanations and corrections will be printed elsewhere.

W. Sattler continues his Examples of the Uses of Prepositions with—VIII *an audience of*; IX *in . . . and under . . . circumstances*; X *different to*, which, with Alford, he rightly condemns; XI *in the distance*, and *at (a, some) distance*.

H. Varnhagen continues his contributions to Middle-English Poems with XI. The Proverbs of Hending, heretofore printed only from the text in Harl. MS. 2253 (L). Varnhagen supplies two other texts, Camb. Univ. MS. Gg. I, 1 (C), and Bodl. Digby MS. 86 (O); XII William of Shorham, remarks on selected verses; XIII on the Contest between the Thrush and the Nightingale, printed previously from Digby MS. 86; here a fragment from the Auchinleck MS., once printed by Laing.

G. Tanger undertakes to prove that Q_2 (1604) of Hamlet was printed from Shakspeare's manuscript, if we believe this of Q_2 of Romeo and Juliet. He regards Q_1 (1603) as plagiarized, and institutes a comparison between Q_2 and the Hamlet of the First Folio (1623). His method is that adopted by Tycho Mommsen in the Prolegomena to his edition of Romeo and Juliet (1859), to show the same thing with respect to Q_2 of Romeo and Juliet. He refers to Mommsen's criticism of Delius's Hamlet (1854) in Neue Jahrb. für Phil. u. Päd. vol. 72 (1855), and regrets that Mommsen did not apply his method to Hamlet also. The investigation notices: 1. Orthographical peculiarities; 2. Grammatical peculiarities; 3. The striking mistakes in Q_2 ; 4. The orthographical treatment of syncope in Q_2 as shown in syncope of forms in *-ed*, unsynocopated forms in *-ed*, forms in *-est*, and forms in *-es* and *-eth*. I have not space to follow the writer into particulars; but after treating these points at considerable length, he concludes that the probability is as great that Q_2 of Hamlet was printed directly from Shakspeare's MS. as that Q_2 of Romeo and Juliet was so printed according to Mommsen's assertion.

E. Hauffe furnishes a few corrections to his edition of the text of the Speeches of the Soul in the Worcester MS.

The number closes with a reprint of F. J. Furnivall's letter in the Academy (22 May, 1880), on Chaucer's Prioress's Nun-Chaplain. A Benedictine nun in an Abbey in the southwest of England has come to Mr. Furnivall's help, and shown that his conjecture was correct that the 'Nun-Chaplain' was a secretary and helper of the Prioress, one who carried her crosier on high festivals. She has also shown that it was common to have several priests in one Abbey on account of the several chapels in the church, at each of which mass might be said on the same day. She unravels the third puzzle by suggesting that 'by Seynt Loy' was no oath at all, and that said saint was 'an imaginary quantity' (!) notwithstanding the learned guesses at St. Louis, St. Eligius, etc. This may or may not be, for, even if 'to swear without necessity is strictly forbidden,' such a mild oath as 'by St. Eloi,' or 'St. Louis,' may not have been specially 'rude' in the Prioress's mouth, and Chaucer may here be as true to nature as usual. At all events, the existence or non-existence of the particular saint does not detract from the piety of the Prioress.

J. M. GARNETT.

MNEMOSYNE, Vol. IX, Part II.

In this number (pp. 113-148) Cobet concludes his 'ἀπομνημονεύματα' of G. G. Pluygers. We have more than two hundred critical notes on passages in the Letters and Orations of Cicero. Naturally most of these can be of interest only in connection with the text to which they refer: but a single extract may be made. On ad Att. v. 19, 3: *de Patrone et tuis condiscipulis quae de parietinis in MILITIA laboravi, ea tibi grata esse gaudeo*. 'Pro absurdo IN MILITIA Pluygers annotavit IN MELITE esse legendum. Memmius pro Consule Athenis nescio quid aedificare in animo habebat, quod ut fieri posset demolierendae erant parietinae illius domus, in qua olim Epicurus cum amicis habitaverat. Patro igitur Epicureorum princeps Romam ad Ciceronem litteras miserat, ut Memmium sibi placaret peteretque *ut nescio quid illud parietinarum sibi concederet* (ad Fam. xiii, 1, 3). Habitaverat autem Epicurus Athenis ἐν Μελίτῃ eamque domum testamento amicis suis legavit. In Epicuri testamento legitur apud Diogenem Laertium x, § 17: τὴν δὲ οἰκίαν τὴν ἐν Μελίτῃ παρεχέτωσαν Ἀμννόμαχος καὶ Τιμοκράτης ἐνικεῖν Ἑρμάρχῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ φιλοσοφοῦσιν.' In several instances the corrections proposed by Pluygers have already been introduced into the text: in others it is by no means certain that the change suggested should be made. For example: Philip. ii, § 107: *quos clientes nemo habere velit non modo illorum cliens esse*: 'reposuit necessarium NEDUM illorum cliens esse.' But cf. Madv. Gr. 461, b. n. 3. In very many cases, however, the sense is so much improved by the alteration that there can be hardly any doubt of its correctness. E. g. Philip. xiii, § 25: *quam ita obsides, nove Hannibal, ut tu ipse obsidens*: 'absurda haec quidem oratio est se ipsum obsidere. Pluygers emendavit: *ita obsides—ut ipse obsideARIS*, id est, ut Graeci loquuntur, πολιορκούμενος μᾶλλον ἢ πολιορκῶν.' The change here I now see has been made by Kayser. Cobet concludes his paper with these words: 'haec habebam quae ex sermonibus et libris expromerem Pluygersii nostri, "ἀνδρός, ὡς ἡμεῖς φαίμεν ἄν, ὃν πῶποτε ἐπειράθην, ἀρίστον καὶ ἄλλως φρονιμωτάτον καὶ δικαιοτάτον."'

The next article (pp. 149-166) is by van Herwerden, in which, after offering about a hundred emendations of the text of Procopius, he says, 'recensebo praecipuos locos ubi *veterum simia*, ut recte hominem appellavit Reiskius, Thucydidem, Herodotum, aliosque, sed ante omnes rerum scriptorem Atticum imitatus esse videatur.' The first instance he quotes is from the opening of the book *de bello Persico*, and contains the following words: Προκόπιος Καισαριεὺς τοὺς πολλοὺς ξυνέγραψεν—ὥς πῃ αὐτῶν ἐκάστοις ξυνενέχθη γενέσθαι, ὥς μὴ ἔργα ὑπερμεγέθη ὁ μέγας αἰὼν—ἐξίτηλα θῆται, ὥνπερ τὴν μνήμην αὐτὸς ᾤετο μέγα τι ἔσεσθαι καὶ ἐννοίσον ἐς τὰ μάλιστα τοῖς τε νῦν οἰσὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐς τὰ ἔπειτα γενησομένοις, εἰ ποτε καὶ αἰὼς ὁ χρόνος ἐς ὁμοίαν τινα τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἀνάγκην διαβοῖτο. This portion of the article is very interesting. It is curious to see how many sentences are a perfect *cento* of reminiscences of Herodotus and Thucydides, often combined without any regard to propriety. E. g. p. 198, 10: 'ὑποτελεῖς—ἐς φόρον ἀπαγωγῆν: illud ex Thucydide sumsit, hoc ex Herodoto, utrumque ita jungens ut nascatur inepta abundantia. Thucydides aut nuda ὑποτελής dicere solet aut φόρον ὑποτελής.' After quoting many other examples, and particularly a long extract of a speech placed in the mouth of the Gothic general, he concludes, 'ita denique anxie homo erat Thucydideus, ut quodvis potius

piaculum committeret quam scriberet duplex t, aut *τίς*, aut *εἰς*.' Herwerden says that he was led to the study of Procopius in the hope rather than the expectation that these frequent quotations or imitations might afford some hints for the emendation of Thucydides. But 'licet paucas quasdam suspensiones meas confirmare videantur, nihil novi ex illis didici. Neque mirum. Nam et multis ante Procopium seculis huius scriptoris codices iam misere corruptos fuisse constat ex Dionysio Halicarnassensi, tum Procopius locos quosdam nobiles *non ita multos* cum certis quibusdam formulis, vocabulis, structuris Thucydideis memoria tenebat, quibus identidem usus est, ne intellecto quidem sic eo magis in oculos incurrere ipsius soloecismos, ubi suo utatur sermone.'

In the next article (pp. 167-191) Cobet continues his criticism *περί κατεψευσμένης ἱστορίας*. He now examines the narrative given by Livy of the events preceding the battle of Pydna, particularly in reference to the arrogant mission which the Rhodians sent to Rome, to demand that the war with Perseus should be brought to an end: 'per quos stetisset quo minus belli finis fieret, adversus eos quid sibi faciendum esset, Rhodios consideraturos esse.' Cobet takes great pains to show that Livy has placed this event a year too soon: that the narrative of Polybius is throughout more sober and self-consistent, and that it would have been better if Livy had not attempted to set it off in more imposing colors by inserting inventions of his own or trusting to inferior authorities. 'In plerisque nil nisi Polybii narrationem Latine vertit et operae pretium est videre quam eleganter et venuste sordidum et plebeium Polybii sermonem Romano vestitu induat, sed male factum quod rerum incuriosior et ad facundas orationes tamquam gemmas operi inserendas intentior multa negligenter, multa confuse omissis quae necessaria sint et temporum ratione perturbata scribit.' But Cobet's assertion *NIHIL QUIDQUAM IN HIS VERI EST* is by no means made out by his examination. He discusses at great length the events of the third Macedonian war, and especially the career of the consul of B. C. 169, Q. Marcius Philippus, and decides that he, finding himself entirely incapable of dealing with Perseus, had *δι' ἀπολαύων* induced the Rhodians to endeavor to put an end to the war by their ill-advised embassy. This is substantially the account given by Mommsen (ii, p. 363, Eng. Tr.) who says: 'The key [to the interference of the Rhodians] is furnished by the well-attested account that the consul Quintus Marcius, that master of the "new-fashioned diplomacy," had in the camp at Heracleum (and therefore after the occupation of the pass of Tempe) loaded the Rhodian envoy Agepolis with civilities and made an underhand request to him to mediate a peace.'

The next article (pp. 192-200) is the first part of a letter from J. B. Kan to Cobet, making some animalversions on the emendations suggested by Pluggers, which appeared in the preceding number of the magazine. Mr. Kan says he well remembers how he presented himself thirty-three years ago at Zwolle to be examined in Greek by Cobet, who had just been appointed professor at Leyden. On the top of the diligence he had got by heart 'paucos illos ex Iliad. l. vi versus, quibus poeta et Andromachen et maritum—et se ipse caelo beavit'; for he had heard at Groningen that it was Cobet's rule 'a miseris adolescentulis exigere, ut ex illis carminibus colon, quantumcunque erat,

memoriter recitarent. Me, puerum nondum sedecim annos natum, Odeum Zwollanum ingressum tuorum oculorum aciem vix ferre potuisse libens fateor. At cum mihi assidens de lingua Graeca quaestiones instituere coepisses, paullatim animi angores levabantur: videbaris enim magis mecum confabular, quam severum iudicem agere.' Ille says he has not found himself able to approve all the emendations of Cornelius Nepos proposed by Pluygers, and he ventures to express his dissent in a letter to Cobet: 'num operae pretium fecerim cum animadversiones meas descriptas ad te mittere decrevi ego nescio, atque quod de pueo, de viro quoque penes te indicium esto.' The following are examples of his notes: In Cimon. iii. 1, *incidit in eandem invidiam quam pater suus*, Pluygers inserted *in* before *quam*. But 'solent Romani in tali oratione mutila et quasi decurtata, ubi ex iis quae praecedunt verbum cogitatione supplendum est, ante relativum praepositionem omittere.' This he confirms by quoting Cic. ad Att. iii. 19, 2; ad Q. fr. i. 4, 4. In Alcib. ii fin. *nisi maiora potiora haberemus*, 'Pluygersii *potiora* deleri iubentis sententiam tua auctoritate tutatus es, cum bis idem dici idque ἀσυνδέτως tibi putidum videretur. Neque tamen de asyndeto aut de synonymo quodam sermo esse potest. Est enim *potiora* praedicati, quod dicunt, loco habendum. Quod si verum est, res eo credit ut scriptor noster, quamquam multa se de Alcibiadis amoribus referre posse affirmat, neget se hoc facturum quod res maiores, quas vel belli vel domi gessit, narrare mavult.'

The next article (pp. 201-209) contains remarks on Antiphon by van Herwerden. In i, 12 he agrees with Cobet in reading ὅπως μὴ καταψηφείσθαι 'quia in precando et invitando sollemnis est post ὅπως (ὅπως μὴ) futuri temporis usus.' But he cannot follow Cobet, although he has been maintaining it for thirty years, in deciding that ὅπως and ὅπως μὴ are necessarily followed by the second aorist subjunctive or the future indicative, no matter what they depend upon. The fact that ὅπως ἐρύς, λήσας, λήσεται, etc., occur constantly in the best MSS. only proves that 'labente Graecitate sensim in desuetudinem abiisse veterem illam structuram cum Futuro, eiusque ignorantia librariorum persaepe peccasse, sed minime inde sequitur, omnibus *millenis* illis locis, ubi hodie libri post eas coniunctiones Aor. i coniunctivum habeant, idem accidisse. Scire autem pervelim quid Graecos movere potuerit ut post ὅπως (ὅπως μὴ) admittentes coniunctivum Aor. i passivi et Aoristi ii activi, medii, passivi, tam anxie vitarent coniunctivum Aoristi i activi et medii, qui tamen aoristus forma tantum, non significatione, ab altero distinguitur. Speciem saltem aliquam res haberet, si futuri usus excluderetur in iis verbis quae habent aoristum ii, sed non negabit Cobetus optime dici ὅπως (μὴ) λήσσει, ἀποφείξεται, λήσεται, κατασχέσουσι, similia multa. Et quomodo explicandum veterum grammaticorum, quod sciam, neminem exortum esse, qui tam foedo, ut Cobeto videtur, soloeicismo abstinendum esse moneret, ut sedulo hortantur ne quis dicat μὴ λέγῃς aut μὴ εἰπέ, aliaque eiusmodi?' In regard to Cobet's remark (quoted in Vol. II, p. 243, of this journal) that the Inscriptions furnish only one example of ὅπως with the first aor. subjunctive, which Cobet emends by inserting ἀν, Herwerden says 'at non reputavit primo etiam futuri exempla in titulis esse perrara, deinde licet erroribus non vacent, inscriptiones tamen antiquas, si cum optimis codicibus comparentur, plane egregios et fidelissimos esse veteris memoriae etiam in rebus grammaticis testes.' And he then quotes another inscription which exhibits ὅπως—κομίσων.

rat. His belief is: 'traditioni tamdiu esse criticis obtemperandum, quamdiu non firmis argumentis falsam eam esse constiterit. Nec hercle *φλονικία* quadam sed solo veri amore ductus sententiam viri tanto me sagacioris et eruditioris tamque egregie de litteris Graecis meriti ac merentis impugno. Nam quo maior est alicuius in aliqua disciplina auctoritas, eo diligentius cavendum est ne magni sui nominis splendore alios in errorem perducatur imprudentes.' Herwerden then proceeds to some criticisms on the Tetralogies, which Cobet had neglected as being *pravī et vitiosi acuminis plenas*: he thinks this judgment is more correct than that of Blass who admires them highly. His own opinion is that they are not by Antiphon: 'non desunt, ut arbitror, indicia in sermone, quo eorum auctor utitur, unde appareat eas non seculo quinto a. Christum a germano scriptore Attico sed satis recenti aetate ab homine (Ionico?) sermonis Attici non peritissimo esse composita' He quotes as illustrations of his meaning *ἐπεξερχόμενοι* for *ἐπεξιόντες*, *καταδοκεῖν* for *ἐποπτεῖν*, *ἀναγιγνωσκόμενον* for *ἀναπεσόμενον*, *πειρασόμεθα ἐλέγχοντες* for *ἐλέγχειν*, *εἰκότερον, καταλαμβάνειν* for *καταψηφίζεσθαι*, *ἀπελογίῃ* for *ἀπελογήσατο*. The latest editor, Iernstedt, it is true, rejects as 'puerilia' the arguments by which Schoemann's opinion is supported that only the *de caede Herodis* and the *de Chorea* are really by Antiphon; but Herwerden cannot agree with Iernstedt that the rest must be assigned to Antiphon, because we do not know who else can have been their author.

The last article (pp. 212-224) is by Naber, entitled Sophoclea. He repeats his remarks on Aeschylus, saying that in the emendation of Sophocles also, while he recognizes the fact that much remains to be done, he shall venture only on 'minutias quasdam.' In *Ajax*, 319 he proposes *βραχυψύχον* for *βαρυψύχον*: 488 he reads *ἐν πόλει* (for *πλοῖτῳ*) *Φρυῶν*. In *Antig.* 117 *πτὰς* (for *στὰς*) *δ' ὑπὲρ μελάρων*: 258, *ἐλκοντος* for *ἐλθόντος*: 580 *φρίσσουσι* for *φείγουσιν*. 'Risit alicubi Cobetus neque immerito studiosorum juvenum ineptias, qui quum semel iterumque Sophoclem perlegissent, sine mora sese accingerent ad corrigenda et sollicitanda ea, quae vixdum satis potuissent cognoscere. Non ignoro in quos hoc dictum sit, et memini tempus, quum Leidae quotquot ibi studiorum causa commorabamur, omnes correpti essemus novo quodam furoris genere et certatim deferremur ad Sophoclem emendandum. Nihil attinet proloqui quo eventu equidem tunc praeclara *τῆς Ἀττικῆς μελίττης* monumenta vexaverim, quum etiam hodie post annos plus quam triginta tanta mihi deesse intelligam; sed fuit tamen inter nos alter altero interdum felicius et non est mirandum nobis accidisse quod etiam caecis gallinis in fabula.' He refers especially to a proposed discussion of *Antig.* 1219:

τάδ' ἐξ ἀθίμου δεσπότην κελύσματος
ἡθροῦμεν,

in which Neue proposed *ἐδρῶμεν*, and Burton *κελεσμάτων*, which Nauck has received.

The unoccupied parts of pages in this number are filled up by Cobet with emendations of passages in Theopompus, Plutarch, Aristides, and Polybius.

C. D. MORRIS.

GERMANIA. Vierteljahrsschrift für deutsche Alterthumskunde. Herausgegeben von KARL BARTSCH. Wien, 1881. Heft 1, 2,

The first number opens with a severe criticism by the editor, Dr. Bartsch, of the text of the Treves Aegidius and Silvester, as published last year by Rödiger and Steinmeyer in the Ztschft. f. deut. Alt. 21, 22. A comparison with the original fragments causes the Doctor to exclaim, "das jener erste Druck so jämmerlich war, wie er sich nun herausstellte, konnte ich nicht ahnen." A new text with annotations of the Aegidius and corrections of the Silvester are furnished by B. The third paper, also by the editor, deals with the Treves fragments of a Low-German Floyris communicated by Steinmeyer in the Ztschft. f. deut. Alt. 21. Upon collation they show a more correct reading than the Aegidius and Silvester.

Ludwig Laistner follows with a lengthy article, continued in the second number, on the words Nobisshaus and Nobiskrug. The paper affords a large amount of curious material for study, and discusses words like Nobiskratte, Rosengarten, Galilaea, and others that connected themselves in popular fancy with an abode beyond the grave.

Bartsch supplies some fragments by an Alemannic poet of the 13th century, which were sent to him by F. Apfelstedt. They were originally copied from a MS. in the National Library of Paris.

Anton Birlinger publishes a fragment of Hartmann's Iwein from a MS. of the 14th century in his possession. Some references to Lachmann's reading are added.

Two popular hymns which the Strassburg University purchased some time ago from K. Trübner are treated by Bartsch in the next paper. They are both found in Wackernagel, Kirchenlied II, 946, 931, and the text of the first is almost identical with W.'s version. The second, which differs much from it and seems to be older, is printed at length.

R. Sprenger has a correction in the spelling and therefore translation of the word *kaeskar* (cf. Mhd. Wb. I, 788) in a passage from Rüdiger v. Hunkhofen's story of the Schlegel (Hagen's G. A. II, 49)

315. "Dise zwêne süne sint gar
Geduht in ein kaeskar."

The spelling should be *keskar* as it occurs in the Col. Cod. 165 (cf. Kes Mhd. Wb. I, 802), and *kar* should be rendered by cavity in the mountains, hence *keskar*, a cavity in the mountains filled with ice and snow. Sprenger continues in the next paper with more references and citations for A. Jeitteles Altdeutsche Predigten aus dem Benedictinerstifte St. Paul in Kärnten, Innsbruck, 1878.

Emil Weller closes the list of articles of the first number with the names of early German newspapers not mentioned in the publication of the literary society in Tübingen Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen, Tübingen, 1872.

The book-notices contain favorable criticisms by Felix Liebrecht of A. Bondesons's Halländska Sagor, Lund, 1880, and Eugène Rolland's Faune popu-

laire de la France, Paris, 1877, 79. The miscellany has a letter of Jacob Grimm to Dr. J. L. Klee, corrections by C. Marold of his review of E. Bernhardt's *Vulfilas*, and some minor communications by the editor. Among the personals we notice the death of the Germanist Dr. Karl Roth, well-known as the editor of *Deutsche Predigten des XII u. XIII Jhs.*

C. Marold's article, the first in the second number, *Kritische Untersuchungen über den Einfluss des Latein. auf die gothische Bibelübersetzung*, treats a subject that has received in recent years a fair share of attention. Not so very long ago, at least before Bernhardt's work appeared (1875), comparatively few were of opinion that *Ulfilas* had consulted a Latin version of the Bible. Gabelentz and Loebe opposed the idea that he had, and Bernhardt himself in his *Kritische Untersuchungen*, 1864, 68, agreed with them, till upon a renewed study of the Gothic text in his last work he admits "schon *Ulfilas* habe eine alte lateinische Übersetzung benutzt." At the instance of Prof. O. Schade, the Königsberg faculty made the influence of a Latin version on the Gothic Bible the subject of an essay which was undertaken by Marold, and of which the results were published in 1875 in the *Wissenschaftliche Blätter* of Königsberg. The objects which Marold now proposes to himself are stated thus: To show systematically the points of agreement of the Gothic Bible with Latin versions; to find out whether a certain consistency is observed in these points, which would go far to settle the idea of later interpolations (cf. Gabelentz u. Loebe), and furthermore to recognize those texts to which the Gothic text approaches when it leaves the Greek version. This valuable paper is not finished so far.

Edzardi has a paper on the Pommersfeld MS. P of the large *Rosengarten* printed by Bartsch in the *Germ.* 4, 1-33. He thinks that certain traits in this MS. bring it nearer to the original than perhaps all the other MSS. that have been preserved of the epic, and in proof of this, cites among other matter the remark of King *Gibich* (verse 3-6)—only found in this MS. at the beginning (cf. MS. D, verse 30)—that he would serve the victor of the *Rosengarten*, but the conquered must serve him. At the close of the poem the vanquished king accordingly,

852. " . . . nam ahe sîn crônen mit sîner werden hant
ûf gab konc *Gibich* schône beide *borge* unde *lant*,"

but upon the advice of *Dieterich* receives them back from King *Etzel*, which is another trait not found in the rest of MSS. This battling for land and glory, Edzardi continues, is certainly more in keeping with the spirit of our old heathen heroes than to fight "um *Rosen* und einer *Frau Kuss*," and he is still further confirmed in his opinion that the *Krimhild* phase was added later, by certain contradictory passages in the *Nibelungenlied*. *Sigfrid* comes to *Worms* on the very peaceable errand of wooing *Krimhild*. It is certainly a remarkable introduction to her family, considering the object of his visit, when he tells the brother and king,

(N. Bartsch 110, 2,) "Ich wil an iu ertwingen swaz ir muget hân,
lant unde *bürge*, daz sol mir werden undertân,"

and in strophe 113, 2, . . . ouch diu erbe mîn,
erwirbest du'z mit sterke, diu sulen dir undertaenec sîn.

So he seems to have forgotten for awhile why he came to Worms. These inconsistencies show a blending of different sagas, of which the older, confirmed by the Norse saga, makes Sigfrid leave his home to meet the Burgundian kings in combat to gain land and glory, while a younger myth sends him to Worms to woo Krimhild. The older conception is expressed in the beginning of the Rosengarten MS. P. It should, however, be remembered that with the exception of this feature, Krimhild is the challenging party even in this MS.

90, 2. "Swer dort geseget . . .
in kusse di meit Krimhilt und gîtm ein rôsen crenzelin."

M. Gaster in an article *Zur Quellenkunde deutscher Sagen und Märchen*, communicates a number of parallels, chiefly from Hebrew sources, of fables and customs treated before by Grimm, Simrock and others, among them the barnacle story mentioned by M. Müller in his second series of lectures on language.

F. Apfelstedt follows with a detailed description of the Parisian MS. (Manessische), and C. M. Blass sends *Volksthümliches aus Niederösterreich*.

The book-notices of the second number include Edzardi's notice of Oskar Klockhoff's *Studier öfver Thiðrekssaga af Bern*, Upsala, 1880. E. hails this pamphlet as a valuable contribution to text criticism, and thinks that through it the MS. question has entered upon a new stage. Bartsch reviews G. Bötticher's work *Die Wolfram Literatur seit Lachmann mit kritischen Anmerkungen*, Berlin, 1880, and questions the writer's ability to write *Kritische Anmerkungen*. Bartsch ironically adds, "In der Tat, Hr. B. ist nach den in dieser Schrift gelieferten Proben würdig, in Gemeinschaft mit dem Dr. E. Henrici den Jahresbericht der Berliner Gesellschaft für deutsche Philologie zu redigieren."

The report by C. Marold, d. deutsch-romanischen Section auf der 35. versammlung deut. Philologen und Schulmänner in Stettin, Septbr. 1880, shows the election of K. Bartsch as first and O. Behaghel as second president.

Among the personals we find Prof. Sievers' non-acceptance of the call to a chair at Harvard.

The second number closes with a reply of A. Jeitteles to Anton Schönbach's severe notice of J.'s *Altdeutsche Predigten aus dem Benedictinerstifte St. Paul*.

C. F. RADDATZ.

ARCHIV FÜR LITTERATURGESCHICHTE. Herausgegeben von Dr. FRANZ SCHNORR V. CAROLSFELD. Leipzig, 1880. Heft 1, 2.

This is one of the best, if not the best, of publications devoted to German literature. Its criticisms are nearly always well-founded and appreciative.

Heft 1.

Pp. 1-5. *Eulenspiegel* by Karl Goedeke. G. after a brief discussion concludes that the original of the High-German *Eulenspiegel* may be found in a rhymed Low-German production of 1483.

Pp. 6-12. *Über den Verfasser der Tragedia Johannis Huss*. The author of this anonymous drama, Wittenberg, 1537, was generally thought to have been Johann Agricola of Eisleben. Lately this has been doubted by Goedeke, who

points to Johann Ackermann of Zwickau as the writer (cf. *Göttinger gelehrten Anzeiger* 1880, 21, 660). Gustav Kawerau upon a close scrutiny of facts maintains that after all Agricola of Eisleben must have been the author. (cf. *Miscellany Archiv* X, 2, 1.)

Pp. 13-34. Über den Hans Sachs zugeschriebenen Lobspruch auf die Stadt Rostock by H. Giske. The national museum of Nürnberg is in possession of an old original wood-cut representing a view of Rostock, and under it is a poem in honor of the city which closes,

"Das jr (Rostock) gelück grün, plü vnd wachs
das wünscht jr zu Nürnberg Hans S."

Giske denies the authorship of Hans Sachs, and the arguments in proof of his opinion seem certainly conclusive.

Pp. 34-38. Lessings Jugenddichtungen in ihrer Beziehung zu Molière by Richard Mahrenholtz shows some instances of Molière's influence upon the earliest dramatic efforts of Lessing.

Pp. 39-73. Aus Wilhelm Heines Nachlass by Herm. Iffertner contributes a number of posthumous letters of Heine, Klinger and Maler Müller.

Pp. 74-82. Zum Leipziger Liederbuche Goethes by Richard M. Werner. Prompted by Scherer's publication "*Aus Goethes Frühzeit*" (*Quellen und Forschungen* XXXIV), Werner proposes to supply more material for Goethe study by subjecting the literary sources of Goethe's *Lieder in melodien gesetzt* von B. T. Breitkopf, Leipzig 1770, to a closer examination. Das Schreyen, nach dem Italienischen is treated in this paper.

Pp. 83-100. Goethe und Sophie La Roche by W. Fielitz, and Zu Schillers Räubern by Jacob Minor, furnish emendations of G. v. Loeper's edition of Goethe's letters to Sophie La Roche and a reference to probable sources of Spiegelberg's story in the Robbers, Act II, Scene 3.

Pp. 101-122. Ein Brief Schillers an Huber by H. Düntzer, P. Kohlmann on Seume in Emden, and Africanische Märchen by Felix Liebrecht close the list of papers of the first number.

Pp. 123-138. Andresens deutsche Volksetymologie 3d edition, reviewed by G. Büchmann, Zur Lessing Litteratur, and book-notices by Robert Boxberger.

Pp. 139-144. Miscellaneous. A new Faust-Buch in the city library of Zwickau reported by L. Wespy. An opinion of Herder's *Ideen* by L. Geiger. A suppressed strophe in Schiller's *Künstlern* by Boxberger. The time when certain of Schiller's poems were written, by F. Jonas.

Heft 2.

Pp. 145-173. Dramen und Dramatiker des sechzehnten Jahrhunderts by Hugo Holstein. R. Pilger's article in the *Ztschft. f. d. Philologie*, XI, 129, entitled "Die Dramatisierung der Susanna im 16ten Jahrhundert" compares the Magdeburg text of the Susanna drama with the Nürnberg version, and is impressed with the greater correctness of the former in punctuation, spelling, etc. Upon a new collation of the two texts, H. Holstein nevertheless finds the Magdeburg text in various places utterly incorrect, whole lines having been dropped through the negligence of the printer. H. suggests the following

changes in Goedeke, *Grundriss* I. On p. 306 the numbers 117 and 118 should be united and not read as if intended for separate editions. There is no edition of 1534, but one of 1535. "Zwickau" should be removed after 123 and 124 and placed with 125. This last text is identical with 117 (118). The list of Susanna texts given by Goedeke I, on p. 306 should be augmented (cf. Pilger in *Ztschft. f. d. philologie*). The oldest Esther play after Hans Sachs' "Comedi von der Hester," 1536, is the Magdeburg of 1537. Holstein is inclined to look upon Valentin Voigt, a master-singer of whom we do not know much, as the author (cf. Goedeke I, 308, 141). The popularity of the Biblical Esther and Susanna for the drama of the 16th and 17th centuries was certainly great, thus Esther is the subject of one Latin drama (Naogeorgius), three German translations and eight different German versions. H. Holstein gives a short description of the Magdeburg Esther, and closes with comments and short synopses of a religious poem and plays by Joachim Greff (cf. Scherer, *Deutsche Studien* III, Wien 1878) and Johann Bussleben (cf. Goedeke I, 311, 172).

Pp. 174-192. Briefe von Peter Watzdorff of Jena (1546), copied from the royal archives of Dresden by the editor Dr. Schnorr v. Carolsfeld, and an unpublished letter of Schubart to Sec. Griessbach of Karlsruh, communicated by E. Schmidt.

Pp. 192-208. Das Heidenröslein eine Goethesche Dichtung oder ein Volkslied? by Hermann Dunger. In the fifth volume of the *Archiv*, p. 84, this question was treated by the Herder editor B. Suphan, who came to the conclusion that the Heidenröslein must be considered a volkslied, and that Herder probably heard it at his home in East Prussia before he knew Goethe. Dunger dissents from this opinion and repels the idea of plagiarism. D. is evidently well acquainted with volkslieder, and arranges his knowledge so as to carry his points home to the reader. The paper is most readable.

Pp. 209-219. Zu Julius von Tarent by Otto Brahm, and an unpublished letter of Schiller to his wife, by W. Arndt. Brahm discovers some remarkable resemblances in J. A. Leisewitz's drama Julius von Tarent (1776) and Lessing's Emilia Galotti (1772). It seems strange that Lessing did not see it.

Pp. 220-262. H. Ulrich zu Schiller's Balladen contributes matter connected with the sources of the *Pescecola* story in Schiller's *Diver* and the ballad *Kampf mit dem Drachen*, not noticed by former commentators, and Rudolf Genée publishes *Studien zu Schlegels Shakespeare Übersetzung*. Through the kindness of the authorities of the Dresden library, Genée was enabled to institute anew a critical examination of the original Schlegel MSS. These studies will be welcomed as a supplement to M. Bernays' work *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Schlegelschen Shakespeare*, 1872.

Pp. 263-272. Book-notices. Robert Boxberger reviews F. Muncker's essay, Lessings persönliches und literarisches Verhältniss zu Klopstock, Frankfurt a. M., 1880, and the *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, vol. I, published by L. Geiger. W. v. Biedermann notices *Studien zur Goethe-Philologie* by J. Minor and A. Sauer, Wien 1880, and *Jugendbriefe Goethes* by W. Fielitz, Berlin 1880. R. M. Werner reviews Albert Bielschowsky's study *Friederike Brion*, Breslau 1880. All the criticisms are rather favorable.

Pp. 273-284. Miscellany. Correction by Goedeke regarding Kawerau's paper, Archiv X, 1, two brief notices from Hugo Holstein Zu Erasmus Alberus and Heinrich Chnustinus, ten communications from Anton Birlinger, Der getreue Eckhard, Ibrahims Ausspruch über die deutsche Einigkeit, Tiersage und Beichtstuhl, Volksbücher in Reformationsstreitschriften, Name Schiller in Sulz, Alte Bitte um Nachsicht wegen Druckfehler, Semiramis, Zum Volksliede, Zu Lessings Nathan. R. Bechstein mentions the oldest edition of A. Musculus' Hosenteufel, and Wilhelm Zipperer closes the second number with a history of C. F. D. Schubart's Kaplied.

C. F. RADDATZ.

ARCHIV FÜR MITTEL- UND NEUGRIECHISCHE PHILOLOGIE, herausgegeben von
DR. MICHAEL DEFFNER. Athen, A. Coromilas, 1880. Bd. I, Heft I-II.
8vo, 304 pp.¹

This new, handsomely printed periodical, which is to deal with matters of mediæval and modern Greek philology, sets out with the following programme of contents:

(a) LONGER ARTICLES on the history of mediæval and modern Greek, on Grammar, Dialectology, Literature, Political History and auxiliary sciences, Geography, Law, Mythology, Customs, Usages and Beliefs, Useful and Fine Arts, etc.

(b) SHORTER ARTICLES on similar subjects.

(c) Mediæval and Modern Greek TEXTS, Accounts of MSS.

(d) Mediæval and Modern Greek LEXICOLOGY, Etymology.

(e) REVIEWS, notices, bibliographical contributions.

(f) Maps, plans, illustrations of costumes, toilette articles, coats-of arms, coins, etc.

(g) ALBANIAN Studies.

Such a programme no one man could better fill than Dr. Deffner, who was a favorite disciple of Dr. G. Curtius, and has now for many years lived in Athens and other parts of Greece, occupying himself with the subjects which he purposes to treat in this *Archiv*. His knowledge of modern Greek dialects is perhaps greater than that of any man living. He lectures on Dialectology in the National University in Athens.

The articles contained in the volume of two numbers before us are various, and for the most part valuable. More than half of them are by Dr. Deffner himself. Of these the most important are the two which deal with the language of the Tzakōnes, of which he has written a grammar (not yet published). One need not be prepared to follow Dr. Deffner in believing that the Tzakones are descendants of the Lakones, and their name but a corruption of that of this ancient race, in order to admit the value of his researches. Like most specialists, he claims perhaps a little too much for his subject; but that is natural and therefore excusable. In submitting Tzakonian to scientific analysis, while it is still a living form of speech, he has done great service to Greek philology. Whoever, ethnically considered, the Tzakones may be, their language certainly contains many purely Doric elements and many interesting phenomena. Dr.

¹ See American Journal of Philology, vol. II, No. 5, p. 130.

Deffner's article on the history of the Greek cases, from the days of Xenophon to those of the Klephts, is concise, clear, instructive and based on facts, and no foreigner can help lamenting that the Greeks should ever have tried to repudiate that history, by reintroducing into their literary and polite speech dead case-forms, which ill comport with their other analytic forms. His article on the poisoned honey of Ofis is most interesting, as bearing upon the curious story told by Xenophon in his *Anabasis* IV, 8, 19-21. The specimens from his Glossary of the Ofitic dialect (the Ofites are a tribe of Muhammedan Greeks living to the eastward of Trebizond) and from his "Etymological-statistical Dictionary of the Greek Dialects," contain much that is interesting, although some of the etymologies are bold and lack historical proof. All etymologists of the Curtian school ought continually to be reminded that etymologies, possible according to phonetic rules, are not necessarily true, and that until they can be traced *historically* they are, for the most part, mere hypotheses. Curtius' *Grundsätze der griechischen Etymologie* is a lasting monument of the worthlessness of mere phonetic etymologies. Dr. Deffner, who might very well stand on his own feet, is far too much influenced by the *prestige* and methods of his old teacher. But Dr. Deffner shows to least advantage in his polemics, of which there are two in the present volume. It is undoubtedly provoking to a real scholar,—and Dr. Deffner is the best foreign Modern Greek scholar living—to see sciolism misleading science; but he goes too far when he treats his opponents as guilty of bad faith and intentional misrepresentation.

The present volume contains some curious and valuable texts published now for the first time, tales, songs, etc., and a translation into Romaic (not Neo-Hellenic) of the Ugolino episode from Dante's *Inferno* by G. E. Antoniadès. This last, preceded by some very sensible remarks on the present unfortunate state into which the Greeks have brought their language, is excellent, in spite of its horrible ballad metre. Dr. Schmidt's statistical article on the Earth-quakes and Volcanic Eruptions in the East contains a list of all that are recorded of these unpleasant occurrences from B. C. 1000 to A. D. 1879. The recent calamities at Chios and Casamicciola will now enable the author to add to it.

Several short articles we have left unmentioned; but we must call attention to the Modern Greek Bibliography of eight pages at the end of the volume, as of great value for students of the subject. Hoping that, in spite of the slight interest hitherto shown by foreign scholars in Modern Greek studies (Dr. Deffner's complaints on this score are completely justified) the new *Archiv* may prosper and in every way reward its editor, we will close this notice by quoting a short popular song which Dr. Deffner has immensely improved by an emendation, of whose correctness there can be no doubt, viz. by changing the verbs in the fourth line from the 2d pers. sing. imperat. to 1st pers. sing. indic.

Κλαῖγέ με, μάννα, κλαῖγέ με αὐγὴ καὶ μεσημέρι,
Καὶ μέσ' στ' ἀνάγυρμα τοῦ ἡλίου ποτὲ σου μὴ μὲ κλάψης,
Γιατὶ δειπνάει ὁ Χάροντας μὲ τῇ Χαρόντισσά του.
Κρατῶ κερὶ καὶ φέγγω τους, ποτὴρι καὶ κερνώ τους.
Μοῦ ξαμολνέται τὸ κερὶ κῆ ὁ Χάροντας μὲ δέμνει (p. 224).

Could anything be sadder?

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

REVUE DE PHILOGIE, Vol. IV, Nos. 3 and 4.¹

(3.) 1. Pp. 145-150. Henri Weil discusses once more the fragment (in his *Papyrus inédit*) which has been assigned to the Europa of Aeschylus. He attempts this time to show that the two fragments composed in Aeschylean metre are to be united. His arguments are very ingenious, more so than a verse—*καὶ τόδ', ἐπικούρου μολόντ' ἐς Ἴλιον*—which he composes to fill up a supposed lacuna between vv. 15 and 16.

2. P. 150. H. W. makes three emendations in Antiphon's Murder of Herodes. (a) In § 29 he happily changes *ἐπλέομεν* into *ἐπίνομεν*. (b) In § 5 he omits *ῥῆμα* and *ἔργον* from *τὸ μὲν γὰρ ῥῆμα . . . τὸ δὲ ἔργον κτέ.*,—a necessary change. (c) In § 49 he inserts *καὶ* between *οὐδέπω* and *νῦν*.

3. Pp. 151-6. Herwerden emends Aesch. Agam. 256, removes 351-4 to another place, emends frag. 98 (Dindorf). In Sophocles he emends Philoct. 119, 412, discusses 667 ff., emends 698, 731, 831, 835, 867, 894, 921, 1048, 1061, discusses 1082, and emends 1135 and 1083. Some of the suggestions he makes are worthy of attention, but one "emendation" proceeds from ignorance of an elementary principle of Greek syntax. He says: "Philoct. 867:

ὦ φέγγος ὕπνου διάδοχον, τό τ' ἐλπίδων
ἄπιστον οἰκοῦρημα τῶνδε τῶν ξένων.

Nec Graecae neque ullius linguae proprium est articulum addere vocativo," and proposes *σύ* for *τό* as the best means of emending. This use of the article with nominative forms in apostrophe or address is too familiar for discussion. I merely cite a few illustrations:

Soph. Aj. 856: *σὲ δ' ὦ φαεινῆς ἡμέρας τὸ νῦν σέλας κτέ.*

Ib. 859-61: *ὦ φέγγος . . . καὶ τὸ σύντροφον γένος.*

Aristoph. Equit. 1329: *ὦ ται λιπαραὶ . . . Ἀθῆναι* (after Pindar).

Examples might be cited by the score.

4. Pp. 157-60. O. Riemann continues his *Collatio codicum Livianorum*.

5. Pp. 161-71. Jules Nicoles discusses again the choice by lot of Athenian archons. After enumerating all the instances of ancient testimony on the subject, he rejects, as being unreliable, all but two: (1) Herodot. VI 109, where it is stated that the polemarch was chosen by lot, and (2) the chronological list of the *ἀρχοντες ἐπώνυμοι*, from which it appears that between 493 and 479 B. C. this office was filled by Themistocles, Aristides, and Xanthippus—the very men whom the people would have chosen. Having discussed the views of others, he shows from ancient testimony that the names only of those who announced themselves as candidates were put into the urn; and then suggests the theory that circumstances sometimes rendered it evident that certain persons were preëminently entitled to the office, and that consequently no other persons would dare to announce themselves. He further expresses the opinion that, at least at the time of the Persian wars, lots were drawn for each archon separately, and hence the choice of Callimachus as polemarch, a man who had already as a general gained distinction for bravery and ability. This carries the choice by lot back to 490. How much earlier it began cannot be determined with certainty, but it was probably during, or immediately after, the times of Clisthenes.

¹ See American Journal of Philology, Vol. I, p. 372.

Pp. 171-6. Notices of books on classical subjects.

7. *Revue des Revues*, pp. 65-208.

(4.) 1. Pp. 177-85. Léon Fontaine discusses two MSS. (in the University library of Montpellier) of the Moral Distichs of Cato—one belonging to the ninth century, and the other, which is very incomplete, to the eleventh. He gives a list of variants, some of which are important, and closes with a discussion of some questions in regard to these MSS.

2. P. 185. O. Riemann calls attention to *-que* after short *e* in Livy (XXI 39, 2), but shows that the reading is false. For "inluvie tabeque" we should read "inluvie *et* tabe quae," and insert *with the MSS.* "erat" after "otium" in the preceding portion of the sentence, and make "movebat" plural.

3. Pp. 186-7. Grammatical Notes (continued), by O. Riemann. (a) *Πόλη* for *πόλει* occurs some eight times in the C. I. A., and *γραμματῇ* for *-ει* occurs once. R. regards *η* in both instances as a remnant of the old Ionic form *ηῖ*, contracted. (b) *Quam* (without *ut* or *qui*) followed by the subjunctive after a comparative: Varro, *De re rust.*, I 51, 1; Cic., in *Verr.* II, IV 34, 76; Nepos, *Paus.* III 2. In these passages he regards the subjunctive as conditional, and holds that the indicative would mean about the same thing.

4. P. 188. Ch. G. shows conclusively that in Appian's *Civil Wars*, II 82, s. fin., *λαμπρῶς* belongs to *νικήσομεν* and not to *ἀνεβόησε*, although the latter combination would be good Greek.

5. P. 188. L. Havet restores the reading of the old editions, putting "tui" for "qui" in Varro, *De ling. Lat.* 7, 3 (Müller).

6. Pp. 189-92. Book-notices.

7. *Revue des Revues*, pp. 209-322.

V, No. 1 (Jan.)

1. Pp. 1-57. De Plutarchi codice Matritensi iniuria neglecto (C. Graux). This article is of great importance for special study of Plutarch's *Lives*.

2. Pp. 58-61. Notes on the *Medea* of Euripides (G. Vitelli). V. 798: for *οὔτε μοι* read *οὐ γέ μοι*. V. 1109: read *εἰ κυρώσει | δαίμων οὐτως*. V. 106: *ἀγχαῖς* (with Weil). V. 345: for *εἰκὸς σ' ἐστὶν εἰνοῖάν σ' ἔχειν* read *εἰκὸς δέ σφιν κτέ.* [I should prefer *εἰκὸς δ' ἐς νιν κτέ.*, in spite of the rare use of *νιν* in the plural].

3. Pp. 61-63. R. Cagnat shows that in Symmachus, Letter 60, *quingagesimae* should be changed to *quadragessimae*, which occurs in the same connection in Letter 63.

4. Pp. 63-64. Note on Livy, V 37, 6 (O. Riemann). Something has probably fallen out between *primo* and *adventu*: possibly it should be *prim(o sub ipso) adventu*.

5. Pp. 65-84. Remarks on Aeschylus (H. Weil). Discussion of nearly fifty passages, with numerous emendations.

6. Pp. 85-101. Critical remarks upon Cic. *de Officiis*, based upon a MS. of Nice (C. Beldame). Points out some important variants for Book I and part of Book II, and gives a complete collation for Book I.

7. Pp. 101-102. Note on the accusative in apposition with a sentence (J. Gantrelle). Gossrau (Lateinische Sprachlehre, § 313) maintains that no instance occurs in Cicero, but G. claims to have found one in Phil. II 85: "(diadema) attuleras domo, *meditatum scelus*."

8. P. 102. A. Pallis changes βία in Soph. Philoct. 601 into δίκη (or βιάβη) and reads αἶπερ for οἶπερ in the next verse.

9. Pp. 103-107. Grammatical Notes (O. Riemann). Discusses Gossrau's law that *primus*, *medius*, *summus*, etc., when used partitively, always *precede* their substantive. R. gives a list of all the instances of such adjectives used partitively in Caesar, from which it appears that, although the rule is not invariable, the exceptions are not numerous. Some examples cited from Terence, Sallust and Livy, with some exceptions in Sallust and Livy. Several exceptions to Kühnast's rule that *media arbor* means *the middle of the tree*, and *arbor media*, *the middle tree*, the rule being rigorous (or nearly so) only for *arbor media*.

10. Pp. 108-112. Book-notices.

No. 2 (May).

1. Pp. 113-116. Observations on the Letters of Symmachus (G. Boissier). Symmachus used Pliny the Younger as a model. The fact that his letters are not interesting is due to several causes, chiefly the following: (1) The absence of important public events. (2) The unreliableness of the means of sending letters, it being uncertain how long a letter would be on its way, or whether it would ever reach its destination, and there being danger that it would be read by carriers or others. On a certain day Symmachus received two letters from a friend in Africa, the one telling of his marriage, and the other announcing the birth of his child. (3) Certain documents (such as *Acta Senatus*) and also accounts of events and gossip were enclosed with the letters, not forming part of them.

2. Pp. 117-134. Palaeographic Notes (C. Graux). (1) G. opposes the view that the seventh Olympic Ode of Pindar "in golden letters" (deposited, according to Gorgon as cited by a scholiast, in the temple of Lindian Athena) was engraved on marble, and to show that it was possibly (and hence probably) written with golden ink on some fine writing material, he gives the history of such writings, as far as it can be learned from ancient allusions. (2) Discussion of the forms of the letters used in a fragment of Graeco-roman law contained on the parchment covering of a MS. found on Mt. Sinai. (3) History of the MS. of the Latin Pentateuch of Lyon. Variants of the lost Greek original restored by means of the Latin.

3. P. 134. R. Peyre inserts *alios* between *arbitror* and *alio* in Cic. ad Herennium, IV 63.

4. Pp. 135-136. E. Chatelain collates (with Orelli's text) a fragment of the oldest MS. of Cic. de Officiis.

5. Pp. 137-144. Book-notices.

6. Revue des Revues, V, pp. 1-96. Review of German periodicals for 1880 begun.

No. 3 (July).

1. Pp. 145-180. The Attic Dialect according to Inscriptions (O. Riemann). This article, designed to suggest additions and corrections for future editions of Herwerden's *Lapidum de Dialecto Attica Testimonia*, contains a large number of important facts not provided for in existing works.

2. Pp. 181-190. Life and Labors of Léonard de Spengel (Charles Thurot).

3. P. 191. Notes. (1) Gantrelle changes *orationem* into *rationem* in Cic., Phil. I, 7, 15: ". . . sequi . . . orationem et auctoritatem meam." (2) Le Foyer writes *stuvio* for *stuit* in Martial IV 66, 14. (3) Chatelain emends two passages in Symmachus by means of some old (1587) marginal notes taken from a now lost MS., and promises an article on these notes.

4. Pp. 192-196. Book-notices.

5. Revue des Revues, V, pp. 97-220. Germany (completed), Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, United States, France (begun).

M. W. HUMPHREYS.

A CORRECTION. — A correspondent writes to ask whether Kühner did not himself correct the mistake to which allusion was made in Vol. II, No. 5, p. 87 of this Journal. Kühner does say (Vol. I, p. 285) that the dual is found only twice in Herodotos, but in Vol. II, p. 19 the false statement reappears, and only a Kühner can be allowed to correct in 1869 a mistake which a Kühner made in 1870. That Kühner has to be watched will be no news to students of Greek grammar.

B. L. G.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York for material furnished.

AMERICAN.

Propertius (Sextus Aurelius). Select elegies; ed., with introd., notes and app., by J. P. Postgate. New York: *Macmillan*. 1881. 148 + 272 pp., 16mo, cl. \$1.60.

Rich (Anthony). Dictionary of Roman and Greek antiquities, etc New York: *Appleton*. 1881. 756 pp., 8vo, cl., reduced to \$3.

BRITISH.

The following books are published in London unless otherwise indicated.

Aeschylus. The House of Atreus: being the Agamemnon, Libation Bearers, and Furies of Aeschylus. Translated into English verse by E. D. A. Morshead. Post 8vo, pp. 214. *C. Kegan Paul*. 7s.

Arnold (E.) Indian Poetry. Containing a new edition of "The Indian Song of Songs," from the Sanskrit of the Gita Govinda of Jayadeva, Two Books from "The Iliad of India" (Mahabharata), Proverbial Wisdom from the Shlokas of the Hitopadesa and other Oriental Poems. Trübner's Oriental Series. 8vo, pp. 270. *Trübner*. 7s. 6d.

Beowulf. An Old English Poem translated into modern Rhymes by H. W. Lumsden. London, 1881. 8vo, xx, pp. 114. 6m.

Brewer (J. S.) English Studies; or, Essays in English History and Literature. Edited, with a Prefatory Memoir, by Henry Wace. 8vo, pp. 498. *Murray*. 14s.

Chaucer (G.) The Prologue to the Canterbury Tales. By E. F. Willoughby. Blackie's School Classics. 12mo, pp. 112. *Blackie*. 1s. 6d.

Cummins (A. H.) A Grammar of the Old Friesic Language. Post 8vo, pp. 84. *Trübner*. 3s. 6d.

Dante's Divine Comedy: Inferno. Translated by Warburton Pike. 12mo, pp. 220. *C. Kegan Paul*. 5s.

Davies (J.) Hindu Philosophy: The Sankhya Karika of Iswara Krishna. Trübner's Oriental Series. 8vo, pp. 146. *Trübner*. 6s.

Euripides (Heracleidae). With Introduction, Analysis, etc. By Edward Anthony Beck. Pitt Press Series. 12mo, pp. 140. *Cambridge Warehouse*. 3s. 6d. New York: *Macmillan*. 90 c.

Euripides (Hippolytus). Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendix, by J. P. Mahaffy. 12mo, pp. 128. *Macmillan*. 3s. 6d.

Euripides (Medea). With an Introduction and Commentary by A. W. Verrall. 8vo, pp. 152. 7s. 6d. New York: *Macmillan*. \$2.

Fletcher (C. R. L.) The Development of English Prose Style: The Chancellor's Essay, 1881. 8vo, sd., pp. 32.

Gotch (F. W.) Supplement to the Fragments of the Codex Cottonianus, published by Tischendorf in his "Monumenta sacra." Together with a Synopsis of the Codex. London, 1881. 4to. *Facsimile Druck.* 9m.

Justinian. Select Titles from the Digest of Justinian. Ed. by Th. Erskine Holland and C. Lancelot Shadwell. London, 1881. 8vo, pp. 462. 16s.

Lane's Arabic-English Lexicon. Edited by Stanley Lane Poole. Vol. 9, Fasc. 1. 4to, sd *Williams & Norgate.* 6s.

Martin (W. A. P.) The Chinese: Their Education, Philosophy, and Letters. Post 8vo, pp. 316. *Trübner.* 7s. 6d.

Mayor (Jos. B.) A Sketch of Ancient Philosophy, from Thales to Cicero. Cambridge, 1881. 12mo, pp. 266. 4s.

Müller (F. Max). Sacred Books of the East. Vol. II. Buddhist Suttas. Translated from Pali. By T. W. Rhys Davids. 8vo, pp. 368. *Frowde.* 10s.

Palmer (E. H.) The Arabic Manual. 12mo, bd., pp. 316. *W. H. Allen.* 7s. 6d.

Phrynichus (The New). Being a Revised Text of the Ecloga of the German Phrynichus. With Introduction and Commentary. By W. G. Rutherford. 8vo, pp. 530. *Macmillan.* 18s.

Plato (Euthydemus). With an Introduction and Notes. By George Henry Wells. 12mo, pp. 124. *Bell & Sons.* 4s.

Plato's Republic. Translated into English, with an Analysis and Introduction, by B. Jowett. 2d ed., revised and corrected. 8vo, pp. 514. *Frowde.* 12s. 6d.

Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne. Part 2. 12mo, sd., pp. 210. Dublin: *Gill. Simphin.* 1s. 6d.

Records of the Past. Vol. XII: Egyptian Texts. Post 8vo, pp. 170. *Bagster.* 3s. 6d.

Sophocles. Edited with English Notes and Introductions by Lewis Campbell. 2 vols. Vol. II, Ajax; Electra; Trachiniae; Philoctetes; Fragments. 8vo, pp. 592. *Frowde.* 16s.

Thucydides. Translated into English, with Introduction, Marginal Analysis, Notes, and Indices, by B. Jowett. 2 vols. 8vo, pp. 1270. *Frowde.* 32s. New York: *Macmillan.* \$8.

The Vinaya Pitakam. Ed. by H. Oldenberg. Vol. III: The Suttavibhanga. I: Parajika, Samghadisesa, Anayata Nissaggiya. 8vo, 343 pp. 25m.

FRENCH.

Barbier de Meynard (A. C.) Dictionnaire ture-français. Supplément aux dictionnaires publiés jusqu'à ce jour. Tome I. I. livraison. Gr. in-8. *Leroux.* 10 fr.

Cordier (Henri). Bibliotheca Sinica. Dictionnaire bibliographique des ouvrages relatifs à l'empire chinois. Tome I. Gr. in-8. *Leroux.* 60 fr.

Dictionnaire pongoué-français, précédé des Principes de la langue pongouée. In-12. *Maisonneuve.* 10 fr.

Gilliéron (Jules). Petit atlas phonétique du Valais roman (sud du Rhône). In-8. *Champion.* 6 fr.

Grammaire corcénne. Gr. in-8. (Yokohama) *Leroux.* 45 fr.

Lamber (J.) Poètes grecs contemporains. Paris, 1881. 18mo, lii, 309 pp. 3m. 50.

Legrand (Émile). Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire. Tome II et III. Gr. in-8. *Maison neuve*. 20 fr.

Ménard (R.) La Vie privée des anciens. Dessins d'après les monuments antiques par C. Sauvageot. La Famille dans l'antiquité. Paris, 1881. 8vo, 575 pp. Mit 815 Illustr. 100 fr.

Pierret (Paul). Le Décret trilingue de Canope. Transcription et interpretation interlinéaire, etc. In-4. *Leroux*. 7 fr. 50.

Reiff (C. Ph.) Petit manuel de la langue russe. In-32 oblong. *Maison neuve*. Cart., 2 fr.

Waltz (Ad.) Des variations de la langue et de la métrique d'Horace dans ses différents ouvrages. In-8. *Baer*. 5 fr.

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VOL. II.

No. 8.

I.—ON THE FRAGMENTS OF SOPHOCLES.¹

The fragments of the Greek Tragedians, in spite of the excellence of Nauck's edition (Leipzig, 1856), can scarcely be said to be known as well as their intrinsic interest merits. Yet very considerable contributions have been made to the explanation and appreciation of them since that time. I may mention my own paper in the Cambridge Journal of Philology IV, pp. 251 foll., which seems to have escaped the notice both of Cobet and Pappogeorgios, as well as those of Hense and Herwerden, the latter of which is only known to me through the quotations of the great Leyden scholar. Madvig's remarks on the same subject will be found in vol. I of the *Miscellanea Critica*.

Prof. Campbell is, we believe, the first who has given a running exegesis on the fragments of Sophocles. This is useful and, without the help of the passages in which the fr. happens to be quoted, indispensable. He has attempted, so far as was possible, to imagine the circumstances under which the fr. was supposed to be spoken, and in several cases we have found his remarks illuminative. He has also given a good many translations. From many of these

¹ De nonnullis fragmentis Tragicorum. Cobet *Collectanea Critica*, pp. 185-237. Leyden, 1878.

Κριτικά καὶ Ἑρμηνευτικά εἰς τὰ ἀποσπάσματα τῶν Ἑλλήνων Τραγικῶν ποιητῶν ἐπὶ Πέτρου Ν. Παππογεωργίου. Leipzig, Teubner. 1880.

The Fragments of Sophocles. In vol. II of Campbell's *Sophocles*. Oxford, 1881.

we cannot help expressing our dissent. Speaking generally, we may say that it is impossible for the student to judge adequately of the meaning of these isolated pieces of verse without consulting perpetually the work of Nauck, who quotes at length the context of each.

Of Cobet's contribution to the subject, I may perhaps be permitted to say that, in spite of valuable remarks here and there, it is hardly up to his highest level; at least in the fragments of Sophocles. Indeed, there is hardly any part of the *Collectanea Critica* which, in my judgment, is not more convincing than this. It is of course written with his accustomed vigor and vast grammatical knowledge; but the conjectures do not attain, in most instances, to certainty. Cobet, like Bentley, with whom alone he can be compared, is too fond of remodelling passages as they ought to be.

Thus in fr. 574:

φεῦ φεῦ τί τούτου χάρμα μεῖζον ἂν λάβοις
τοῦ γῆς ἐπιψάουσιντα κἄθ' ὑπὸ στέγγῃ
πυκνῆς ἀκούσαι ψαχάδου εὐδούση φρενί;

Cobet, following Stobaeus in omitting φεῦ φεῦ, and adding ποτέ after λάβοις, proceeds to change τούτου to τοῦδε, 'refertur enim τοῦδε ad id quod sequitur,' and explains τούτου as introduced by Plutarch (who quotes this line in his life of Aemil. Paulus c. I) to illustrate a *previous* remark. But if Stobaeus agrees with Plutarch in writing τούτου, it seems likely that the word was found by both Plutarch and Stobaeus in the source from which they drew; hence that ποτέ, not τούτου, is the suspicious word. Fr. 795,

Ἀλφεισίβοιαν ἦν ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ

is cited by Priscian as an instance of a trochee in the first foot of an iambic trimeter. Cobet asks 'Who will believe Priscian in this statement? Certainly no one. Accordingly Nauck edits Ἀλφειοσίβοιαν. I should much prefer

(τὴν) Ἀλφεισίβοιαν ἦν ὁ γεννήσας πατήρ.'

What then is to be done with those time-honored instances Ἰππομέδοντος σχῆμα Theb. 487, Παρθενοπαῖος Ἀρχὰς 547? Surely the article before Ἀλφειο. is strange, not to say incredible. Are we to deny that Priscian quoted correctly? And if he quoted correctly, is it certain that his view of a trochee in the first foot is impossible?

We believe that a larger investigation of this point, especially in Latin, might tend to modify what is at present held to be incontrovertible. But even short of this, we should still much prefer Nauck's expedient (the ordinary one) to anything so meaningless and so perfectly gratuitous as the insertion of *τήν*.

Fr. 850 is thus given by Nauck from Stobaeus :

μή μοι κρυφαῖον μηδὲν ἐξείπης ἔπος.
κλῆθρον γὰρ οὐδὲν ὥς δ' ἂν εὐπετέες λάβουσι,
γλώσσης κρυφαῖον οὐδὲν οὐ διέρχεται.

Cobet alters *ὥς δ'* to *ᾧδ'*, suggests *εὐερπές* or *εὐπαγές* for *εὐπετέες*, and rewrites the third line,

γλώσσης δι' οὗ κρύφαῖον οὐ διέρχεται.

This seems very violent. Hermann conjectured *ὥς δ' ἂν εὐστεγές λάβης*. But *εὐπετέες* in the sense of 'careless,' 'lightly heard,' would be quite in accordance with usage. Perhaps, then, retaining this or reading *εὐπετῶς λάβης*, we might translate, 'but however carelessly you may have received (heard) it (*λάβης*), there is nothing secret which does not find a way out through the tongue.' Or we might retain *λάβουσι* 'there is no secret that does not get out, in such a way that you can hear it only lightly,' *i. e.* to the extent of your being able to say, it left no impression on your mind and cannot therefore have been divulged by you. Campbell very boldly conjectures *ὥς δ' ἂν εὐλαβῇ λόγοις*.

M. Pappogeorgios is a Greek who has attended the lectures of Prof. Moriz Schmidt, and encouraged by him, has tried his hand on the Tragic fragments. His little book of 56 pages is written in modern Greek, in a tone of modesty very becoming in a tiro. He has studied 'the great Hollander' with care, and criticizes him with deference, yet freedom. At times his remarks are acute. Fr. 699 :

πρὸς δ' οἶον ἦξεις δαίμον' ὥς ἔρωτα.
δς οὔτε τυμπικιές οὔτε τήν χάριν
οἶδεν, μόνην δ' ἔστερξε τήν ἀπλῶς δίκην.

Of these three lines the two last are quoted by Plutarch Mor. 761 F, who expressly states the connexion to be that Hades does the will of no god but Love. Hence *ἔρωτα* would seem to be genuine. Pappogeorgios suggests that a verse is lost conveying this meaning. May not however this connexion be retained by simply reading *ὥς ἔρωτ' ἄγειν* 'for estimating Love'? *i. e.* think what

sort of god Hades is for rating love: Hades whose only consideration is the strict rigor of justice. Another plausible suggestion of Pappogeorgios is that we should read *προσστῆναι* for *προστῆναι* in fr. 591, spoken of serpents coming up to the table and twining themselves round the food and cups,

*προσστῆναι μέσῃν
τράπεζαν ἀμφὶ σῖτα καὶ καρχῆσια,*

though it seems so obvious that it is difficult to believe it has not been made before. But M. Pappogeorgios must forgive me for refusing to accept such Greek as *μη καλὸς* in the sense of not virtuous (p. 35), or such metre as

πιστὸν μὲν οὖν εἶναι χρῆ τὸν διάκονον (p. 40).

Prof. Campbell, comparatively a veteran in these studies, has made several conjectures worth attention. I propose to review some of these, following Nauck's order.

fr. 86.

*δαινὸς γὰρ ἔρπειν πλοῦτος ἔς τε τᾶβατα
καὶ πρὸς τὰ βατά, χώπόθεν πένης ἀνὴρ
μηδ' ἐντυχὼν δυναιτ' ἂν ὦν ἐρᾷ τυχεῖν.*

Madvig thus alters this, *καὶ πρὸς τὰ βατά χῶποι θέλει · πένης δ' ἀνὴρ οὐδ' ἐντυχὼν*, etc., a conjecture in which we trace the same want of nice metrical perception which is observable in so many of his emendations. Campbell's conjecture *καὶ τὰπρόσιτα* is ingenious but tautologous. Surely an antithesis, instead of being flat and feeble, is what we look for. From this point of view I prefer *βέβηλα*, the conjecture of Vater. Cobet has a short article on the beginning of this fr. in which he supports *ἀγχίστην* against the other variants *αἰσχίστην* and *ἡδίστην* satisfactorily.

fr. 122.

*ἡμιουτὸν κούρειον ἡρέθη πόλει.
νόμος γάρ ἐστι βαρβάροις θυηπολεῖν
βρότειον ἀρχῆθεν γέρος τῷ Κρόνῳ.*

This fr. is quoted by Hesych. from the *Andromeda*. The first word has been variously emended, *αἰμύρρυτον*, *λερύθυτον*, *ἐνιαύσιον* (Hense), *ἡμῖν θυτὸν* (Campb.). As *Andromeda* was a *human* victim offered in expiation of the *sea-monster* which punished the sin of

Andromeda's mother, Cassiepia, it seems possible that the word was *ἡμίβροτον*—a sacrificial victim, but a victim half-mortal. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt that the other two lines should be written, as Cobet corrects them,

νόμος γάρ ἐστι τοῖσι βαρβάροις Κρόνῳ
θυηπολεῖν βρότειον ἀρχῆθεν γένος,

and so I had already myself corrected them, except that I incline to prefer *γέρας*. The MS. has *γέρως*.

fr. 145.

νέμ' εἴ τις οὐ πάρεστιν δς ξυνώμοσε.

Campbell translates 'observe,' comparing the use of *νομῶν*. But the scholiast on Pind. Isthm. 2, 68 quotes the word as an illustration of *ἀπόνειμον* = *ἀνάγνωθι*. Hence I imagine the sense to be either 'read out' or like *da mihi* 'explain.'

fr. 146.

Campbell's suggestion that the first of these four lines is to be separated from the remainder seems very probable. He considers the first verse to be a deprecation of oblivion of the Muse, the last three an address to Memory or the Power of Song. Accepting his correction *εὐποτμοτάτα* for *εὐποτμότατε* of MSS. I would arrange the metre as follows :

Λάθα Πιερίδων στυγερά
καὶ ἀνάρσιος. ὦ δύνασις
θνατοῖς εὐποτμοτάτα μελέων
ἀνέχουσα βίου βραχὺν ἰσθμόν.

fr. 154.

Campbell is less happy in dealing with this fr. In v. 1 the MSS. of Stobaeus give *ἔρωτος γὰρ νόσημα τοῦτ' ἐφήμερον καχόν*, except B which gives *νόσημ' ἔρωτος*. Nauck prints

τὸ γὰρ νόσημα τοῦτ' ἐφίμερον καχόν,

after Dobree. Surely this is right, unless *τοῦτ'* is to be expunged, for which there is no authority. Campbell gives *νόσημ' ἔρωτος τοῦτ'*, which is tame. In v. 4 *χρύσταλλον ἀρκάσωσι παιδίαῖς ἄγη* Campb.'s

παῖδες εὐπαγῆ is not so near the MSS. as Salmasius' παῖδες ἀσταγῆ. Again, vv. 6, 7 :

τέλος δ' ὁ χυμὸς οὐδ' ὕπως ἀφῆθ' ἔλκει
οὐτ' ἐν χερσὶν τὸ κτήμα σύμφορον μένειν.

C. translates 'But at last the sensation will not allow them to let go, nor yet is the acquisition one that is expedient to remain in the hands.' He rightly doubts the possibility of giving χυμὸς this meaning: L. and S. give 'liquid' as the signification here. The rest I should prefer to translate 'will neither as the boy drops it (follow his will), nor does the possession like remaining in his hands to their harm,' retaining the MS. reading ἀσύμφορον. This gives a very good idea of what ice does when held; it is too chilling to be retained conveniently, too watery to be got rid of in a moment.

fr. 160.

γλώσσης μελίσσης τῷ κατεῖρυνχότι.

I would translate 'the distillation of a honey tongue,' making μελίσσης a virtual adjective like τήραννα σκῆπτρα. This agrees better with the Homeric τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων βέεν αὐδή.

fr. 162.

Casaubon altered the corrupt words of Hesych. δμματοπάλογχα φησὶν το δμμάτων ἀπο λόγχας ἦσιν. This is not so certain as to preclude other attempts. Perhaps δμμάτων (δμματος?) πόθω Λ. ἦσιν. Hesych. is illustrating δμμάτειος πόθος.

fr. 220.

πρόποδα μέλεα τὰδ' ὅσα κλύομεν
τρόχιμα βάσιμα χέρεσι πόδεσι.

So Campbell from the Bodleian codex. Nauck following a different MS. gives χερσὶ πόδεσσιν. The rhythm of the passage is strongly in favor of the resolved forms. May not πρόποδα be interpreted 'running rapidly forward'? This agrees better with the Homeric προποδίζεσθαι as well as with τρόχιμα βάσιμα.

fr. 221.

οἴκωχε γὰρ κροτητὰ πηκτίδων μέλη
λύρα μοναύλοις τε χειμωντεως
ναὺς στέρημα κωμιασάσης.

Is it possible that the words *πισσοκωνίας* ἄρης quoted by the schol. on Il. 18, 521 as used by Cratinus really come from this passage of Sophocles? Hesych. *πισσοκώνητον μόνον λέγουσιν ὅταν πίσση καταχρισθέντες τινὲς ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀποθάνωσιν. Αἰσχύλος Κρήσσαις καὶ Κρατῖνος.* And again *πισσοκωνήτῳ πυρὶ · πίσση χρίουσιν, ἵνα τάχιον κατακαίηται.* Phot. Lex. *πισσοκωνήτῳ πυρὶ · τῷ εὐχαύτῳ · ἐπεὶ τὰ χρίόμενα πίσση χρίεται · Αἰσχύλος Κρήσσαις.* From these passages it would appear that three expressions from the scenic writers were known to the lexicographers, *πισσοκωνίας ἄρης*, *πισσοκώνητος μύρος*, *πισσοκώνητον πῦρ*. The last was used by Aeschylus in his *Κρήσσαις*; the second is also quoted from the *Κρήσσαις* and from Cratinus: whence we may perhaps conclude it was found in some play of Cratinus, either taken exactly from Aeschylus, or as is more likely *adapted* from the expression in the *Κρήσσαις*. Hence the remaining *πισσοκωνίας ἄρης* need not come either from Cratinus or Aeschylus; and if not, it might well belong to Sophocles. I would emend the line then as follows:

ναοὺς τ' ἐρημοὶ πισσοκωνίας ἄρης,

explaining of a desolating war which emptied the temples, either by burning in pitched robes the officiating functionaries, or (more probably) by setting in and about the buildings themselves masses of pitch and so burning them. The first line would then describe the cessation of the usual accompaniments of peace, music and festivity; unless indeed we suppose the various instruments formed part of the temple-worship.

fr. 235.

εἴτ' ἡμαρ αὖξει μέσσον ὄμφακος τύπον
καὶ κλίνεται γε † καποπερνοῦται βύτρυς
δεῖλῃ δὲ πᾶσα τέμνεται βλαστουμένη.

Campbell retains *καὶ κλίνεται γε*, translating, 'ay and as the day begins to decline.' But in this sense *γε* is a most unmeaning addition: I should prefer to make *βύτρυς* the subject, 'ay and the bunch slowly changes color and grows dark.' But the emendation of Meineke *γλυκαίνεται τε* is, I think, rightly admitted by Nauck. For *βλαστουμένη* Meineke, Theocr. p. 419, proposed *κλάστου τέχνη*. It would be neater to suppose a rare verb *κλαστεῖν*, the participle of which has survived in this passage alone.

fr. 259.

τραχὺς χελώνης κέρχρος ἐξανίσταται.

'χελώνης corruptum' says Nauck. The expression however is appropriate enough of the rugged tortoise-like skin which Io assumes in her transformation from a smooth woman to a cow.

fr. 270.

Hesych. ἀελλόθριξ · ποικιλόθριξ · ἥ πυρεώρους καὶ συνεχεῖς ἔχουσα τὰς τρίχας. Perhaps παρηώρους καὶ ἀσυνεχεῖς 'sprawling and not continuous.'

fr. 286.

νόει πρὸς ἀνδρὶ σῶμα πουλύπους δπως
πέτρα τραπέσθαι γνησίου φρονήματος.

Both Nauck and Campbell consider this passage corrupt. Yet it seems translatable. 'Be minded to shift from your real thoughts, keeping close to your man, as a polypus changes color in body keeping close to its rock': *i. e.* become all things to all men, following the complexion of the thoughts of the person you happen to be with. The construction is νόει τραπέσθαι γν. φρονήματος πρὸς ἀνδρὶ, δπως πουλύπους (τρέπεται) σῶμα (πρὸς) πέτρα. This is certainly the meaning of the well-known passage of Theognis quoted with it.

fr. 293.

ἐνγλάτα ξύλα
τρίγομφα διατορεῦσαί σε δεῖται.

Possibly *τρ. διατόρευτ' [ἀποξῦ]σαί σε δεῖ*, or some similar supplement.

fr. 299, 300.

The words in Hesych. Σοφοκλῆς σιών⁷ and Σοφοκλῆς οἶονι⁶¹ suggest that an *Oenone* existed as well as an Ion.

fr. 301.

πέρδιχος ἐν κλεινοῖς Ἀθηναίων πάγοις.

Lines like these go to disprove Cobet's remark *Collect. Crit.* p. 189 on Phil. 1371 *ἔα κακῶς αὐτοὺς ἀπόλλυσθαι καρούς*, 'Quis qui non hebetem et obtusam habet aurem, ferre potest tam elumbem et immodulatum versum?' No one perhaps will be likely to alter the line of the Philoctetes in deference to this opinion. Yet I must

confess to a doubt whether Sophocles could have admitted (fr. 306)
οὐ μᾶλλον ἢ λευκῷ λίθῳ λευκῇ στάθμῃ.

fr. 396.

ἐφεῦρε δ' ἄστρον μέτρα καὶ περιστροφάς
ὑπνίου φυλάξεις στιθόα σημαντήρια
νεῶν τε ποιμαντῆρσιν ἐνθαλασσίοις
Ἄρκτου στρυφάς τε καὶ κυνὸς ψυχρὰν δύσιν.

I am not inclined to give up my conjecture *στιλπνά*, which suggests a beautiful picture of the glittering constellations whose succession marks the divisions of the night-watches, for Campbell's *στικτά* 'brands' on horses, etc., to prevent their being stolen. For if this was what the poet wrote, it is inconceivable that he should have gone on to mention the Bear and the Dog,—obvious illustrations as they are of another use of the stars as guiding the earliest navigators.

fr. 398.

τῷ γὰρ κακῶς πράσσοντι μυρία μία
νόξ ἐστιν · εὖ παθόντα δ' ἡμέρα φθάνει.

So Campbell, 'but when he has enjoyed, Day is beforehand with him before he looks for it.' This is not far from *εἴθ' ἑτέρα θανεῖν*. But I still think my own *εὖ παθόντα θ' ἡτέρα θανεῖν* the more immediate suggestion of the MS. corruption. 'To the unfortunate a single night is an infinity; if a man has had enjoyment, two nights are amply enough for death,' *i. e.* to bring death. He is either unhappy and lives in one night an age of woe; or his happiness is liable to be ended at the shortest notice. The construction is *κατὰ σύνεσιν*. From *μυρία* the general idea 'more than enough' must be supplied before the infin. *θανεῖν*.

fr. 406.

τοῦ προφερέτερου is 'the elder,' not 'the mightier' as C.

fr. 412.

νῦν δ' οὔτε μ' ἐκ Δωδῶνος οὔτε Πυθιζῶν
γυ . . . τις ἂν πείσειεν.

Nauck suggests *γυάλων*. Pappogeorgios *γυνή*, which he says Montfaucon had made before him. This seems likely.

fr. 430.

ἐνθάλλεται μὲν αὐτὸς, ἐξοπτᾷ δ' ἐμὲ
 ἴσον μετρῶν ὀφθαλμόν, ὥστε τέκτονος
 παρὰ στάθμην ἰόντος ὀρθοῦται κανών.

Ruhnken corrected the MS. reading εἶθ' ἄλλεται or ἡ θ' ἄλλεται to ἐνθάλλεται. Pappogeorgios seems to be right in preferring ὕθ' ὀάλλεται. The two following verses are I think wrongly explained by Campbell. The idea is not that the looks of Pelops are chaste glances not exceeding the limit prescribed by Hippodamia's eye, but that the fervid glance of the one is met by as fervid a look of the other, 'measuring a glance to equal my own, as a carpenter's rule is kept straight while he moves along the line.' The line drawn from Pelops' eye to Hippodamia's is exactly parallel to that from hers to him.

fr. 479.

I agree with Pappogeorgios in preferring the reading of most MSS.

πῶς δῆτ' ἐγὼ θνητός γ' ἂν ἐκ θνητῆς τε φύς

to that of Nauck,

πῶς δῆτ' ἔγωγ' ἂν θνητὸς ὦν θνητῆς τε φύς.

fr. 515.

κρυφθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ γῆς κεῖται θνητός
 τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.

'Suspiciantur θνητός significare *mortuus*: quod quum fieri non possit reponere

κεῖται τεθνεὺς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον.

Praecedens TAI absorpsit TE sequens et ΘΝΕΩΣ in θνητός est corruptum.' Cobet p. 192.

fr. 527.

ἄνους ἐκείνος * αἱ δ' ἀνουστέρως ἔτι
 ἐκείνον ἡμύναντο † κάρτερον.

The allusion is to the crime of Tereus, and the revenge which Procne and Philomela took upon him by killing Itys and serving him up to his father as a meal. This shameless action might well be described by the word *κυντερώματα*. Phot. lex. p. 188 *κυντερώματα καὶ κυντατώματα λέγουσιν*, and he mentions Aeschylus as using the

word. If Sophocles followed that form of the story mentioned by Ovid Met. vi 610 sqq., Tereus whilst *vescitur inque suam sua viscera congerit aluum* asked to see his son; upon which

Sicut erat sparsis furiali caede capillis
 Prosiluit Ityosque caput Philomela cruentum
Misit in ora patris.

fr. 593.

Here I have a twofold charge to bring against Prof. Campbell, (1) of misinterpretation, (2) of misrepresentation. I will quote the whole passage.

κόμης δὲ πένθους λαγχάνω πάλου δίκην
 ἥτις συναρπασθεῖσα βουκόλων ὄπο
 μάνδραις ἐν ἱππείαισιν ἀγρίῃ χερὶ
 θέρουσθε ἑρυσθῆ ξανθὸν αὐχένων ἄπο,
 σπασθεῖσα δ' ἐν λειμῶνι ποταμίων ποτῶν
 ἴδῃ σκιᾶς εἰδωλὸν αὐγασθεῖσ' ὑπὸ
 κουραῖς ἀτίμως διατετιλμένης φόβης.

On v. 5 I wrote (Journal of Philol. IV, p. 254) 'σπασθεῖσ': the MSS. reading is surely right; it is the natural sequence of θέρουσθε ἑρυσθῆ ξανθὸν αὐχένων ἄπο, 'and then when she has thus had her hair torn away.' The genitive ποταμίων ποτῶν is either dependent on λειμῶνι, or more probably perhaps on σκιᾶς εἰδωλὸν.' Prof. Campbell says Mr. R. Ellis would explain '*Led by the halter*,' understanding the following words to mean '*on the smooth surface of the water*.' Nothing could be farther from my meaning. In suggesting that ποτ. ποτῶν depended on λειμῶνι I meant to translate 'a meadow of river-waters,' at the same time that I thought the second view given above more probable. And so I still consider it. 'Then when she has thus had her hair pulled off, sees in a meadow the reflection (σκιᾶς εἰδωλὸν) from the glassing river-waters of her mane, now shamefully plucked bare beneath the knife.' φόβης, on this hypothesis, depends no less than σκιᾶς and ποτῶν on εἰδωλὸν, ὑπὸ is constructed with κουραῖς. On Campbell's view, I can find no legitimate construction for κουραῖς; otherwise there would I suppose be no objection to his taking ὄπο with him as the word on which ποτῶν depends, 'reflected by (? under) the waters.'

fr. 595.

πόλλ' ἐν κακοῖσι θυμὸς εὐνηθεὶς ὕρᾳ.

'A soul in misery sees much asleep,' Campb. Rather 'a soul lulled to sleep in sorrow sees much.'

fr. 601.

πολλῶν δ' ἐν πολυπληθείᾳ πέλεται
οὔτ' ἀπ' εὐγενέων ἐσθλὸς οὔτ' ἀχρείων.

For πέλεται perhaps γελᾶται. 'He is derided as one of the mob.'

fr. 618.

οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἂν γένοιτ' ἂν ἀσφαλὴς πόλις
ἐν ᾗ τὰ μὲν δίκαια καὶ τὰ σώφρονα
λάγδην πατεῖται, κωτίλος δ' ἀνὴρ λαβὼν
πανούργα χερσὶ κέντρα κηδεύει πόλιν.

The combination λάγδην, κωτίλος recalls the alternative words λάκτις, κώταλις a pestle. May not the assonance κώταλις κωτίλος have suggested to Nicocreon the peculiar form of execution (pounding with a pestle) by which he punished Anaxarchus' *pestilent prating*? Ovid, Ibis 571.

fr. 720.

ψαχαλοῦχοι
μητέρες αἴγες τ' ἐπιμαστίδιον
γόνον ὀρταλίων ἀναφαίνουσιν.

It is surely unlikely that Sophocles would recall a familiar passage of Aeschylus and make so childish an alteration. Read therefore γόνον ὀρταλίων, Ag. 54.

fr. 721.

Eustath. Od. p. 1923 γέρον γράμμα, τουτέστι λόγος · λέγει δέ, φασί, καὶ Σοφοκλῆς πληθυντικῶς σὺ γὰρ γέροντα βουλευέεις.

Probably λόγον has fallen out after βουλευέεις, 'aged words,' a plural or collective singular.

fr. 736.

ὦ παῖδες, ὡς ἂν μήτ' ἀπαιδεύτων βροτῶν
 δοκῶμεν εἶναι ἀποδημοῦντος πατρός.

Campbell excellently ἀποληροῦντος.

fr. 751.

γένοιτο καὶν ἄπλουτος ἐν τιμαῖς ἀνὴρ.

The word ἄπλουτος is so rare as to be suspicious. Comparing fr. 86, 9, *δυσειδὲς σῶμα καὶ δυσάνυμον* I incline to think ἄλουτος is what the poet wrote here.

The following conjectures on some Euripidean and other tragic fragments may fitly find a place here.

Eurip. fr. 167.

ἢ γὰρ δόκησις πατράσι παῖδας εἰλέναι.
 τὰ πολλὰ ταύτῃ γίγνεται τέκνα πέρι.

Cobet, who considers this passage desperate, adopts the stringent remedy of altering v. 2 as follows :

τὰ πόλλ' ὅμοια μητρὶ γίγνεται τέκνα.

It is less violent to suppose τέκνα πέρι a corruption of τεκνοσπορεῖν, a word which from its rarity might easily have been misunderstood. I would translate 'why, the belief is that children resemble their fathers. In most cases generation follows this course.'

Eurip. fr. 1008.

δούλοισι γὰρ τε ζῶμεν οἱ ἐλεύθεροι.

Heath's *τοι* for *τε* is generally accepted : *οἱ* is variously changed to *οἷ γ'* or *οἷδ'* (Pappogeorgios, p. 47). More probably it was *οἷ'* (*οἷα*). 'It is by our slaves we live as free,' which excellently suits the words of the scholion (Pind. Pyth. 4, 71), in which the line is quoted *οἱ οἰκέται τῶν δεσποτῶν τοὺς πόνοους διαλύουσι τῇ θεραπείᾳ*.

Critias fr. 1.

9. ἔπειτ' ἐπειδὴ τὰμφανῇ μὲν οἱ νόμοι
 ἀπῆγον αὐτοὺς ἔργα μὴ πράσσειν βία,
 λάθρα δ' ἔπρασσον [ταῦτα], τηνικαῦτά μοι
 δοκεῖ πυκνὸς τις καὶ σοφὸς γνώμην ἀνὴρ
 γνῶναι.

So I would write this passage. The MSS. omit ταῦτα.

V. 17. ὥς ἔστι δαίμων ἀφθίτῳ θάλλων βίῳ
νόῳ τ' ἀκούων καὶ βλέπων φρονῶν τε καὶ
προσέχων τε ταῦτα καὶ φύσιν θεῖαν φορῶν.

τε ταῦτα appears to be a corruption of τοιαῦτα, a cognate accusative after προσέχων, 'paying such attention,' viz. as has been described in the previous verses, and is again detailed in the following :

ὅς πᾶν τὸ λεχθὲν ἐν βροτοῖς ἀκούσεται
τὸ δρώμενον δὲ πᾶν ἰδεῖν δυνήσεται.

R. ELLIS.

II.—VIRGIL'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR PLOUGHING, FALLOWING, AND THE ROTATION OF CROPS.

GEORGICS I, 43-83.

I. PLOUGHING.

Virgil's directions for ploughing are contained in verses 43-49 and 63-70 of the first book of the Georgics. They are very brief, touching indeed only on the first of the three ploughings which Italian husbandry prescribed to prepare the field for a grain-crop; but they are quite distinct as far as they go, with the exception of vss. 47-49, which I print here from Ribbeck's text :

Illa seges demum uotis respondet auari
agricolae, bis quae solem, bis frigora sensit;
illius immensae ruperunt horrea messes.

Virgil's readers were not quite sure of his meaning here, even in the time of the elder Pliny, who says: 'Quarto seri sulco Vergilius *existimatur* uoluisse cum dixit optimam esse segetem quae bis solem, bis frigora sensisset.'¹ The explanation given by most recent editors of the Georgics² is that of Heyne, who accepts the view of Pliny's contemporaries that Virgil advocated four ploughings, and places the first of these in the autumn, a whole year before seed-time. The ground would then, he explains, 'feel' the cold twice and the heat twice, 'quia bis in hibernum, bis in aestivum (vere et aestate) tempus aratio talis incidit.' And he refers to a passage in Theophrastus, which will be quoted presently,³ to show that this method was practiced in Greece.

It will be observed that Heyne understands by 'sensit' the exposure of the land to the effects of heat and cold by ploughing only. This has somewhat weakened his case; for both of his 'hiberna tempora' fall in autumn, and one of his 'aestiva tempora' in early spring, when the ground has barely begun to thaw. He

¹ N. H., XVIII, xx, 181.

² Wagner, Forbiger, Ladewig, Conington, Kennedy, Benoist, and others.

³ Page 427.

has followed Theophrastus too closely, and taken 'seges' as no more than the latter's $\eta \gamma \eta$. But Theophrastus is speaking only of the preparation of the land, and says nothing of two exposures to the extremes of temperature. Virgil's use of *seges* suggests a better interpretation. For *seges* is properly the field with the crop on it,¹ and only by an extension of its meaning is it applied to the period of preparation. On the other hand the exposure of the soil to heat and cold implied in 'sensit' did not cease with the last ploughing; hoeing and weeding (*sarritio*, *runcatio*) which were continued till late in the spring, kept the ground soft and, as the poet would say, *sensitive*, while the crop was growing. In short, the two periods cannot be separated,—the period of preparation and the period of growth. Standing by the first furrow, the poet looks forward to the harvest, (cf. 'votis respondet auari agricolae,') and tells the farmer (vs. 49) that if he would have bursting barns, he must begin to plough so early that his grain-field shall have felt the warmth of two summers and the cold of two winters.

Taking *seges* in this wider sense, Heyne's theory of an autumn ploughing certainly furnishes the most natural interpretation of these three verses, taken by themselves. Unfortunately, the moment we read them with the context we meet with serious difficulty. A brief review will show this.

The first book of the *Georgics* properly begins at vs. 43, the first forty-two verses being of the nature of a general introduction to the whole poem. It opens somewhat after the epic fashion. The poet sets his reader at once in the field, in the midst of the first labors of the year, with his hand on the plough, and urges him to vigorous work, reserving till some verses later on the injunction that should logically precede, to familiarize himself with the character of his farm, the climate of the district, and other points which he must know if he would use his soil to the best advantage. Leaving out this digression, which occupies fourteen verses immediately after those now under discussion, and accepting Heyne's interpretation of the latter, we find Virgil's instructions for the first ploughing substantially as follows: In early spring, when the ground thaws, let the ploughing begin (43-46); the crop that bursts your barn is the one for which you began to plough in the autumn (47-49). . . . Up, then, and turn the rich soil in the very first months of the year (63 ff.). The transition from the first to

¹ Varro, R. R., I., xxix.

the second of these precepts is sufficiently abrupt; the second and third can in no way be brought into harmony, and Wagner¹ was quite right in the corollary which he added to Heyne's theory, that verses 47-49 could have been no part of the original poem, but were probably written by Virgil on the margin of his copy, and inserted in the text by some later hand.²

Wagner was right, if you accept his premises; but his conclusion was one of a kind that should always be received with caution, and it ought to have led to a more careful examination of his premises than they seem to have received. For my part I am convinced that both premises and conclusion are wrong; that Heyne's autumn ploughing is purely imaginary, and that our three verses are quite genuine and consistent with the context.

In the first place, the language of the verses is too vague to have suggested autumn ploughing, unless the poet's readers were acquainted with the practice. What evidence is there, then, that such a practice existed? So far as I can find, there is absolutely none. Heyne's sole authority is Theophrastus, in whose account of Greek agriculture he thinks he finds mention of autumn ploughing. The passages he refers to are these: ἡ δὲ κατεργασία ἐν τῷ νεῶν κατ' ἀμφοτέρω τὰς ὥρας καὶ θέρους καὶ χειμῶνος ὅπως χειμασθῇ καὶ ἡλιωθῇ ἡ γῆ . . . ἀγαθὴν γὰρ οἴονται τὴν χιόνα ταῖς χειμεριναῖς νέαις καὶ οὐχ ἥττον τὴν πᾶχυν εἶναι. διεσθίειν γὰρ καὶ μανοῦν τὴν γῆν. καὶ ὅταν μετὰ τοὺς πρώτους ἀρότους νεάσωσι πάλιν τοῦ ἔτους μεταβάλλουσιν, ὅπως τὴν ἀναφυομένην πύαν ἀπολέσωσιν, εἰτα θέρει ἀρουσι, καὶ πάλιν ὅταν μέλλωσι σπεῖρειν.³ That Virgil, who derived much of his knowledge of husbandry from books, was influenced by the Greek practice, and even by this very passage, is highly probable, as will appear presently. But what we have here is not *autumn* but *winter* ploughing.

Any evidence, however, that could be adduced to show that autumn ploughing was practiced in Greece would afford at best only a presumption that the same practice may have existed in Italy, and would have little weight against the absolute silence of the Roman agricultural writers on the subject. Cato, Varro, and Columella treat the general subject of ploughing with great fullness

¹ On IV, 203 (critical note).

² Ribbeck (Prolegg. p. 31) does not seem to understand the difficulty. He replies successfully enough to a charge of inconsistency between our text and verses 67 ff.; but if any one has made such a charge, it has nothing to do with the question before us.

³ C. P., III, xx (xxv H) 7 f.

and give minute directions for varying conditions of soil and climate; but no one of them gives the slightest hint that he had ever heard of autumn ploughing. Pliny, who has added to his own observations a great store of information compiled from every writer of any consequence who had touched on the subject, not only states what were the common and approved methods, but notices local customs of various parts of Italy and Greece, and in particular often quotes Virgil's precepts, sometimes remarking their divergence from those of other writers or from the general practice. Now Pliny quotes these very verses,¹ adding an explanation of them as they were understood in his time: Virgil was supposed to advocate four ploughings for a crop, instead of the customary three. Could Pliny have failed to add that the first of the four was to be in the autumn, if he had suspected that such was Virgil's meaning? I do not see how negative evidence could well be stronger; but if any doubt remains of Pliny's opinion, it should be set at rest by another passage,² where in referring to Virgil's early-spring ploughing he distinctly calls it a first-ploughing (*proscindere*).

In seeking the true interpretation of the verses before us, it will be useful to compare Virgil's instructions for ploughing with those of the Roman prose-writers on husbandry. From a review of these authorities it will appear that when Virgil directs the farmer to plough rich soil in the first months of the year and poor soil in the fall,³ he merely touches upon the two extremes of the season of first-ploughing, the proper time for which varied with the climate of the district, the situation of the land, the character of the soil, and other details that could not well find a place in verse. In warm districts ploughing may begin earlier than in cold, dry soils may be ploughed earlier than moist, compact than loose, rich than poor, hill earlier than plain.⁴ Rich uplands are to be first ploughed after the spring crops are planted, though if the situation is dry and the climate warm they may be ploughed as early as February;⁵ damp levels after the ides of April.⁶ Fallow land may be first ploughed as late as mid-summer, if the season has been rainy.⁷ For a light soil in a well-watered plain Columella appoints the latter part of August for the first ploughing, while a light soil on a hill

¹ See p. 425.

² N. H., XVIII, xxvi, 242.

³ Vss. 67 f.

⁴ Plin. N. H., XVIII, xix, 174 f.

⁵ Col. II, iv, 9.

⁶ Id. II, iv, 3.

⁷ Plin. XVIII, xix, 175.

should not be exposed to the summer heats, but first ploughed early in September.¹

In general, however, the best season for ploughing good soil in the average climate of Italy was at the beginning of warm weather, (*anni tempore iam incalescente*), when the weeds had already sprung up, but had not yet ripened their seed.² Cato's simple precept is to begin the spring ploughing after the pear-tree has begun to bloom.³ Varro, in his *Farmer's Calendar*, places the first ploughing in the period between the vernal equinox and the rising of the Pleiades (about May 10).⁴ Pliny places it in the succeeding period, between the rising of the Pleiades and the summer solstice;⁵ but here he has probably made a mistake in his compilation. In another place⁶ he expresses his preference for the '*sententia, quae non nisi temperatum solum medio uere arari iubet*,' and his disapproval of Virgil's advice to plough in the first part of spring, between the advent of Favonius (February) and the vernal equinox, arguing that under such a method the weeds would grow after ploughing instead of being destroyed by the ploughing, and would consume the strength of the soil.

From all this we may conclude that while the first ploughing might, in special cases, take place at almost any time from February to September, yet as a general rule good soil was first turned not much earlier nor much later than the month of April; and that this time was chosen, not arbitrarily, but because then the ploughing would most effectually destroy the weeds.

When Virgil wrote the verses in which he advises the farmer to plough rich soil in the very first months of the year, he was perfectly aware that his instruction was at variance with the usual practice and with the authority of his predecessors, Cato and Varro. His consciousness of this appears in the words '*iam tum*' (vs. 45). He deliberately advocated what he regarded as a superior method. And in what did its superiority consist? To this question the passage in Theophrastus quoted above⁷ furnishes a ready answer. In the opinion of the Greeks the action of frost and snow was useful to the fallows, and to secure the beneficial influence of these they performed the first ploughing in winter. This is precisely the plan that Virgil recommends. 'Plough when spring is new,' he

¹ Col. II, iv, 11. ² Id. II, iv, 1. Cf. Varro R. R., I, xxvii. ³ R. R., cxxx.

⁴ R. R., I, xxx. ⁵ N. H., XVIII, xxvii, 257.

⁶ Ib. XVIII, xxvi, 242.

⁷ P. 427.

says,—that is, in the middle of February,—‘when the ground thaws.’ But winter is not over with the first thaw. The Italian farmer who ploughed his field in February would expose it to a good deal of frost and to some snow,¹ and would thus secure the advantages of the Greek winter ploughing.

That this was Virgil's intention was the view of Valerius Probus, whose authority ought to have prevented any misapprehension of the passage. His explanation of vs. 48 is: *bis sentit frigus, semel deficiente hieme, initio ueris, iterum post sementem; bis solem, semel aestate qua cessat, iterum qua fructum refert.*²

Verses 47-49 are then to be regarded, not as an abrupt transition to another method or as inconsistent with the context in any way, but as a statement of the poet's reason for advocating a plan at variance with the common practice. What he says is substantially this: ‘Begin to plough in the early spring, as soon as the frost permits; for thus you will expose your grain-field to the action of two winters as well as of two summers, and that is the kind of grain-field that satisfies the farmer's fondest hopes . . . Come, then, turn the rich soil in the very first months of the year,’ etc. With this interpretation the passage is perfectly clear and consistent throughout, and entirely free from the difficulty which led Wagner to reject our three verses.

The cause of Pliny's uncertainty as to Virgil's meaning now becomes obvious. A Roman familiar with the common practice, on reading Virgil's directions, would find them incomplete at one point. Did Virgil intend that his early-spring ploughing should supersede the usual April ploughing, or should be additional to it, making four ploughings in all? In one place Pliny assumes that the April ploughing is to be omitted, and condemns Virgil's plan, as we have seen, for providing no way of destroying the weeds. In another place, quoted at the beginning of this article, he seems to lean to the other view, and says Virgil is thought to have intended four ploughings. Those who thought so were undoubtedly right. According to Heyne's interpretation, Virgil's plan would be open to Pliny's criticism. But Virgil was inculcating the Greek practice of four ploughings, and under that system, as Theophrastus tells us, the second ploughing was appointed for the

¹ I happen to have a record of the fact that the night of March 1-2 (1867), when I rode from Rome to Florence, was extremely cold, and during the last part of the journey snow was falling.

² P. 32, Keil.

destruction of the weeds.¹ We cannot suppose that Virgil intended to have it omitted. These then are his four ploughings: (1) in early spring, (2) in April, (3) in summer, (4) in the fall, just before sowing.

II. FALLOWING AND ROTATION.

These subjects receive brief treatment in verses 71-83, a passage bristling with difficulties, as the diversity of views among the commentators sufficiently attests. The latest English editor of Virgil, Dr. Kennedy, has discussed the matter at some length in his second edition, and presented his views in a note which shows at least that he has honestly grappled with all the difficulties in his path. I cannot say the same of any previous editor. But I find Dr. Kennedy's conclusions highly unsatisfactory, and cannot believe that his interpretation will be accepted as final.

I will first print the verses in full from Ribbeck:

- 71 Alternis idem tonsas cessare noualis,
et segnem patiere situ durescere campum;
aut ibi flaua seres mutato sidere farra,
unde prius laetum siliqua quassante legumen
75 aut tenuis fetus uiciae tristisque lupini
sustuleris fragiles calamos siluamque sonantem.
urit enim lini campum seges, urit auenae,
urunt Lethaeo perfusa papauera somno:
sed tamen alternis facilis labor, arida tantum
80 ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola neue
effetos cinerem immundum iactare per agros.
sic quoque mutatis requiescunt fetibus arua,
nec nulla interea est inaratae gratia terrae.

In the first six verses the poet recommends that the land shall not be required to bear a crop of grain every year, but that either periods of repose shall alternate with the periods of production, or that a rotation of crops shall be instituted, in which grain shall alternate with pulse, vetch, or lupine. So much is clear. The first point in dispute turns on the meaning of 'alternis cessare' (71) and of 'mutato sidere' (73). How often could a farmer who followed Virgil's instructions plant a crop of grain in a given field—every other year, or once at most in three years? In regard to 'mutato sidere,' all since Heyne are agreed that it means 'at another

¹C. P. l. l. page 427.

season,' but all do not apply this meaning in the same way. Those who suppose that Virgil contemplates a crop every other year,—Martyn, Keightley, Daubeney,¹ Conington, and others,—understand that the pulse-crop is to be planted in the spring and the grain sown in the fall, of the same year. Wagner, followed by Forbiger, explains 'mutato sidere' as equivalent to 'alio (alterius) anni tempore'; in other words, the pulse-crop is to be planted in the spring of one year, and the wheat or spelt sown in the fall of the next year, leaving the field entirely free for the usual ploughings. This, of course, would require an interval of two years between each two successive grain-crops. Dr. Kennedy, dissenting from all these commentators, lays great stress on the meaning of 'alternis' in vss. 71 and 79. Careful study of the context, he says, convinces him "that the word *must* have precisely the same meaning in both lines, and that this meaning is 'alternis cessationibus,' 'by fallowing at intervals,' *i. e.* from time to time." He then presents his view of the passage in a paraphrase, which it will be convenient to quote in full here, though we are not at present concerned with all of it: "*You shall likewise suffer the reaped fields to lie idle at intervals and the lazy ground to gain vigor by inaction; or, if you cannot afford this, you shall at another season of the year sow yellow corn-crops in the soil from which you have previously raised the legume luxuriant with rattling pod, or the slight plants of the vetch, and the frail stalks and crackling forest of the bitter lupin. For, as to a flax-crop, an oat-crop, a crop of poppies saturate with Lethaeian slumber, each of these scourges the ground. But yet by intervals of idleness the effort becomes easy, provided you do not spare to manure the soil abundantly with rich dung, and to throw the dirty wood-ash over the exhausted fields. Thus even with a change of crops, the fields recover strength, and the land, though in the mean time unploughed, is not ungrateful; i. e. land so fallowed and manured will be able to support a scourging crop (flax, etc.) in the next spring, succeeded by an autumn sowing of corn; and both crops will be so abundant as amply to repay with usury the loss of a year and the expenditure of manure.*"

If I understand Dr. Kennedy's position, he supposes Virgil to recommend a year of repose for the land now and then, and if the farmer thinks he cannot afford to lose a whole year, he is told that he can more than make up the loss by planting a green crop the

¹ Lectures on Roman Husbandry, p. 125.

next spring, that is, during the ploughing period. But if the farmer actually gains by this method, why should he put it in practice only 'now and then'? Why not let the land rest as often as possible, that is, one year in every three, if in that way he can raise crops so abundant as amply to repay *with usury* the loss of time? It would seem that Dr. Kennedy's own reasoning should have led him to accept Wagner's theory of a crop of grain once in three years.

The argument in favor of the latter view seems at first sight perfect. The farmer has just been told to begin to plough in the early spring, and it was well understood that the ploughing was to be repeated in summer and autumn; the land was to be mellowed under the summer sun. Then the crop, sown in autumn, occupied the ground until the latter part of the next summer. Not till the spring of the third year could he begin to plough for the second crop, which he would reap in the fourth year. The directions already given, therefore, clearly contemplate an alternation of productive and unproductive years, of years of ploughing and years of harvest. Now we cannot suppose that Virgil is merely repeating in vss. 71 f. what he has just said; and if the supposition were possible on other grounds, it would be precluded by his use of 'idem,' which implies, as Conington has rightly explained, 'that the rules already given do not exhaust the subject.' Yet it would amount to this if 'alternis' means 'every other year.'

A further argument is based on the words 'situ' (72) and 'inaratae' (83). 'Situs,' as used by Columella,¹ implies entire freedom from tillage, and shows that the poet has in view a period of repose during which the land shall be not only unproductive but unploughed. To meet this requirement we must suppose a third year to intervene between the harvesting of one crop and the spring ploughing with which the preparation for the next is begun. The use of 'inaratae' implies the same thing, according to the usual interpretation of vss. 82 f., which Dr. Kennedy unjustly characterizes as 'very harsh.' But the harshness is entirely due to the form in which Dr. Kennedy chooses to put it,—'and the thanklessness (nulla gratia) of unploughed ground in the mean time exists not.' This is a translation, I suppose, of Ladewig's version, which has no doubt sacrificed grace to clearness: 'und dass der unbestellte Acker keinen Lohn bringt, findet nicht statt.' In his first edition, when he agreed with the German editor, Dr. Kennedy treated this somewhat uncouth sentence more kindly: 'and the want of return

¹ R. R., II, ii, 6.

from unploughed (fallow) land is avoided.' The two verses in question contain a statement of the advantage of rotation over fallowing, 'sic' referring to the former method and having its explanation in 'mutatis fetibus.' The advantage is this: that rotation, as well as fallowing, affords relaxation for the land, without, however, leaving it unploughed and unproductive. 'Inaratae' repeats the idea of 'situ,' and implies that in fallowing there is to be a period during which the land is free, not only from bearing, but from tillage.

Finally, the three-year view, if I may so designate it, finds support in the practice of the Sicilians at the present day.¹

The two-year view is based on the authority of Probus,² and on certain expressions of Varro and Pliny which show that the practice of the ancient Italians was to raise a grain-crop every other year. Pliny defines *nouale* as 'quod *alternis annis* seritur';³ and Varro recommends fallowing or rotation in these words: 'agrum *alternis annis* relinqui oportet, aut paulo leuioribus sationibus serere, id est quae minus sugunt terram.'⁴ As Virgil's verses (71-76) are little more than a poetical rendering of the rule given by Varro, must not the former's 'alternis' stand for the latter's 'alternis annis'?

So far as this argument is designed to show the actual practice, it certainly affords a strong presumption in favor of the two-year view. But too much stress must not be put upon the meaning of 'alternis.' For after all Virgil does not say 'alternis annis,' and if from a general view of the case it seems most probable that he contemplated only one crop in three years, the similarity of Varro's rule would only bring into clearer light Virgil's dissent from the general opinion. 'Alternis' is vague enough to apply to any system of fallowing; it is quite consistent with the two-year theory or with the three-year theory, and is perhaps elastic enough to reach over the intervals between Dr. Kennedy's occasional fallow years, though that does seem to be putting a severe strain upon it. There is danger in dwelling too much on particular words. A surer way to a solution of the difficulty will be to inquire what interpretation may be reasonably put on our author's language taken as a whole, in the light of the context and of such information as we can gather from other sources.

¹ Simond's Travels in Italy and Sicily, p. 476 (quoted by Keightley and Conington).

² P. 32 Keil.

³ N. H., XVIII, xix, 176.

⁴ R. R., I, xliv, 2.

We have seen from our comparison of Virgil's directions for ploughing with those of other writers that he not only gives but a slight sketch of a great variety of practice dependent on special circumstances, but in giving a general rule he is distinctly at variance with the prevailing system. Such being the case, we cannot suppose that his instructions on the next subject that claims his attention, fallowing, are intended to be confined to the unusual system recommended by himself, or to any particular practice. If, for example, the soil is one that is ploughed only at seed-time, there could obviously be a crop every other year under this rule. And such soils were not only the 'tellus non fecunda' of vs. 67; the dark, rich, crumbling soil of Campania, where Virgil spent most of the years in which he composed the *Georgics*,—the soil so much admired by Pliny,¹ and of which Virgil himself says that it has by nature the consistency which it is the object of ploughing to attain,²—needed to be ploughed only at seed-time. But with all its fertility it still required its seasons of rest or relief by change of crops. Pliny mentions two methods of rotation on such land, each of which provides a crop of wheat or barley every other year.³ There were no doubt other soils demanding exceptional treatment, and nothing that I shall say in this discussion is meant to imply that the three-year method was not often practiced, or that even less frequent crops were not the rule in some places and under some circumstances. But we are at present only concerned with the inquiry whether those are right who, with Dr. Kennedy, deny that 'alternis' in vs. 71 means 'every other year,' and whether Virgil's precepts are here again at variance with the prevailing custom.

In the case of ordinary good soils, if Varro's rule and Pliny's definition do represent the common practice,—which I see no reason to doubt,—certainly Virgil, whatever practice he may have favored himself, must have supposed that his readers would understand by 'alternis cessare' a rest every other year. Nor is it quite true that when so understood, these verses add nothing to what has been said before. The grain-crop was harvested in the latter part of summer. From this time to the spring-ploughing was an interval of seven months, or, according to Virgil's rule, of five months. The inexperienced farmer would not know from what has been said before that the land was to lie idle during this long period.

¹ N. H., XVII, v. 36 ff.² Georg. II, 204.³ N. H., XVIII, xxiii, 191.

He might with good reason think he was at liberty to plant a new crop at once, that the thorough working of the ground in preparation for the crop just gathered and during its growth had made it unnecessary for him to go through that long process again. And so far he would be right: the repeated ploughings would not be needed. What he has to be taught is that he must abstain from planting a crop every year, not because the time is needed for ploughing, but because the soil will not bear such a severe requisition on its strength. It must rest at least one year in two, and it is because it rests and becomes 'hard' (*durescere*) that it must be ploughed so thoroughly afterwards.

The argument based on the use of *situ* and *inaratae* remains to be noticed. The former word presents little difficulty; for if the ploughing begins the next spring after the harvest, there is an interval of five or seven months during which the soil may be entirely free from tillage. But 'inaratae' in vs. 83 distinctly implies that the green crop is to occupy the ground, in a system of rotation, during the period when, if fallowing were practiced, it would remain unploughed. The advocates of the two-year view have assumed that the green crop was to be planted in the period of ploughing; but they have not shown that such an arrangement was practicable, or if practicable, that it existed; and they appear to have overlooked the significance of the language of verse 83, which leaves little doubt that Virgil does not here contemplate such a method. The question then remains: where is there room for the pulse-crop, if there is a grain-crop every other year?

In the great diversity of opinion that exists in regard to the application of 'mutato sidere' in vs. 73, there is one point on which the advocates of all theories are agreed, namely, that the pulse was to be planted in spring. They all explain the sentence, 'planting the spelt at a different season (autumn) from that in which the pulse was planted (spring).' Will the sentence bear this interpretation? Observe that nothing is said of *planting* the pulse; for *sustuleris* does not mean 'raised' as Dr. Kennedy renders it, but 'gathered' or 'removed,' a meaning it frequently has in this connection.¹ What Virgil says in vss. 73-76 is, in substance: 'Thou shalt plant the spelt, (changing the season) in the field from which thou hast before gathered the pulse.' These words might mean 'plant the

¹ E. g. Plin. N. H., XVIII, vii, 79, xiv, 135, xxiii, 191. Cf. Nonius 404, 29.

spelt at a different season from that in which it is usually planted,' *i. e.* in the spring instead of the fall. This method is recognized by Roman agricultural writers as suitable for some places and circumstances, but they are so positive and so unanimous in condemning it as a rule¹ that we must suppose Virgil would have spoken more distinctly had he intended to recommend it. Setting this aside, then, is it not the simplest way to take 'mutato sidere' in connection with 'sustuleris'? The meaning will then be: 'When you have gathered the pulse, plant there (not immediately, but at a different season) the spelt.' This seems to me the most natural interpretation of the author's words. Now what was the actual practice?

Rotation of crops was well known to the Romans, and beans and other leguminous plants, as well as vetch and lupine, are mentioned as useful intermediate crops. But I find no reason for supposing that these crops were planted in the spring. Virgil's own account does not help us much: he says the bean should be planted in the spring,² but the vetch and other legumes in the fall.³ Other writers show that all these crops might be planted at either season,⁴ but the autumn was preferred.⁵ In regard to the bean, which Virgil is usually thought to mean by 'legumen,' the common opinion is expressed in an old saw quoted by Pliny and Columella,⁶ to the effect that the stalks of a winter crop are worth more than the beans of a crop grown in spring; and Pliny says that Virgil's direction to plant beans in the spring represents only the local practice of the Mantuan district.⁷ In regard to lupine, which seems to have been the favorite intermediate crop, our information is more explicit. It was to be sown in the fall and used for pasture or fodder in winter; it would then grow up again, was cut for fodder just before the spring ploughing, and then turned in, as the weeds would be on fallow land.⁸

In the light of these facts the common supposition that Virgil's intermediate crop was to be planted in spring falls to the ground.

¹ Cato R. R. xxxv, quoted by Plin. N. H., XVIII, xvii, 164. Col. R. R., II, vi, 2, ix, 7 f. Varro, I think, does not mention it.

² Georg. I, 215. ³ Ib. 227 ff.

⁴ Plin. N. H., XVIII, 123, 135, 137, 191. Col. R. R., II, x, 29.

⁵ Plin. N. H., XVIII, xii, 120, xxvii, 257. Col. R. R., II, x, 2, 9. Varro, R. R., I, xxxiv.

⁶ Plin. N. H., XVIII, xii, 120. Col. R. R., II, x, 9.

⁷ N. H., XVIII, xii, 120.

⁸ Plin. N. H., XVII, ix, 54, XVIII, xiv, 135 f.; Pallad. Sept. 9, Mai. 4.

It was to be planted in the fall and gathered in the spring; after it came the grain-crop, not at once, but waiting till its proper season. The pulse therefore occupied the ground during the period between harvest and spring, when, if fallowing were practiced, the land would be 'inarata.'

We thus find that Virgil's instructions are quite consistent with Varro's rule, and with the two-year system which the modest dimensions of the ordinary Italian farm probably made very general. Yet Virgil chooses to leave his language vague; it applies as well to a three-year system, or to any system which secures for the land the relaxation it needs, by relieving it 'every other time' from the burden of bearing the heavy grain-crop.

And here it will be convenient to consider the meaning of 'alternis' in vs. 79, though this question does not come next in order. Dr. Kennedy insists that this word *must* have the same meaning as 'alternis' in vs. 71, *i. e. alternis cessationibus*, and on this assumption he avowedly bases his interpretation of the whole passage, so far as he differs from other commentators. The latter might retort that 'alternis' *must* refer to rotation, because verses 82 f., with which 'sic' connects it, clearly refer to that method only. But Dr. Kennedy carries his reasoning to its legitimate result, which requires him to make vss. 82 f. refer to *both* fallowing and rotation. This is pretty nearly a *reductio ad absurdum*. The result at which Dr. Kennedy arrives is directly opposed to the first half of the passage, where Virgil in perfectly clear language recommends fallowing and rotation as *alternatives*; and there is nowhere the slightest intimation that one is to supplement the other. The fallacy in Dr. Kennedy's reasoning is not hard to detect. *Alternis* stands for *alternis uicibus* and means 'every other time.' If in any place it has a more definite meaning than this, it gets it either from the context or from the reader's presumed knowledge of the facts. If in vs. 71 it means *alternis cessationibus*, it gets that meaning from its connection with 'cessare'; and for a precisely similar reason it must mean, in vs. 79, *alternis laboribus*. The words 'alternis facilis labor' are equivalent to 'labor (agri) facilis est, si alternis laborat,' that is, the field will easily make the effort (required to bear a heavy crop) *one time in two*. What this effort is to alternate with,—a light crop or a period of repose,—the words themselves do not indicate; but coming after vss. 71-76, they may refer to both, or to either. Now I think Dr. Kennedy's remark on the identity of meaning of *alternis* in the two places is a valuable

suggestion, though he has put it too strongly and reasoned on it too narrowly. The repetition of the word could not fail to call up in the reader's mind the ideas connected with it in the place where it first occurred. But in vs. 71, although 'alternis' is connected grammatically with 'cessare' and applies strictly to vss. 71 f. only, yet it is connected in thought with vss. 73-76 as well, and standing first, it gives the keynote to the whole passage, expressing the essential element of both of the methods proposed. And I believe it has the same reference to both methods in vs. 79.

We may now proceed to the one remaining problem which has divided the commentators on this passage,—the use of 'enim' in vs. 77, and the connection of the verses it introduces with the context. There is a general agreement in accepting verses 77 f. as a disparagement of flax, oats, and poppies as intermediate crops, but in understanding that in vss. 79 f. Virgil permits their use as such, provided the ground be well manured. But then 'enim' at once becomes a stumbling-block; for it is quite clear that the unsuitableness of flax and the rest as intermediate crops is not offered as the reason for the rules given in the preceding verses. Those who take 'enim' in its ordinary sense are therefore driven to suppose an ellipsis, and understand the connection in some such way as this: 'Plant pulse, vetch, lupine as intermediate crops, (not flax, or oats, or poppies,) for flax, oats, and poppies exhaust the soil; still, the ground will bear even these, if you manure it well.' This view of Heyne and the older commentators is accepted by Ladewig and Kennedy. Another solution of the difficulty, suggested by Hand,¹ has been accepted by Wagner and Forbiger. According to Hand, *enim* here, as in some other places, is equivalent to *quidem*, and gives the sentence a concessive force. This is Wagner's paraphrase: 'Urit quidem linum, avena, papaver; sed, si alterna seres, tamen facilis erit agri labor. Modo alterna serens, stercorando agrum refice ac recrea.'

I shall not attempt to decide between these two explanations. Either could be accepted, if the result gained were on the whole satisfactory; but I doubt whether any one has ever been quite satisfied with either of the interpretations thus obtained. For neither solution reaches the root of the difficulty. Back of the verbal question lies a question of fact, strangely overlooked in the discussion, the answer to which may supersede the question of lan-

¹Tursellinus, II, p. 387.

guage entirely, or present it in a very different light. The question is this: Are flax, oats, and poppies to be classed with the heavy crops, like grain, or with the intermediate or green crops? With the sole exception, so far as I am aware, of Conington, all editors have assumed that they are to be classed as green crops. Conington's note is as follows: 'The general sense is that the same crop, invariably repeated, will exhaust the soil. Flax, oats, and poppies are specified merely as instances of this rule, though of course they are chosen as significant instances.'¹ As Conington gives no reasons for his opinion, I will here state the considerations that have led me to the same conclusion.

The Romans included flax among the *legumina* in their loose classification, which gave a similar place to barley, 'because a gruel was made of it.'² The oat, too, which was regarded as a degenerated species of barley,³ Pliny places among the legumes, mentioning oat-meal gruel as in use among the Germans. In Italy it does not appear to have been looked upon as a grain at all; it was raised for pasture like lupine, only so much being allowed to ripen as would furnish seed for a new crop.⁴ Columella therefore classes it as a '*genus pabulorum*.'⁵ Pliny alone, I believe, treats of the poppy,⁶ and that among garden plants;⁷ though he speaks of one variety growing wild, mostly in ploughed fields with barley. None of these crops is anywhere mentioned as an intermediate crop, and the sole presumption in favor of their use as such is derived from the fact that two of them were loosely classed as legumes. But what are the essential characteristics of an intermediate crop?

In modern husbandry 'the place of flax in a rotation of crops is various, but in general it is considered as a corn or exhausting crop when the seed is allowed to ripen; and as a green, or pea or bean crop, when the plant is pulled green.'⁸ This distinction, based on the actual effect on the soil, is the real distinction between principal and intermediate crops. To the latter class belong those, as Varro says,⁹ '*quae minus sugunt terram*,' and *legumina* cannot be included among them unless they are light crops. Now, on the

¹ Conington attributes the same view to Wagner, but with Forbiger I understand the latter differently.

² Col. R. R., II, vii, 1, xiii, 3.

³ Plin. N. H., XVIII, xvii, 149. Cf. Virg. Ecl. V, 36 f.

⁴ Col. R. R., II, x, 32. ⁵ Id. ib. 24. ⁶ N. H., XIX, viii, 168.

⁷ Cf. Liv. I, liv, 6, Georg. IV, 131.

⁸ Loudon, Encycl. Agric. § 5884.

⁹ Above, p. 434.

one hand, we have plenty of evidence that beans, vetch, and especially lupine, were regarded as less exhausting than grain, if not actually beneficial to the soil;¹ and, on the other hand, Virgil's express language is that flax, oats, and poppies are highly injurious.

These considerations make it impossible for me to believe that flax and the rest are here mentioned as intermediate crops, and with Conington I take them as striking examples of crops that impoverish the soil. 'Enim' then has its proper meaning and its proper use; it introduces the reason why it is necessary either to allow the land to rest or to relieve it with lighter crops. No doubt these new examples of heavy crops come with some suddenness on a reader unfamiliar with the subject; but a poet must be allowed some liberty in varying his expression, and the abruptness is not so great as it appears. For Virgil's words convey no implication that these are intermediate crops, and he is not responsible if the modern reader, forgetting that an intermediate crop must be a light crop, thrusts upon his language a meaning which not only the facts of the case but that very language excludes. For the emphasis given to *urit* by reiteration and by its position at the head of each portion of the sentence, is so great as to throw everything else into the background,—an important point, to which the common explanation pays no heed. Virgil's main thought is the exhaustion which the ground suffers. What crops he mentions as illustrations are comparatively unimportant; could he suppose his reader would confuse them with light crops?

The conclusions to which our examination of the difficulties attending the interpretation of this passage have thus far led us may now be succinctly stated:

1. That in vss. 71 f. Virgil has in view the common practice of sowing a crop every other year, as well as those systems in which there is a crop only once in three years or less frequently.
2. That in vss. 73-76 the light crop, in the two-year system, is to occupy the ground during the winter that follows the harvest; and in any system, at some time other than the customary ploughing period.
3. That vss. 77 f. explain why the land needs the relief just recommended, flax, oats, and poppies being given as instances of exhausting crops.

¹ Col. R. R., II, x, 1, 7, xiii, 1; Plin. N. H., XVIII, xii, 120, xv, 137; Pallad. Sept. 9, Mai. 4.

4. That 'alternis' in vs. 79 repeats the idea of 'alternis' in verse 71, and though it may refer to only one of the methods introduced by the latter, the reader would naturally refer it to both.

This last point brings us face to face with a difficulty which received scanty notice from any commentator before Dr. Kennedy, who has taken refuge from it in a position which, as we have seen, must be regarded as untenable. This difficulty, which exists quite independently of the other questions that have been discussed, may be stated thus: By common consent verses 82 f. are accepted as a statement of the advantage of rotation over fallowing. Now since 'sic,' which introduces this statement, sums up the contents of the preceding sentence, it is clear that 'alternis' in vs. 79 must refer to rotation only, and not to both rotation and fallowing, as the reader would naturally understand it.

Nor is this the only difficulty that vss. 82 f. present. 'Sic' refers not only to 'alternis facilis labor,' but to the rest of vss. 79-81 as well, so that Virgil appears to recommend manuring only in connection with rotation, tacitly implying that it is unnecessary in fallowing. Now if there is one proposition on which all authorities on Roman husbandry are agreed, it is that a grain crop is in no case to be sown without manuring;¹ and on the other hand the light crops were regarded by some as actually enriching the soil, and by all as making little requisition on its strength. It seems therefore very unlikely that Virgil could have intended to prescribe liberal manuring as necessary in the one case and not in the other.

Finally, why should a statement of the advantages of rotation over fallowing be placed here, where the poet has already taken leave of those subjects and is well embarked on another? Verses 82 f. are an awkward interruption to what would otherwise be a continuous treatment of the subject of manuring, extending from vs. 79 to the end of vs. 93. In fact,—as a friend to whom I pointed out this difficulty has suggested to me,—they separate two verses (81 and 84), which seem to have a particularly close connection, the mention of ashes as manure naturally leading to the thought of burning the stubble.

From these difficulties I see no escape, as the text now is. The incongruity of the verses in question was perceived by Schrader, who, if he is correctly quoted by Wagner and Ribbeck, proposed to place them after vs. 78. I have unfortunately not been able to

¹ Plin. N. H., XVIII, xxiii, 192.

find Schrader's own note on the passage, and therefore cannot say how much of the above argument has been anticipated by him; and I quite fail to guess his reason for the place he has chosen for the offending verses. Their proper place is after vss. 71-76, with which they are closely connected. The passage would then read thus:

- 71 Alternis idem tonsas cessare noualis
 et segnem patiere situ durescere campum;
 aut ibi flaua seres mutato sidere farra,
 unde prius laetum siliqua quassante legumen
 aut tenuis fetus uiciae tristisque lupini
 76 sustuleris fragiles calamos siluamque sonantem;
 82 sic quoque mutatis requiescunt fetibus arua,
 83 nec nulla interea est inaratae gratia terrae.
 77 Urit enim lini campum seges, urit auenae,
 urunt Lethaeo perfusa papauera somno:
 sed tamen alternis facilis labor; arida tantum
 80 ne saturare fimo pingui pudeat sola, neue
 effetos cinerem immundum iactare per agros.
 saepe etiam steriles incendere profuit agros
 atque leuem stipulam crepitantibus urere flammis;
 siue, etc.

It may be readily conceded that the sentence 'Urit enim,' etc., suffers a little by its removal to a greater distance from vss. 71-76; and if the concurrence of two verses closing with the same word (*agros*) was regarded as offensive and unvirgilian, we have perhaps, in these two supposed difficulties, a suggestion of the motive for a transposition,—if an intentional transposition has been made,—which would so easily remedy both of them. But it will not be contended that the first of these difficulties is at all serious. The second has apparent, but only apparent, foundation in the fact that such repetitions are rare in Virgil. I have found only one example in the Georgics¹ and seven in the Aeneid,² the first half of the latter containing none whatever. It is not improbable that this small number would have been made smaller, had the poet lived to complete his work. Such jingles as

dignus patriis qui laetior esset
 imperiis et cui pater haut Mezentius esset³

¹ I, 407.

² VII, 653, VIII, 271, 396, IX, 544, X, 521, XI, 204, XII, 656.

³ VII, 653.

can hardly be regarded as fair examples of Virgil's taste, and are little in keeping with the sober tone of the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*. They are more at home in the lively style of Ovid, who has them in great number in the *Metamorphoses*, or in the *Eclogues*, where there are a few familiar examples.¹

But giving these considerations their due weight, and leaving Ovid and the *Eclogues* out of account entirely, no one will assert that Virgil would not have written vs. 84 immediately after vs. 81 in the same book in which he has written

Ecce inimicus atrox magno stridore per auras
insequitur Nisus; qua se fert Nisus ad auras.²

Nor will any one believe that Virgil's revision would have eliminated all the instances in the *Aeneid*, who has observed the practice of Lucretius in this particular. The great influence of this poet on Virgil, and especially on the *Georgics*, is as well known as his 'fondness for alliteration, assonance, repetition of the same or similar words, syllables and sounds.'³ Lucretius admits repetition of final words in the same or nearly the same form very freely, often from mere love of assonance, or from indifference; 'in many instances, however, rhetorical effect is clearly aimed at. Of the latter sort are those cases in which the repeated word, without being itself particularly emphatic, serves as a link to continue the chain of thought from one sentence to another. A good example is found in the passage where men's belief in gods is attributed to the deification of the phantoms of their own imaginations:

aeternamque dabant uitam, quia semper eorum
subpeditabatur facies et forma manebat,
et tamen omnino quod tantis uiribus auctos
non temere ulla ui conuinci posse putabant.
fortunisque ideo longe praestare putabant,
quod mortis timor haut quemquam uexaret eorum, etc.⁴

The following passage, though there is a slight change of form, illustrates the same usage:

¹ *Ecl.* VIII, etc.

² Vs. 407. ³ Munro, *Lucretius*, I, pp. 325 f.

⁴ As I, 393, 719, 793, etc. Cf. Munro's critical note on V. 586.

⁵ V. 1175 ff.

tum porro si nil esset quod inane uocaret,
 omne foret solidum; nisi contra corpora certa
 essent quae loca complerent quaecumque tenerent,
 omne quod est, spatium uacuum constaret inane.
 alternis igitur nimirum corpus inani
 distinctumst, etc.¹

Two of the instances found in the *Aeneid*² may perhaps be referred to this class; but a still better example of this species of anaphora is the repetition of *agros* in the verses before us,—if Virgil wrote them so.

At any rate sufficient has been said to show that this repetition has no weight whatever as an objection to the reading I have proposed, which must therefore stand or fall according as the arguments in its favor shall be regarded as sufficient or insufficient to overbalance the weight of MSS. authority. These arguments are implied in the objections, stated above, to the text as it now stands. The transposition proposed would free the passage from all the difficulties there set forth, and render the course of thought natural and consistent throughout. We should have first, a presentation of two ways of relieving the exhausted land (vss. 71–76), with a statement of the advantage of the second over the first (82 f.). Then would come the reason why such relief is needed (77 f.) and from that a skillful transition to the subject of manuring, which would extend without interruption through vs. 93, where the poet proceeds to other methods of improving the soil before sowing.

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¹ I, 520 ff. Other examples are III, 429, V, 501, VI, 280, 824.

² IX, 544, X, 521.

III.—THE SEMITIC VOWEL *a*.

It has been commonly held that the primitive Semitic language had only the six vowels, *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *u*, *ū*, and the diphthongs *ai* and *au*. This view, based on analogies and inferences, is liable to be modified at any time by facts that may hereafter be brought to light. The primitive vowels are recognized by a comparison of the dialects, and the vocalism of the various dialects is known to us mostly by signs invented at a late period, these signs being not always perfectly definite. We know in a general way the Hebrew vowel-pronunciation of the seventh century of our era, the Arabic of a somewhat earlier period, and the Ethiopic and Syriac of from one to three centuries still earlier, while the Phoenician is given only in scanty transcriptions, and the Sabeian not at all. With the Babylonian it is different; it was written not in a purely consonantal, but in a syllabic character, and its records go back, it is claimed, to the sixteenth century before the beginning of our era. In it, therefore, we may have a very valuable testimony to an early Semitic pronunciation, which may not only furnish materials for the history of the Babylonian-Assyrian vocalism, but also throw light on that of the sister dialects, especially the central or Canaanitish group. Its value is diminished, indeed, by the fact that it is written in a foreign character not invented by Semites or to express Semitic sounds; yet this disadvantage concerns the consonants mainly, and if the writing is correctly read, it ought to give us in general a true picture of the early Babylonian pronunciation of the vowels. In the case of the other dialects our direct information does not go back further than about the beginning of our era, and the results of comparison of sounds must always have the uncertainty that attaches to the materials.

When the dialects agree in employing a certain vowel, we may suppose that to belong to the primitive language. When they disagree, the preference is to be given in general to a simple over a derived or compound sound, and to *a* over *i* or *u*.

I have here gathered some materials for a history of the first vowel, *a*, giving first the cases in which it has maintained itself, and then the changes it has undergone.

It has been preserved in the following forms :

First, in the primitive or underived noun, in a number of biliteral words, such as *ab* "father," *ak*, "brother," and *yad* and *kaf* "hand," in which, except the last, Hebrew, in accordance with its law of tone-broadening, has retained the original vowel only in the status constructus, and in the plural of *ak*. Further, all the dialects show the *a* in the monosyllabic trilaterals, sometimes bare, as Eth. *nafs* "soul," Phoenician *malk* "king," and the modern Arabic and Tigrīna, sometimes with case-ending, Arab. *bahru* "sea," or emphatic ending, Assy. *kalba* "dog," Syr. *yaldo* "child," or with suffix, in all the dialects; Hebrew, not allowing the bare monosyllable, inserts an *e* and writes *melek* for *malk*, and Syriac puts the vowel after the second consonant, *sfar* "writing" instead of *safr*. These monosyllabic words are both abstract and concrete in meaning. The abstracts are found abundantly in Arabic and Ethiopic as nomina verbi or infinitives, in Ethiopic and elsewhere also as simple abstract conceptions, Eth. *ward* "breadth"; in Hebrew they are more commonly concrete, which is probably a secondary signification. Originally the form *kall* seems to have signified an act, and then to have passed into the sense of actor, or, less frequently, came to denote the result of the action. While the concrete forms abound in all the languages, the abstracts are more numerous in the southern branch.

In the dissyllabic trilaterals the Arabic shows the greatest number of *a*-forms, in accordance with its general greater wealth of forms, but they are found frequently in most of the other dialects. In Assyrian we have *katal*, *katil*, *kutal*, *kattal*, in Syriac *katal*, *katol*, Jewish Aramaic *kātal*, modern Syriac *katil*, Eth. *ketal*, *katal*. Its occurrence in Hebrew is generally determined by the tone—it is found in the construct, which is treated phonetically as toneless, as *dbar* from *dābār*, and before dagesh forte. In a few other cases also it is met with. Alongside of *gilgāl* "wheel" we find *galgal*, which appears to be not an Aramaizing, but an old Hebrew form. The words *mayim* "water" and *shāmayim* "heaven," in which the accent is on the penult, appear to simulate the dual ending, or have arisen from the same phonetic feeling. The numeral *arba*, "four," and the proper name *arwad*, Ezek. xxvii 8, are treated like *galgal*. In a few cases, therefore, the Heb. *a* has been able to maintain itself in an accented closed syllable; it will be observed that in these cases the pretonic syllable also has *a*, and assimilation may be the ground of the retention of the second *a*.

Derived nouns made by prefixing *ma*, *ta*, *na*, *ha*, *ya* generally retain the *a* of the prefix. Of *a*-inflections we have the accusative sign *a*, the dual *aini* and *ayin*, the Arabic plurals *ūna* and *īna*, and the feminine *at*, which in Hebrew is found only in the construct. In the Hebrew dual *ayin* the *a* is preserved by the accent, like the first vowel of segolates, and the accent points to a form *ayn*, identical with the Arabic *aini*. It is a question whether the *a* here and in acc. *a* and plu. *ūna* and *īna* is original, or comes out of old Semitic *ā*. For the latter view we have Arabic dual *āni*, Heb. acc. *ā*, and Syr. imperf. plu. 3 masc. *nektelūnōn* for *nektelunā.ni*. But the Syriac example is not decisive, for how shall we explain the suffix form of perf. sing. 3 masc. *katelōk* for *katalāk*, where the stem is undoubtedly *katala* with final short vowel? On the other hand, the lengthening of *a* into *ā* is a perfectly intelligible process. So *ni* of Arabic dual comes more naturally from *na* than from *nā*, and *āni* more easily from *ana* than from *ānā*. The probability therefore is that old Semitic accus. ended in *a* and plural in *ēna* and *īna*; this agrees also with the Heb. verb-form with suffix *yiktelen.ni* for *yiktelan.ni*.

The original form of the perfect of the verb, *katala*, with its derivatives and inflections, has been maintained to different extents in the various dialects. The southern group sometimes drops the first or the third vowel in the simple form (after prefixes, or before personal endings), but does not modify it for euphonic reasons. In the western (Canaanite) and northern (Aramaic) groups the changes are more considerable. These always drop the third vowel, except before suffixes, and in the derived stems sometimes compress the second to *ē* or *ī* in accented and to *i* in unaccented syllables, and Hebrew further broadens the first to *ā*. It however maintains the second vowel in the Kal perfect, saying *kātal* "he killed" (= "a killing [by him]") alongside of **kātal* "a killing or killer." This maintenance of the short vowel, found occasionally in nouns, but especially characteristic of the Heb. verb, is probably to be explained from the accentual relations of the words in the primitive sentence, the voice resting longer on the last syllable of the noun as expressing a thing complete in itself, while the verb-noun looked to some following word as its complement.

The original forms of the pronouns are difficult to fix, but, leaving aside the manner of their origination, we may recognize a primitive *a* in the following: *anā*, *anta* and the component *an* throughout, the syllables *wa* and *ya* in *huwa* and *hiya*, *nahnu*, the article *hal*,

al, the interrogatives *man*, *ay*. From the article we may perhaps infer a primitive stem *ha*, with which may be compared Heb. and Arab. *hā* as a probable lengthening; so *mā* out of *ma*, and possibly *dā* or *ḏa*, whence Arabic *ḏā*.

Most of the simple particles have *a*, as *ba*, *ka*, *la*, *wa*, *fa*, *sa*, *a*, *am*, *an*, *al*, *la*, *ḡad*, *au* (= *aw*), *luu* (= *law*), *kai* (= *kay*), and others.

While the *a* has thus maintained itself in so large a number of cases, it has also suffered frequent phonetic diminution and increase, mainly by the influence of the accent. First, let us take the forms in which it has undergone degradation.

1. Into *ä*, *ɛ*. The eastern (Babylonian-Assyrian) dialects seem to offer no example of this change. The eastern Aramaic writes the Peal imperf. *nektul* for *naktul* (the biblical Aram. has *yik*); the Samaritan also shows this vowel often in an unaccented closed syllable, and the same change is found in the Mandaean, and in the modern Syriac dialect of Urmi. In Hebrew this vowel plays a prominent part in the segolates, in the first class of which the *a* becomes *ɛ* always in the isolated noun, by assimilation to the following *ɛ*. It is less easy to see why the article *ha* assumes the form *hɛ* before certain strong gutturals pointed with *ḡameṣ*; it seems to be a case of dissimilation, avoidance of the concurrence of *a* and *ā*. The form *yed* for *yad*, before suffix *kem* is perhaps a sporadic case of assimilation, and *way.yomer* is from *yomar* by loss of accent. In Punic (Plautus) occurs *anek* as first personal pronoun, which may be out of *anok*, but comes more easily from *anak*. The *ɛ*-sound is not marked in the Arabic vowel-scheme, and there is no means of determining whether it existed in very early times, or at the rise of Islam; but in the modern language it has commonly taken the place of *a*, except before and after strong gutturals and emphatic palatals and *r* doubled or preceded by *ā* or *ū*. It is possible, it may be said to be probable that this change took place after the Moslem conquests, when Arabic became the language of cities and suffered more from the wear of ordinary intercourse or from the carelessness of foreigners. The early grammarians of Cufa and Baṣra gathered their materials from the bedawin, and adopted the writing which had been invented to represent the desert-pronunciation. But whether this vowel-system in fact represented accurately the shades of pronunciation it is hardly possible now to say. It does not seem probable that so highly developed a language as the Arabic should content itself

with three vowel-sounds. On the other hand, the scheme is consistent and corresponds to what comparison of dialects shows to have been the primitive system. It is perhaps better to suppose that a change of pronunciation had begun when the vowel-signs were adopted, but that the differences were too slight to arrest the attention of native speakers. This passage of *a* into *i* or *ä* is frequent also in Ethiopic, and, according to Ludolph, was universal two hundred years ago; it is usual in another African Semitic dialect, the Tigrîña. These facts show a general movement in this direction in all the dialects, more obvious the farther down we come. In those languages which early ceased to be spoken, as Assyrian and Hebrew, the change is slight; in the modern tongues it has made great progress. But it is only in these last that we have the means of fixing the popular pronunciation, and it seems likely that if we had full information of the speech of earlier times, we should find the beginnings of the change far back in the history of the Semitic languages. Here are traces of a more or less continuous advance of modification, and it is difficult to set a time at which it began. It would be rash to say that it dates from the mother-language, or even immediately after the separation into the northern and southern groups, for the Arabic and the Assyrian apparently show no signs of its presence. But the facts point to a very early period for its commencement, and indicate processes at work that the existing systems of vowel-writing do not record.

2. Into *i*. The degradation of *a* into *i* is more general than the change above described. In the eastern branch we have the abstract noun of action, as *zakir*, from *zakar*, as appears from the feminine *zakarât*; the noun-prefix *ti*, in *tirhâş* "liberation," obviously from *ta*; the imperfect prefix *yi*, out of *ya*; and probably the precative sign *li*, identical with the preposition *li*. The origin of this last is doubtful, but when we compare the forms *la*, *li*, *l'*, all meaning "to," it seems probable that the first is the original from which the others have come. The northern branch seems relatively less fond of the *i*, generally preferring an *e*-sound. The old Syriac, which represents an eastern form of Aramaic, shows *i* under the influence of a Yod, in verbs with first radical Yod, and verbs third rad. Alef (originally Yod); but here the *i* has not come immediately from *a*, but through *sh'wa* and *e*, and in some cases by assimilation, namely, in the passive perfects of verbs third Alef. The Mandaean and modern Urmi dialects have such nouns as *sitwa* "winter," *kifna* "hunger"; the noun-prefix *mi* is

found in Biblical Aramaic (a western, Hebraizing dialect) and in Urmi, as *miskēn* "poor," and in the latter also *ti*, as in *tišbohto* "price" (*mi* and *ti* never in classic Syriac); in the verb, *i* occurs in the prefix of Peal imperfect, third pers. sing., *yi* in Biblical Aramaic, *ni* in Mandaean. In contrast with the northern, the western branch has very largely depressed *a* to *i*, generally in unaccented closed and in half-open syllables. In the latter, Hebrew makes a difference between nouns of the forms *katal* and *katl*; in the construct plural the former becomes *kittl*, the latter *kattl*; this *kattl* is merely a preservation of the original stem-vowel, *malk*, *maṭkē*, of which the language retained a distinct consciousness, while in *kittl*, if the *i* is out of the original *a*, we must suppose that the primitive form *katal* was no longer distinctly remembered. These two stems were in fact treated in very different ways. In the one (*kattl*) the distinctive *a* is kept constantly prominent in the singular and the construct plural; in the other the two *a*-sounds are almost completely lost sight of, the second appearing only in the singular, in construct and before the heavy suffixes, the first not appearing at all. And if in the plural the construct was historically later than the absolute, this apparent forgetfulness of the *a* so far favors the old explanation of the *i* as a helping vowel, not an immediate derivation from *a*. The three segolate-forms maintain their vowels in the construct plural; from *malk*, *sifr*, *ḥōdš* we have *maṭkē*, *sifrē*, *ḥōdšē*; and if in the other case a form *dabar* was felt to underlie the plural inflections, it does not appear why Heb. should not say *dab'rē* as well as *maṭkē*. If, on the other hand, the starting-point in the plural was *d'bārīm*, from this would come naturally first *d'b'rē* and then *dib'rē*. The same remark applies to the prepositions *ba*, *ka*, *la*, which appear in Heb. ordinarily as *b*, *k*, *l*, but before simple sh'wa become *bi*, *ki*, *li*. Here, however, there is no difficulty in supposing an immediate derivation of *i* from *a*. There was a constant effort in the pronunciation to shorten the *a*, and this was effected in different degrees according to the demands of euphony or convenience under different circumstances. This explanation may also cover the case of the *d'bārīm* and *dib'rē*, though the doubt arising from the different treatment of *dib'rē* and *maṭkē* still remains. In the case of unaccented closed syllables the Heb. usage is uniform. Phoenician has some noticeable sporadic shortenings, as *milk* for *malk*, *id* for *yad*, and, in Plautus, *ys* for *as*, the relative pronoun; with *id* we may compare Syriac emphatic *ido*. In the verb Heb. treats original *a* differently

in derived stems in perfect and imperfect (together with imperative and infinitive); in the former it sinks it, in unaccented closed syllables, to *i*, in the latter it retains it; we have *kittil* and *hiktil* alongside of *kattil* and *haktil*, *y'kattil* and *y'aktil* for *y'haktil*. This seems to be another example of the tendency to greater fulness in the noun-form, which appears in *dibār* as compared with *dibar*. A case of sporadic shortening in Heb. is found in *šillaw* and a few such forms, and is due to the suffix. In the southern branch comparatively few traces of *i* out of *a* are discoverable. The Arabic preposition and adverb *li* has already been referred to as probably arising from *la*. The prefix *mi* used for forming nouns expressing the instrument certainly comes from *ma*; this prefix does not occur in the African Semitic dialects, and in the Sabeian the vowels are not indicated.

3. According to a very common tendency in language, the *a* suffers a further shortening into several more or less indistinct sounds, which are rarely marked with precision in any Semitic graphic system. Thus, in the modern Arabic of Syria and the modern Syriac of Urmi the *a* often has the sound of English *u* (in *but*); the missionaries in Urmi write the first vowel of the names Bunyan and London with the sign which in classic Syriac would be pronounced pure *a*, whence it is to be inferred that original *a* has sometimes become *ū*. With this may be compared the disposition in some English-speaking persons to substitute this *ū*-sound for all English vowels, that is, to facilitate pronunciation by bringing the sounds as far to the front as possible. In Urmi this modification occurs more commonly in connection with the throat-consonants, though it is not confined to these limits, and shows disposition to extend itself.

Similar to this is the change into *ō* (in English *not*) in Urmi and Tigrīña, as in Urmi the first vowel of English "doctor," in Tigrīña *gōbūr* for *gabūr*; in this last Praetorius (Tigrīña-Sprache, p. 29) sees an example of vowel-harmonization, the change of *a* into *ō* or *ū* being induced by the presence of a preceding or following *o* or *u*.

In Tigrīña the *a* sometimes also passes into *u* (in English *full*) or into *ō* (in *not*) under the influence of a following labial.

4. The final step in the process of shortening proper (when some sound is retained) is taken when the *a* assumes the obscure form indicated by the Hebrew *sh'wa*. Even in this there are degrees of obscurity, expressed by simple and composite *sh'wa*; but this difference, which is indicated only in the Hebrew notation,

may be neglected, especially as the distincter forms of the sh'wa tend to become identical with the *ē*, *ō* and *ū* above mentioned. Here again we have a natural modification, traces of which are found in many languages, notably in English, where in such words as *apathy*, *jollity*, *melody*, the popular pronunciation often obscures the middle vowels into scarcely distinguishable sh'was, and this has become in some cases the accepted usage. How far back it goes in the history of the Semitic tongues it is impossible to say. It is found in all the modern dialects, and is discernible in all the later graphic systems except the Arabic. In Babylonian-Assyrian and Arabic there is no written sign of sh'wa, but considering its universal prevalence in the neighboring dialects the presumption is strong that at least the beginning of such a modification existed in these also. Thanks to the elaborate punctuation of the Palestinian notation we have a full exhibition of it in Hebrew, in which it was perhaps more largely developed than in the other dialects, and where at any rate it plays a more important part in the inflection. In nouns it takes the place of a changeable vowel in antepretonic absolute or pretonic construct, and of pretonic *ē* preceded by a firm vowel; in verbs, where there is no suffix, it displaces any pretonic changeable vowel in a word of more than two syllables (the sh'wa being counted as a separate syllable). This difference of treatment of noun and verb is in the same line with that mentioned above, namely, the retention of simple *a* in the second syllable of the verb-stem, and its broadening into *ā* in the noun. When to the noun-stem *katal* a genitive suffix was attached the result was *k'tālā.h*, the second *ā* holding the voice on the stem as expressing an independent and the main object to which the suffix was merely an explanatory attachment. On the contrary the verb-stem *katal* was felt to be incomplete without the designation of the subject-agent, and, hastening to unite itself to this, depressed its second vowel into sh'wa and became *kāt'lā.h*. When, however, not the subject but the object of the verb-action was to be appended, the nominal character of the stem again became prominent, and there resulted the form *k'tālā.h*. In particles the sh'wa appears for *a* in open monosyllables, as *b'*, *k'*, *l'*, *w'*, above referred to. The treatment of sh'wa in Phoenician was probably the same as in Hebrew. In Aramaic also it is prominent, more frequent indeed in stems than in Hebrew, since in the form *katal* the first vowel is regularly depressed to its limit, and the segolate *kall* is written *kial* = *k'tal*. By reason of the Aramaic meagreness of vowels the

sh'wa is often called into requisition, standing in the pretonic syllable where Hebrew prefers a full vowel, as in the third sing. masc. Peal perfect of the regular verb, and the imperf. Peal and Afel of verbs middle Waw. In this respect the modern dialects do not differ essentially from the classic Syriac. The Urmi, according to the American missionaries, shows a preference for initial sh'wa, and even allows two sh'was at the beginning of a word, which neither Hebrew nor classic Syriac permits. Ethiopic has only one sign for *š* and sh'wa, and the pronunciation is therefore in many cases doubtful. But that the sh'wa really existed in the language is rendered probable not only by the fact urged by Dillmann (*Grammatik*, p. 33) that between the earlier full vowel in certain cases and the later absence of vowel there must have intervened an obscure sh'wa-like sound as intermediary, but also by the uncertainty of the reports given by the older grammarians of the power of the *š*; they rendered it by *ø* or *ɛ* or *ɣ* because it was often too obscure to be distinctly fixed. The same thing is true of the Tigrîna, but neither in it nor in Ethiopic is the sh'wa of importance for the grammar. In modern Arabic when two consonants are followed by a long vowel, the first commonly has an obscure sound, which is practically sh'wa. This is the result of rapidity of pronunciation, and has no grammatical value.

5. Disappearance of the *a*. All Semitic nominal and verbal stems, there is reason to believe, originally ended in *a*, and this final sound has been dropped at various points in the interests of facility and rapidity of pronunciation. In this respect the northern and southern groups have acted differently. Both have gotten rid of the final *a* of the verb-stem before personal endings beginning with a consonant, but in addition the northern group has dropped it in the naked stem (resuming it before suffixes), while the southern has retained it. The Aramaic further drops it in the stem of the noun before the singular feminine ending *t* where an addition is made at the end (emphatic or suffix), and the Hebrew under similar circumstances when the feminine ending is unaccented (*et*). Further, the first *a* of the simple stem in noun and verb is always dropped after a prefix, as in derived stems (Nifal, etc.), the imperfect (if the first vowel was *a* in that form), and nouns made by *ma*, *ta*, etc. These may all be called prehistoric changes. They do not form part of the living mechanism of the language in the times in which it is known to us by the literature. All that can be said is that the process of vowel-clipping went just so far, and was then arrested

by the euphonic feeling of the speakers. Yet that the movement is not wholly dead is shown by the fact that modern Arabic has also dropped the last vowel of the naked verb-stem, and thus reached the position of the Hebrew. The tendency to shortening has been constantly acting on the trisyllabism which is the Semitic norm of the word, and has modified it as far as was possible without utterly destroying it. A vowel has been dropped here and there, but the indisposition to let this process go very far is illustrated by the Hebrew segolate formation, where, having given up the third vowel, it has replaced the lost second by an entirely new one, and reconstructed the word as a dissyllable.

In addition to these diminutions the Semitic *a* has undergone extensions by movements in the opposite direction, hardly less considerable than those just described.

6. First, it has been broadened into *ā*. As a mere euphonic, ungrammatical change, this is clearly recognizable only in Hebrew, where it occurs regularly in the noun in pretonic syllables, except in the construct, and in accented syllables, and in the verb in pretonic (not counting *sh'wa* as a separate syllable), as in *Kal* perf. third sing. masc., and before suffixes (where it also occurs in open accented syllables). How far this broadening is a partly artificial peculiarity of the masoretic scheme, that is, of the learned synagogal pronunciation (where the sound was probably that of *a* in English *fall*), we have no means of determining. It seems not to be found in the Samaritan pronunciation of Hebrew, and this fact, though not decisive (for a foreign pronunciation of a language is not often to be trusted), creates a suspicion as to the genuineness of the *ā*. It is in any case a simple and natural modification of the *a*. It is doubtful whether it appears in any dialect except Hebrew. Cases occur in the African dialects (Ethiopic, Amharic, Tigriña) where the fourth vowel-sign (*ā*) stands in the place of the usual *a*, but whether this is a true euphonic lengthening, or this sign was rather pronounced as simple *a*, is not clear. Yet it is to be noted that in modern Arabic the presence of *Ayin* converts the *a* into the vowel of English *fall*, and such a change in Tigriña is not improbable. The grammatically significant broadening of the *a*, as in the participle *kātil* (Heb. *kātil*) does not belong here, for the origin of this *ā* is not known—it may be the result of the addition of some formative syllable.

7. A diphthongizing into *ē* has taken place in all branches of the Semitic languages. In Assyrian verbs first *Ayin* the preformative

t of the imperfect, for example, sounds *tē* for original *ta* (effect of the Ayin?). In the Hebrew verb the *a* of the final closed accented syllable of the active derived stems has commonly become *ē*, through stress of voice, as in the perfect of Piel and Hithpael, infin. and imperat. Hifil; and further in Kal infin. of verbs first Nun and Yod, Hifil perfect of double Ayin verbs, and perhaps Kal imperfect of verbs first Waw; in the suffixes to the singular noun the *ē* is to be regarded as coming from *a* wherever no Yod has intervened, in which case the *ē* is for the diphthong *ai*. Aramaic shows the *ē* in similar nominal and verbal forms, and in addition in the segolate, *mlk* for *malk*, and the first-personal pronoun *ēnō* for *anā*. The Mandaean and Urmi dialects probably have like forms, but do not clearly distinguish *ē* from *ē*. As the Arabic notation has no sign for *ē* we are dependent on the modern pronunciation for indications of its presence, and this pronunciation is not always decided, fluctuating somewhat between *ē* and *ē*, the latter more commonly occurring in open syllables. This uncertainty exists also in Tigrīña, where in many cases the normal sixth vowel (*ē*) is represented by the fifth (*ē*). These spoken dialects are in the condition of the English, with an undefined vowel-pronunciation, the shades of which are not indicated by the written signs. In Ethiopic the imperfect of the intensive verb shows *ē* in certain cases as compensation for an omitted doubling.

8. Besides the above mentioned a few other modifications of the *a* appear sporadically, the most important of which is the *i* of the Hebrew Hifil. This takes the place of the second stem *a* when it is in the final syllable (except in infin. absolute), and before personal endings beginning with a vowel. According to one explanation this is after the analogy of verbs middle Yod, in which the Yod naturally induced the change to *i*, and out of *ha.byan* came *hē.bīn*—thence by imitation the form passed into all Hifils. It would more naturally, however, arise in the imperfect of the middle Yod and Waw verbs, of which the norm would be *ya.kwim*, *ya.bīn*, whence *yā.kīm*, *yā.bīn*, and still more simply from the imperfect of the regular verb, *yaktīl*. This *i* would by the accent sometimes go into *ē* (imperative, shortened imperfect), sometimes into *ī*, as in the ordinary imperfect, and would then be retained by the accent. The problem is to account for the unusual tone of the Hifil, which again connects it with the monosyllabic stems. Supposing the accent fixed, it is conceivable that the *i*-form passed from imperfect into perfect, though the language gives no information as to how this occurred.

After labials the Tigrīña sometimes changes *a* into *u* or *o*, or even into a diphthong. With this may be compared the passage of Hebrew *w*^o (for *wa*) into *u* under similar circumstances.

There has thus been from the earliest known times a very considerable movement of this vowel (a movement that is still in progress in the spoken dialects), which closely resembles vowel modifications in other families of languages, particularly the Indo-European, and so far points to the oneness of the phonetic principles that control the various groups of human speech. The above imperfect sketch merely states some of the facts in the particular Semitic dialects; there should then follow the inquiry whether any of these modifications of the *a* existed in the primitive Semitic, but this must be deferred.

C. H. Toy.

IV.—ON THE POSITION OF "RHEMATIC TO.E"

It seems to be an established law of language that the solecism originates in colloquial usage. The barbarism which is just beginning to attract critical observation as a novelty in the written language, may have existed time out of memory in current speech. The impropriety of one generation becomes the recognized idiom of the next.

Our Quintilians may "stare and gasp," but the new word or the new flexion engrafts itself into the language, and all attempts to eradicate it are unavailing. Such was the case with our possessive pronoun *its*, with our passive progressive *is being done*. etc., and such I do not hesitate to predict will be the result so far as that particular locution which we are now discussing is concerned. The insertion of an adverb between *to* and the infinitive may be noted in a number of reputable writers, during different periods of our literary history, as to *not* admit, to *so* speak, etc. Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, the highest living authority on questions of English usage, has discovered this peculiarity in at least a score of well known authors, extending from Chaucer and Wickliffe to George Eliot and Mr. Ruskin. In Wickliffe's theological works, vol. II, p. 304, I read: "Charity teacheth men to *not* commune thus with tyrants." There is, however, an old English writer whose pages abound in every conceivable form of adverbial and even phrasal insertion between *to* and the infinitive. I allude to Bishop Pecock, the author of the "Repressor" (A. D. 1456), one of the landmarks of early English prose, and a treatise well worthy of study for other purposes than the one now under consideration.

In order to exhibit fully the variety of forms this locution has assumed in the writings of Pecock, I have inserted the following phrases, which will illustrate almost every feature of his usage in this particular.

Repressor, page 74, *forto* therewith see. 75, *to so* be. 85, *forto* wisely and duly give. 85, *forto* thereto unnethis open their mouth. 91, *forto* meekly knowledge. 119, *forto* thereby deserve. 127, *forto* at somewhile laugh. 149, *forto so* studiously by many years judge and defame. 165, *forto* ofte think. 168, *forto it*

ensample. 119, *forto* thereby deserve. 219, *forto* always and forever feed. 222, *forto* therein work. 224, *forto* there abide. 254, *forto* thereagainst repugn. 255, *forto* therewith make. 285, *forto* in them dwell. 296, *forto* each day make ready. 555, *forto* off and much remember him. 509, riches and power. *forto* afterwards of the new win. 533, *forto* more be set. 467, 504, to not be had. 305, *forto* the more likingly fill their mouths. 342, *forto* sufficiently them find in necessities. 307, *forto* so richly endewe. 308, *forto* well use. 308, *forto* not overmuch trade. 312, *forto* them take.

Other examples may be cited, but these are sufficient for our purpose. In "to richly endewe," "to sufficiently find," we have, I think, the parallel to our modern locutions "to fully consider," "to perfectly understand," etc. In this instance, as in many others, the language seems to have reclaimed some of its ancient idioms, and what in the present stage of our tongue is accounted a solecism is after all a falling back upon some long-forgotten usage. It is a frequent boast of English constitutional writers, that the political revolutions of the English race are for the most part a return to olden precedents and to ancient forms. This doctrine applies with peculiar force to many of our so-called neologisms. To us they seem obtrusive novelties; to the student of speech from an historical standpoint they are the revival of idioms that were in good repute during some former period of our language-growth. In their revived or modern development, such locutions as *to faithfully report* may probably be traced, in the written language, as far back as the first quarter of the present century. Richard Taylor, in his edition of Horne Topke (1829), alludes in his notes, p. 30, to a "disagreeable affectation some writers of the present day have, of inserting an adverb between *to* and the infinitive." (I am indebted to Dr. F. Hall for this reference.) In our own day this "affectation" has become prevalent in America as well as England, and a number of reputable writers on both sides of the Atlantic have given it the sanction of their authority. It is condemned by Dean Alford in *The Queen's English*, p. 188, where the author remonstrates against the use of "to scientifically illustrate," by one of his correspondents; but it has the approval, among other contemporary English writers, of so critical a scholar as Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps. Among American writers, and especially in American newspapers, those assiduous disseminators of solecism, it has assumed almost as great a variety of forms as we find in the

English of Pecock. In the International Hymnal, used in hundreds of our Sabbath schools, I read, "born to compassion and comfort bring," a counterpart to some of the good Bishop's phrasal insertions.¹ Among reputable American authors who have made use of such locutions may be named our eminent philologist, Prof. W. D. Whitney, "to 'decidedly converge'"; Edmund Clarence Stedman, Victorian Poet, "to rightly appreciate," "to utterly ruin"; Southern Review, 1868, "to graphically pourtray."

In the Shakespeare Memoranda of Mr. J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, I find "to fully investigate," "to publicly brand." It would prove an almost endless task to enumerate the varieties of form assumed by such expressions as "to faithfully report," under the influence of newspaper usage: their potentialities are apparently inexhaustible. Among the most familiar may be mentioned, "to properly express," "to utterly repudiate," "to absolutely ignore," "to thoroughly convince," "to fully consider," "to precisely state," "to immediately extend." However obnoxious such combinations may seem to the delicate sensibility of the critic and the purist, it is evident that they are already too thoroughly incorporated into the language to render their eviction practicable or even possible. Their recognition by some of our most accomplished essayists and philologists is a significant indication of the firmness with which they have grounded themselves in our speech. These writers have simply anticipated the standard usage of the next generation. The authors of our next Augustan age will employ these 'neologisms' without hesitation or reserve, perhaps as little suspecting that they were once regarded with suspicion and distrust as the author of Henry Esmond seems to have suspected *that was being battered* was not a recognized form of the English verb in the reign of Anne, or Dr. Schaff to have been aware that *were being added* was absolutely unknown in the reign of James I.

HENRY E. SHEPHERD.

¹ In the English translation of Von Ranke's History of England, (Vol. I, p. 159,) I note the following: "He, (Aske) took the road to London, to, as he said, drive base-born men out of the king's council, and restore the Christian religion in England."

V.--ASSYRIOLOGICAL NOTES.

The following discussions are directed towards the elucidation of some of the obscure or doubtful expressions of the Assyrian texts, as well as towards the establishment of their etymological relations. Those passages or word-forms which, though obscure or misinterpreted at the time of the publication of the respective texts, have been since, within the writer's knowledge, satisfactorily explained, will, of course, not be touched.

The following is the transcription of those sounds about whose representation Assyriologists are not at one: ח *h*, ט *t*, כ *k*, ס *s* (after Schrader), צ *z*, ק *q*, פ *p*, ש *š* (after Schrader). The syllable-sign which the English and French schools represent by *e*, Schrader by *i*, Haupt by *el*, and Pognon by *el*, I shall indicate by *el*, as Friedrich Delitzsch also represents it in his latest work.

כשר, to bind, join together. Representatives of this root are not numerous in Assyrian, but there seems to be sufficient evidence of its existence. We have first a common word for bonds, fetters: *kašritu*. Norris (I 127) reads this *biritu* (the ideogram of the first syllable representing both *kaš* and *bi*), and compares the Hebr. בְּרִית covenant. The same form is adopted by Smith (*e. g.* Hist. of Asurbanipal 26, 1; 44, 1; 66, 2). But since בְּרִית > ברה does not mean to bind, the reading *biritu* is without etymological support. Oppert and Menant accordingly read *kašritu*, Inscription de Khorsabad l. 112: *bi-ri-tav*, but in the commentary p. 284: *kašritav*. So also Schrader, Keilinschriften u. d. Alte Testament 172, 15 (cf. vocabulary); 184, 34; 243, 8; 260, 3. These authorities compare קשר to bind, supposing that *kašritu* is written for *kašritu*. A corresponding verb-form is apparently used in the sense of fastening together or repairing, as in another passage cited in KAT 37, 21. 22: *li-bi-it-ti ku-um-mi-ša u a-gur-ri ta-aḥ-lu-ub-ti-ša ab-ta-a-ti el-ik-ši-ir*. This Schrader renders: "besserte ich die Backsteine seines Gebäudes und die Ziegel seiner Bedachung zu festverbundenem Mauerwerk aus," and connects (40, 37) *el-ik-ši-ir* with Hebr. פָּשַׁר "to be straight, right." That this special association with פָּשַׁר is wrong is clear from the fact that the

latter does not mean to be straight or right either in its noun or verb forms. This meaning has been attributed to it from the notion that it was cognate with *אשר* and *וּשֶׁר*. But this is impossible, if only for the reason that *כ* is not used as a predeterminative (see my "Aryo-Semitic Speech," 1881, p. 98 ff.; 111 f.) Its proper meaning is to be fitting or advantageous, a notion derived from that of joining together, just as Skr. *yujyate*, it is fitting, < *yuj* to join. It is akin to *קשר*, and hometymous with Targ. *כְּשֹׁר*, Syr. *k'sûrô*, a beam (cf. Mühlau and Volck on *כֶּשֶׁר* in Gesenius' Hebr. Handwörterbuch, 8. ed.); cf. Arab. *k-th-r* to be many. How the notion of joining together leads to that of repairing may be seen from the use of Hebr. *קשר* in Neh. 3, 38.

The question arises whether these forms are to be assigned to *קשר* or to *כֶּשֶׁר*. Decisive proof cannot be gained from the words just cited, since *ik* and *ik̄* represent the same sign, and *kas* might be written for *kas*, inasmuch as the latter syllable has no special sign. Other words, however, may perhaps help to settle the question. In Asurb. 24, 3. 4; 42, 3. 4 we read *mi-lik la ku-šir im-li-ku ra-man-šu-un*, which Smith translates: "evil counsel they counselled among themselves," relying upon the supposed sense of Hebr. *כֶּשֶׁר* and the Aramaic usage of *כְּשֹׁר*. I venture to offer the following rendering: royal authority without restraint (limit) they invested themselves with; cf. the correct rendering of 25, 3. 4; 43, 1. 2: and let there not be within our border any rival lord. Besides this *kušir*, the word *kišurru* boundary (cf. English *confine* as noun and verb) points to the same conclusion. Of the meaning of this word there seems to be little doubt. In Khors. l. 82, *e. g.* we read *u-rap-pi-ša ki-šur-ri mat su-a-tu*: I extended the boundaries of that country; cf. l. 136, and Norris II 624 f.

It would seem therefore that the Assyrian root is *כֶּשֶׁר* and not *קשר*. Moreover, there is no antecedent reason for assuming the existence of the latter, since *קשר* in the sense of joining or binding is only Hebrew, while *כֶּשֶׁר* is, in the same sense, Proto-Semitic.

כֶּרֶה—The origin of the frequently occurring form *biritu* is obscure. The word itself is used in various senses, but it is not difficult to perceive that they are all derived from the general notion of a border, which is its prevailing usage when employed strictly as a noun, *e. g.* in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I (V 68, see Schrader, Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung, p. 266) *bir-ti mat É-la-mu-ni . . . lu aš-bat*: I took (my course along) the border

of the country Êlamuni;¹ cf. III 41, and Norris I 126 f. where some of the passages cited are misconceived. With a preposition preceding we have the phrase *ina birit*: within the borders or limits of. So in the great inscription of Asurnâsirpal (I 60; cf. Schrader, KGF, p. 145, and Menant, Manuel de la langue assyrienne, 1880, p. 341, 1); cities of the land of Kirhi *ša ina bi-rit*, which are within the limits (of the mountains Usu, etc.). Hence *ina birit* came to mean simply within, in the midst of, and also towards, *i. e.* to the midst of (cf. the usage of *kirib*) as in the passage cited by Schrader, KGF 215, 70; cf. 217 note, where an instance is adduced from Asurn. II, 66 of *i-na bir-ti* being used as a variant of *ana bi-rit*. It is also even used to mean through (KGF, 215, 79. 80). Its prepositional use (without a preceding preposition) naturally comes next. So it means beside, *i. e.* along the border of (*e. g.* Asurb. 220, 4); near (*e. g.* Asurb. 130, 6); within, in the midst of or among (*e. g.* Asurb. 267, 7;² 294, 2).

The proper sense of the word is therefore border. As to the root, Schrader (KGF 217 note) conjectures that it is עבר "so that *birtu*=עבר(ת)=transitus, Grenze, Gebiet (fines)." But it is questionable if Proto-Semitic ע as first radical ever dropped its vowel in Assyrian in noun-formation, and we naturally look for a ב root. A masculine form of the noun, if it exists, would throw light on this question, and I would suggest that such a form is perhaps to be found in Asurb. 25, 1. 4; 42. 9; 43. 2. The whole passage is: *su-lum-mu-u ina bi-ri-in-ni liš-ša-kin ma ni-in-id (v. dag)-ga-ra a-ḥa-mis mat a-ḥē-ēn-na-a ni-zu-uz ma ai ib-ba-ši ina bi-ri-in-ni ṣa-nu-um-ma bē-lum*. This I render: may an alliance within our border be established and we will help (?) one another; the country on this side³ [of our border] we will strengthen, and let there not be within our border any rival lord. Smith translates *ina bi-ri-in-ni* in the first instance: "by this treaty," and in the second: "in this treaty." If the fitness of the proposed translation is admitted,

¹ Schrader seems scarcely right in translating (p. 267) *aḫbat*: "nahm ich ein." That word is often used of taking one's way over, without the word for way being expressed, as Schrader himself elsewhere observes.

² In this interesting and linguistically instructive passage Lenormant (*Études sur quelques parties des syllabaires cunéiformes*, p. 130) reads our word *ḫaṣru*. But this is due to a mistake of Smith in transcription, the signs for *ru* and *rit* being nearly alike. In the parallel passage cited above, the correct reading is given by Smith.

³ Cf. Schrader, *Assyrisch-Babylonische Keilinschriften* p. 370, on the form ארמ.

it is plain that we have a form yielding the oblique case *biri*, and accented on the second syllable, as the repeated *n* before the suffix shows. This points to a *bir* root. Such a one seems to be indicated in the following passage, Sarg. 21: in the midst of the sea the Ionians *i-ba-ru-u*¹ he drove out. In II R 48, rev. 35 *ba-a-ru* is given as a synonym of *haluba* to glide away. *bir* is thus one of the many forms used to indicate motion, springing from the root *br* of which Hebr. and Arab. *bar* are among the nearest representatives. The border is thus named as the place of going forth or out, and it finds an illustration in the Hebrew *פֶּתַח*; Assy. *patu* > *padu*, (e. g. Hist. of Esarhaddon ed. Budge, 70, 33; 118, 16) a border; *pātu* an entrance (Del., Assy. Lesestücke, 2. ed. p. 19, nr. 174). In the same way *nirib* < *nr*, properly an entrance, is used in a sense similar to that of our word, as in Asurb. 258, 10; Asurn. I, 59. Thus both the place of going in and the place of going out gave rise to a word for border, with its associated ideas.

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¹ See Friedrich Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 248, where the whole passage is explained in connection with the relations between the Assyrians and Ionians; cf. KGF 238 and the footnote. For other examples of this root see KAT 64, 20; 219, 22.

VI.—ON *ἥπιν* IN THE ATTIC ORATORS.

The temporal particle *πρίν* has had its full share of attention, not only in general works on Greek grammar, Greek syntax, Greek moods and tenses, Greek particles, but also in special treatises. Essays have been written on *πρίν* in Homer, *πρίν* in Herodotos, *πρίν* in Thukydides, *πρίν* in the Attic drama.¹ And yet, in spite of thought and research, there is a strange lack of clearness and sharpness in the treatment. One distinguished scholar lapses into a gross solecism while traversing this slippery field; another is struck with blindness and gropes his way among unrecognized negatives. Theory of origin, limitation of use, are often so presented as not only to confuse the beginner, but to bewilder more advanced students who desire coherence and consistency. Of course the solution of all such problems is to be sought in the history of the language, in the growth or decay of a given construction. We begin, if Paley will suffer us, with Homer, and trace the expansion in one direction, the contraction in another. All this is well enough; but when the most evident counter-sense is extorted from the facts as ascertained, surely even history loses its rights. What is the use of accumulating and sorting historical facts, if the common-sense interpretation of the facts themselves is denied? The tendency in language is to crystallize into sharper logical formulae; the difference of earlier from later syntax consists in its greater elasticity. Optative and subjunctive are sundered in the later speech; in the earlier they can be used in the same breath

¹ R. Foerster. De usu coniunctionis *πρίν* Homérico et Hesiodico, de usu particulae *πρίν*, qualis apud Ionicos scriptores fuerit Miscell. Sem. philol. et Soc. lat. 1863 et 65.

R. Richter. De particulis *πρίν* et *πάρῃ* earumque usu Homérico. Lipsiae, 1874.

O. Prause. De particulae *πρίν* usu tragico et Aristophaneo. Halis Saxonum, 1876.

See also a review by C. Capelle in Philologus XXXVII, s. 89, in which he takes up—

Herzog. Die syntax des infinitivs NJB. f. Phil. u. Paedagogik, 1873, pp. 1-33.

Cavallin. De temporum infinitivi usu Homérico. Lund, 1873.

and in the same general sense. Now if a man fails to recognize a simple rule, a simple mechanical rule that has stamped itself indelibly on the fixed language, how can he be trusted with the far more difficult restoration of the period of fluctuation, of growth? In my attempts to satisfy my scholars and myself in such matters I have always tried to get first a clear notion of the actual normal usage of Attic prose before undertaking to explore the genesis. Those who set out on the historical study of Greek syntax without a fairly accurate notion of the limits of prose are sure to get lost. Nothing do I deplore so much in the practice of teaching Greek as the fashion of beginning at the very first moment possible with Homer. Greek poetry is a sealed book to many students of Greek all their lives, because they have never had any sharp consciousness of the difference between poetry and prose. All Greek was Greek from the beginning; and the sense, when not cultivated early, can only be acquired in later years by painful study. One is tempted to say: Let boys read Homer on condition of translating him into prose Greek. Of course it will be said that if one attempts to formulate Attic usage without the necessary historical survey, there is danger of being swayed by abstract reasoning. But abstract reasoning is after all better than such unreason as prevails in the interpretation of many of the earlier phenomena of the language. May I be permitted to give one or two illustrations in the matter of *πρίν*?

Πρίν, abstractly considered, is a comparative formation. It is found, though not often, in the earliest times with *ῥ*. I shall not discuss the original quantity. The historical Greek seems to have felt it as short. What follows from its comparative formation? A distinctly negative character. This negative character of the comparative sometimes individualizes itself, so to speak, and appears in the form of an independent negative following the comparative, a kind of armor-bearer so familiar in the Romance languages, *plus que ne*, *più che non*. But the negative usually makes itself felt in less direct ways. All negatives tend either to reduplication or to concentration. The negative either revolves so as to show various facets, or it takes some energetic single form as the essence of denial. On the one hand we have the so-called double negatives, on the other hand the combination with the aorist. The natural tense of the negative is the aorist. The tenses of continuance are used with the negative only when there is a notion of opposition to the positive, of resistance to pressure. So in our language, as

it is far less rich in forms than the Greek or even the Latin, we introduce words of will and effort to express the effect of the negative with the imperfect in Greek; οὐχ εἶλον *they did not take*, but οὐχ ἤρουν *they would not, they could not take*. Is this rudimentary? If so, why is not the 'abstract principle' applied to πρίν? Why is it not formulated that πρίν, as a negative (= οὐπω, with which it is often coupled), takes the aorist? The deep silence of nearly all the school grammars on this simple, practical matter is remarkable. What do we find in more pretentious works that do recognize the predominance of the aorist? Kühner in his *Ausführliche Grammatik* calmly says: 'The usual tense of the infinitive with πρίν is the aor., which represents the action of the dependent clause as prior to that of the principal clause,' and his very first example is *N 172: ναῖτε·δὲ Πήδαϊον πρίν ἐλθεῖν υἱας Ἀχαιῶν*. If his rule is applied literally, the action in ἐλθεῖν precedes the action in ναῖτε. Perhaps, however, the distinguished grammarian meant that the non-action of the dependent clause preceded the action of the leading clause, but he took a strange way to express it.¹ In fact he was thinking of the combination with negative clauses, in which the antecedence in time of the dependent clause follows from the negation. For πρίν ἐλθεῖν substitute οὐπω ἐλθόντων τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, and the whole matter becomes clear. With a πρίν ἄν sentence, μήπω would be used on account of the conditional element. So Andok. 1, 7: οὐχ οἶόν τε ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι πρίν ἂν καὶ ἐμοῦ ἀκούσῃτε ἀπολογουμένου could be transcribed by οὐχ οἶόν τε ὑμᾶς εἰδέναι μήπω καὶ ἐμοῦ ἀκούσαντας. The negative, I repeat, is sufficient to cover all cases. A recent writer, Cavallin (ap. Capelle, *Philologus* XXXVII, s. 89), says that πρίν and πάρος almost always take the aor. of the inf. in Homer, because for the most part only the ingress or the realization and not the duration of the action is had in view. One wearies of this schematic difference between present and aorist. Of the three Homeric passages, μέδεσθαι Σ 245, ἀμφιφάσθαι τ 475 form no aor. that we know of; ἄγειν Α 98 follows δόμεναι 'mit sinniger Unterscheidung,' but with the same 'sinnige Unterscheidung' that distinguishes the negative with the durative tenses from the negative with the aorist. The aorist then is the rule, and the

¹Aken correctly reverses Kühner's statement when he says, in discussing ἀστράπτει πρίν βροντᾶν: man kann geradezu sagen dass die Handlung bei πρίν vom Standpunkte des Hauptsatzes aus stets eine zukünftige, noch nicht existierende sei also nur begrifflich zu bezeichnen war, wie durch ein Verbalsubstantiv. Aken *Schulgr.* 449, Anm. 1.

present infinitive and the perfect infinitive are used with *πρὶν* just in the same relations in which tenses of duration and completion are employed with negatives. So Thuc. 3, 24, 2: ἀπετράποντο ἐς τὴν πόλιν πρὶν ὑπερβαίνειν (= οὐχ ὑπερέβαινον, 'they would not attempt to scale'). So Isai. 7, 29: πρὶν ἐμὲ ἤκειν (= Pf.) = οὐπω ἤχον.

It is well known that in the Greek of the classic period *πρὶν* (ἄν) with the subjunctive and *πρὶν* with the opt. require a negative in the leading clause. There is but one exception, and that in a passage which I should not hesitate to alter. The later Greeks use *πρὶν* ἤ with the subjunctive after anything, and so do the modern; and I set down the *πρὶν* ἴκηται of Simonides Amorginus 1, 12 to a clerical lapse.¹ The other places, sometimes cited even in good books, have long

¹ The verses read: φθάνει δὲ τὸν μὲν γῆρας ἀζηλον λαβὼν | πρὶν τέρμ' ἴκηται. I find the following explanation of the anomalous construction cited by Buchholz, apparently with approval: Hier der Conjunctiv statt des Infinitivs gewählt weil der Fall gemeint ist, wo der Sterbliche wirklich zu Reichthum gelangt = οὐχ ἵζεται τέρμα πρὶν αὐτὸν γῆρας λάβῃ, während beim Infinitiv die natürliche Fassung der Worte an sich, mit Ausserachtung des Folgenden, wäre dass er auch dann nichts erlange.—Die Structuren von *πρὶν* in der Berliner Zeitsch. für Gymnasialwesen 1866, s. 595. Any one familiar with short and easy methods of despatching grammatical difficulties will recognize the work of making a translation do the duty of proof. Φθάνω with *πρὶν* happens to be a common construction, from II 322 on, and invariably takes the infinitive when positive. 'Mit Ausserachtung des Folgenden' is a condition which no one who used the language seems to have availed himself of. Antiphon 1, 29: εἰάν μὲν . . . φθάνωσι πρὶν ἀποθανεῖν . . . φίλους καλοῦσι should be turned into *πρὶν* (ἂν) ἀποθάνωσι on exactly the same principle, because the persons in question actually die, whereas the infinitive leads to the inference, outside of the context and of common sense, that they do not die. *Πρὶν* is an οὐπω. The 'not yet' may come later, may never come. As I have said of *antequam* with the subjunctive, the antecedence is necessary, not so the consequence. 'Ἀπέδρασαν πρὶν κριθῆναι X. Hell. 1, 7, 35: they never came to trial. Καὶ πρὶν ἄρξαι ἀξίως τῆς βασιλείας ἐδόκει εἶναι Ἀγησίλαος Xen. Ag. 1, 5: Agesilaos actually became king. If you substitute ἤρξε you change the sense. The context must decide as in the case of the English verbal in *-ing*. Such vagueness may have been highly reprehensible, but until we can get better evidence for such a use of the subjunctive after positive *πρὶν* than the passage in Simonides, we must consider the modification suggested as unproved for the earlier period. I would venture to add that some commonplace of proverbial philosophy such as we find in Soph. O. T. 1529: μηδὲν ὀλβίζειν πρὶν ἂν | τέρμα τοῦ βίου περάσῃ, might have been present to the mind of the copyist and deflected his pen, as if αὐ δεῖ γῆρας ζηλοῦν πρὶν (ἂν) τέρμ' ἴκηται, which of course has nothing to do with the sense of the passage.

been shown to be normal. So in Isokr. 4, 16 *λίαν ἀπλῶς ἔχει* = *οὐ δεῖ οὔτεσθαι*. See the next sentence, with its *ἀλλὰ δεῖ*. So in Dem. 38, 24 *σιωπᾶν* is a negative idea and is explained by *μὴ κατηγορεῖν*. So Lys. 22, 4 *αἰσχροῦν* is a negative = *οὐ δεῖν*. To judge by parallel passages *πρίν ἄν* was felt as *ἕως ἄν* or *ἤν μὴ*. The same rule applies, of course, to the much rarer *πρίν* with the opt., and whatever may be thought of the principle of it, the fact is firmly established. And yet a grammarian no less distinguished than Bäumlein commits himself to an extraordinary solecism when he says that in Aischylos S. c. Theb. 452 foll., where we have *ὄλοιθ' ὅς πόλει | μεγάλ' ἐπεύχεται | κεραυνοῦ δέ νιν βέλος ἐπισχέθωι | πρίν ἐμὸν ἐσθουρεῖν δόμον, πρίν* with the opt. can stand, citing as a proof Soph. Phil. 961: *ὄλοιτο μὴπω πρίν μάθοιμι*!

As for *πρίν* with the indic., it is commonly stated that it occurs chiefly after negative clauses. That is true, but it is somewhat confusing to find it used in affirmative sentences in Thukyd. and Euripides. The fact is that the indicative is not a legitimate construction unless *πρίν* is used in a sense which is equivalent to *ἕως* 'until.' This, though clearly recognized in some grammars, is not universally recognized. When this condition fails, then the infinitive must be used. Of course in the majority of instances the negative with *πρίν* does compel such a sense; but the very grammarians, who emphasize the rule, stick to the letter so closely that they fail to see virtual negatives when they are thrust upon them. So Kühner cites as affirmatives Thuc. 1, 51, 2: *ἐθαύμαζον πρίν . . . εἶπον*—1, 118, 2: *οὔτε ἐκώλυον ἡσύχαζόν τε . . . πρίν δὴ . . . ἡ δύναμις σαφῶς ἤρετο* (comp. Eur. I. T. 489-90: *ἄφρων* (= *οὐκ ἐφρόνου*) *νέος τ' ἦν πρίν . . . ἐσεῖδον*)—3, 29, 1: *λανθάνουσι* (= *οὐκ ὀρῶνται*) *πρίν δὴ . . . ἔσχον*—7, 71, 5: *τὰ περὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας διελύθη πρίν δὴ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τότε τὸν ἀγῶνα ἐποίησαν*. Comp. also X. An. 2, 5, 33: *ὁ τι ἐποιοῦν ἡμφιγνόουν πρίν Νίκαρχος ἦλθε*. It is needless to say that all these verbs are negative either in fact or in sense. I have not the slightest objection to putting them all under the 'until' class, but if a distinction is to be made between positive and negative, it betrays a strange ablepsys to make a wrong distribution here.

It is not the object of this paper to give a full history or a full theory of *πρίν*, and what I have said and shall say on the subject is merely prefatory to a presentation of some practical statements in regard to the use of *πρίν* in one department of Greek literature. In Homer *πρίν* appears as an adverb, as a conjunction, as a quasi preposition. The conjunctive use develops out of the adverbial,

but the reigning construction is the quasi-prepositional (with the infinitive), which is used freely both after negative and positive clauses, whereas in prose it is found chiefly after positive clauses. This bold combination is a sad puzzle to determined theorists, who wish to allow no sudden leap in the constructions of language. We are still at a long remove from the preposition with the infinitive, the full development of which seems to require the article.¹ Even ὥστε with the inf., which with the negative might in some cases replace πρὶν, has scarce budded. Interesting in connection with this problem is the direct combination of ἀντί with the anarthous inf., of which traces are found in the MSS. of Herodotos (1, 210; 6, 32; 7, 70), especially in view of the similar negative sense. Still the analogy is slight and the leap great, though as yet I see no escape from the quasi-prepositional use such as we find in our English 'than,' which even grammarians have not been able to separate from the love of 'whom.' Forssmann says in his treatise on the infinitive in Thukydides (Curt. Stud. 6, 53) that the infinitive with πρὶν is a verbal noun, but he does not venture to say that πρὶν before the inf. is a preposition, though he so translates it. Jolly, looking at the matter from the Indo-Germanic point of view, has no difficulty about it (Geschichte des Infinitivs, s. 221). That πρὶν γενέσθαι and πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι are close equivalents can be seen from the interchange.²

As I have pointed out on another occasion, the infinitive must have lost its case force before it could have submitted to the combination;³ but it had lost its case force as early as the Homeric period, and hence I see no insuperable objection to this fling of the language. Forssmann's proof that the infinitive here is a verbal noun because it sometimes occurs in the present is, in my judg-

¹ Die Verbindung des Infinitivs mit einer Präposition ist der älteren Sprache durchaus fremd und hat sich erst später entwickelt, als man den Infinitiv mit vorgesetztem Artikel ganz als Substantiv behandelte. Kühner, Ausführl. Gr. II, s. 962.

² So in Plato's Phaidon Πρὶν γενέσθαι ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἀνάγκη ἡμῖν αὐτὴν [τὴν ἐπιστήμην] εἰληφέναι. *ἔοικεν. Οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν λαβόντες αὐτὴν πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι ἔχοντες ἐγενόμεθα, ἡπιστάμεθα καὶ πρὶν γενέσθαι καὶ εὐθὺς γενόμενοι κτέ. 75 C ὥστε ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν εἶναι τούτων ἀπάντων τὰς ἐπιστήμας πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι εἰληφέναι. 75 D, cf. B: πρὸ τοῦ ἄρα ἀρξασθαι ἡμῶς ὁρᾶν καὶ ἀκοεῖν . . . τυχεῖν ἔδει πον εἰληφότας ἐπιστήμην. The only possible difference between the conception of πρὶν γενέσθαι and πρὸ τοῦ γενέσθαι lies in the deictic force of the article. The tense is determined by the same principles in both cases.

³ Transactions of Am. Philol. Assoc. 1878.

ment, a perfect *non sequitur*. The infinitive as a verbal noun is still under the influence of tense feeling, and the exclusive use of present infinitive or aorist infinitive of any special verb according to the character of the action would not be surprising.¹

¹ Since this paper was written I have received the Transactions of the Oxford Philological Society for 1880-1881, in which Mr. Monro remarks (on the origin of the construction of infinitive with *πρίν* and *πάρους*): "It may now be regarded as certain that the Greek infinitive is in form the dative of an abstract noun (*δόμεναι* for *giving*), and in meaning a dative of consequence. Most Homeric uses of the infinitive lend themselves readily to this view: thus *ἐθέλει δόμεναι* 'he is willing for giving,' *δύναται δόμεναι* 'he has power for giving,' *εὐχομαι εἶναι* 'I boast for (in respect of) being'; *μοῖρ' ἐστὶ δαμῆναι*, 'there is fate for being subdued,' etc. The chief exception is the use with *πρίν* and *πάρους*. What is the link between *πρίν ἐλθέμεν*, lit. *earlier for coming* and 'earlier than coming'?"

"The explanation is suggested by comparison of the Sanskrit usage. The infinitive in Sanskrit is in a less formed state than in Greek, and in particular there is no restriction of infinitival uses to a single case (as in Greek to the dative). Now among the other cases used to form infinitives (or in the way to be so used) is the ablative (which is found especially with the prepositions *ad* 'until' and *pura* 'before' (Whitney's Sanskrit grammar, § 983; Max Müller, *Chips*, vol. IV, p. 53). The ablative is of course used with *pura* as with comparatives. In Greek, therefore, it is probable that the dative inf. with *πρίν* has taken the place of an older ablative. The process by which one case-form concentrates uses originally belonging to several cases, is one of which many examples can be produced. In this instance it was doubtless accelerated by the loss of the dative form in other nouns, so that the infinitive ceased to be regarded as a case-form."

I cannot now go into the discussion of this theory, and would only say here that mere analogy is not a proof. The Greek goes its own way in the handling of the infinitive, and such licences as the use of *πρίν* with the inf. must be judged from within. Judged from within, *πρίν* with the inf. is an experiment rather than a survival. Again, the dative force of the infinitive was not felt in the Homeric time; this seems to be shown by the *oratio obliqua* use of the infinitive. For that matter the rhematic sign *to* is not fully felt in English, though so much more marked by its independent existence than the dative termination of the inf. But Mr. Monro by his translation of the Homeric infinitive seems to imply that it was felt in the Homeric time. If so, how could the inf. be used as an ablative? It would have been more reasonable to say that *πρίν* w. inf., originally equivalent to some such later periphrasis as *πρότερον ἢ ὥστε* 'earlier for coming' = 'too soon for,' became in time a mere formula and the peculiar shade of 'prevention' was lost except as brought out by the context. Comp. *prius quam* w. subj. in which the subj. seems to be due to the element of 'preference' (*prius quam* = *potius quam*) or 'prevention' (*prius quam* = *prius quam ut*, like *maior quam ut*) and afterward to have faded into mere subordination, mere temporal limit. The fluctuation and differentiation of these

Other attempts have been made to explain the construction of *πρίν* with the inf. Richter considers *πρίν* to have become a conjunction by 'correlation,' and that not only with the subj. and opt., but also with the inf. Capelle says that he does not understand Richter's explanation, and as I have not access to Richter's dissertation, I can only gather that this view is not essentially different from Hartung's (Gr. Partikeln I 61 foll.) accepted by Kühner II 779. Hartung quotes Catullus, as cited by Quint. 9, 3, 16: *dum intacta (innupta) manet, dum cara suis est*, and translates—'die Weile (so long) sie unberührt bleibt, die Weile (so long) ist sie den Ihrigen lieb.' The indifference of *dum* here is clearly due to the coextensiveness of the action. This is not true of *πρίν*. Take the following sentence in which we have *prius* twice. *Prius quam istam pugnam pugnabo, ego etiam prius dabo aliam pugnam*. Plaut. Pseud. 524. Do away with that little *quam*, and how are you to elicit the sense desiderated from *prius istam pugnam pugnabo, prius dabo aliam pugnam*? Evidently this will not work. Kühner translates Il 481: οὐδέ τις ἔτλη πρίν πίειν πρίν λείψαι ὑπερμένει Κρονίωνι 'und Niemand wagte *ehe* zu trinken, *ehe* liess er u. s. w., Where did the 'liess' come from? Zeugma from ἔτλη? A 97

temporal particles may be seen in Engl. *rather*, *sooner*, *before*, and Germ. *ehe(r)*, *bevor*. In *rather* the preferential significance has long excluded the temporal, in *sooner*, with which comp. Lat. *citius*, it has gained ground, while *before* is prevalently temporal. In German *bevor* is strictly temporal, *eher* must be used when preference is indicated, sometimes both are combined. (Compare *πρίν*—*πρίν*). If such a flattening of the final sense of the dative infinitive be allowed, we might save either the leap in construction or the merging of form—both hazardous hypotheses. Still we have to confront the fact that in the earliest time of which we know anything the dat. sense of the inf. was obscured to the Greek feeling, and *πρίν* may have been a daring experiment, which succeeded, while others failed. So *forto* in English with the inf. has held its own, if not in current literature yet in vulgar speech; while 'ayenst to conforme' and 'without to wyll' and the others cited by Dr. Fitzedward Hall in the last number of this Journal (p. 295) were failures like *ἀντί* w. inf. When we have to deal with such a form as the infinitive, we must be on the lookout for such experiments. The history of the Romance languages shows similar attempts. Who believes that the Romans ever combined all their prepositions with the gerund? In French, Italian, Spanish, only a few prepositional combinations remain out of a number which was never large. In German we have only *um zu* (final), *anstatt zu* (*ἀντί*), *ohne zu* (negative). Hence I have used the word 'experiment' and not the word 'survival,' which seems to belong more properly to the persistence of an organic form.

which K. cites is still worse: οὐδ' ὁ γε πρὶν λοιμοῖο βαρείας κήρας ἀφέξει πρὶν γ(ε) . . . δόμεναι, where δόμεναι will have to depend on the notion of 'consent' involved in the refusal of the other person. Parataxis has solved some of the hardest problems in syntax. Here it fails utterly and must fail because the infinitive is, by virtue of its origin, dependent, subordinate. Assumption of a prepositional combination is simplicity itself in comparison. Meierheim thinks that πρὶν has no influence on the sense of the infinitive. Herzog (ap. Capelle) suggests that there is an ellipsis of 'es soll kommen.' This would not be true even as a translation in many instances. The notion of destiny and obligation can be evoked at will from the infinitive. So even with the articular infinitive. Hence πρὶν ἐλθεῖν = πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν = πρὸ τοῦ δεῖν ἐλθεῖν. But the elliptical theory is naught. Herzog's view by the way does not differ essentially from Kühner's. K. translates: πολλοὶ ἀνθρώποι πρότερον ἀποθνήσκουσι πρὶν δῆλοι γενέσθαι οἳ οἱ ἦσαν by *prius moriuntur quam ut fieri possit ut appareat quales fuerint. Ut fieri possit ut* should have been buried with Gottfried Hermann. Capelle himself thinks that πρὶν worked its way into a quasi-preposition, and then—thanks to the changed nature of the infinitive and to the bridge of πρὶν γ' ὅτε,—into a conjunction. If πρὶν γ' ὅτε is a bridge, the bridge is in the accus. (comp. ἔστε for ἐς ὅτε, which, however, I doubt), and the infinitive is in the accusative likewise, which would be in accordance with the degradation of prepositional combinations in later Greek. Delbrück, in his *Grundlagen* s. 124, simply refers to Capelle.

I shall now proceed to give a conspectus of the usage of the Attic orators in regard to πρὶν. The collection of the examples cited is due to the diligence of the students in my Greek Seminarium who divided the work among themselves.¹ The basis of the arrangement was furnished by an article on πρὶν which I prepared some months since for another purpose. In preparing that article I had felt the need of such a conspectus, and as I had noted most of the passages in the orators for my own satisfaction, I was glad to secure the means of completing and rectifying my own

¹ The members of the Seminary and other students, who joined in the search, are Messrs. Alexander, Bevier, Burgess, Fleming, Gjellum, Harding, Nicolassen, Seelye, Short, Spieker, C. M. and W. J. Tidball. Mr. E. S. Burgess has done me the great service of comparing the references with my hand edition of the orators, and has in this way secured greater correctness and gained additional examples from my marginal notes.

results. The work of collection is much more difficult than might be supposed, and requires keener vision than most unpractised students possess, and I dare not be confident that no example has escaped. Still it is hoped that as a preliminary survey this conspectus will be of service. Under each head I have given a brief statement of the facts as to the Greek use generally, which is followed by the statistic of oratorical usage, and to facilitate the general view I have prefixed the following table :

I. *Πρὶν* with infinitive.

A. Aorist :

1. After positive clauses.
2. After negative clauses.

B. Present :

C. Perfect :

II. *Πρὶν* with finite verb.

A. Indicative :

1. Aorist.

a. After negative clauses :

(1) of facts, (2) of unrealities.

b. After positive clauses.

2. Imperfect.

B. Subjunctive (after negative clauses only) :

1. Aorist.

2. Present.

C. Optative :

1. Aorist.

D. Optative with *ἄν*.

I. *Πρὶν* with Inf.

This is the typical construction, *πρὶν ἔλθεῖν* = (the much later) *πρὸ τοῦ ἔλθεῖν* 'before coming.' It is the reigning combination in Hom., who employs it after positive and negative clauses alike. In Attic it is more frequently found after positive clauses, and is necessary there when the action does not take place or is not to take place (= *ὥστε μή*). The tense is regularly the aor. on account of the negative sense (*οὔπω, μήπω*).

A. AORIST :

1. The correlated clause positive.

The leading clause is positive in : *ναίε δὲ Πηδαιον πρὶν ἔλθεῖν υἱας Ἀχαιῶν* Il. 13, 172, cf. 8, 453 ; 16, 322, Od. 1, 210, etc. ; *Ζεὺς δλέσειε*

βίην πρὶν ἡμῖν πῆμα φυτεῦσαι Od. 4, 668, etc., cf. Il. 6, 465; 24, 245, Pind. Pyth. 2, 92. 3, 9, Nem. 8, 19, Hdt. 6, 119, Aesch. Pers. 712, Ag. 1539, Suppl. 38, Sept. 63. 285, etc., Soph. Antig. 120, Trach. 396, etc., Eur. Alc. 281, Andr. 268, H. F. 936, etc., Ar. Eq. 258, Vesp. 1325, Plut. 376, etc., Thuc. 1, 125, 2, Xen. An. 4, 1, 7, etc., Plat. Protag. 350 A.

In the Orators:

Antiphon: (*φθάνωσι*) 1, 29; 2, β, 3¹; 5, 40; 5, 67; 5, 76; 6, 37.

Andokides: 1, 67; (*πρότερον*) 1, 89; [4], 5.

Lysias: 7, 9; 12, 17; (*πρῶτον*) 13, 17; 13, 52; (*πρότερον*) 16, 4; 19, 7; 19, 42; 19, 51; 20, 31; 23, 15; 26, 3; (*πρότερον*) 30, 3; fr. 18, 1.

Isokrates: (*πρότερον*) 3, 17; (*πρότερον*) 4, 37; (*φθῆναι*) 4, 87; 4, 116; 4, 141; (*ἔφθητε*) 5, 7; (*πρότερον*) 5, 70 (really positive); 6, 26 (*bis*); (*πρότερον πρὶν ἢ*?) 6, 86; 8, 52; 8, 74; (*τυχὸν ἂν φθάσειε*) 8, 120; 8, 126; 9, 49; 9, 64; (*πρότερον*) 12, 205; 12, 250; 14, 21; (*πρότερον*) 15, 274; 16, 15; 17, 30; 18, 39; 18, 45; 20, 14.

Isaios: 1, 31; (*πρότερον*) 2, 19; 2, 42; 3, 10; 3, 36; 3, 38; 5, 9; 5, 44; 6, 13; 6, 38; 8, 8; 9, 3; 9, 24; (*πρότερον*) 9, 32; 11, 10; 11, 22.

Deinarchos: 2, 12; 2, 24.

Aischines: 1, 192; 1, 195; 2, 61; (*πρότερον πρὶν ἢ*?) 2, 132; 2, 135; 2, 140; 2, 147; 3, 12; (*πρὶν ἢ*) 3, 25; 3, 77; 3, 85; 3, 131; 3, 219; 3, 235.

Demosthenes 3, 2; (*πρότερον*) [7], 28; 8, 6; [10], 11; [17], 7; 18, 30; 18, 50; 18, 169; 18, 224; 19, 2; 19, 41; 19, 79; 19, 155; 19, 155; 19, 230; 19, 266; 20, 145; 21, 82; 21, 226; 30, 28; 30, 30; (*πρὶν ἢ*) 33, 34; 34, 35; 34, 41; (*πρὶν ἢ*) 35, 3; 37, 59; 39, 5; 39, 29; 44, 35; 44, 36; 44, 38; 44, 41; [46], 24; [47], 28; (*πρότερον*) 48, 46; 53, 11; 55, 3; 55, 14 (parallel with *πρότερον ἢ*); 55, 23; 57, 27 (really pos.); (*πρότερον*) [59], 51; (*φθάνουσιν*) [59], 100, [59], 109.

I omit the *προοίμια* in which all the occurrences depend on positives except *πρ. ε*: *μηδὲν . . . οἴεσθαι πρότερον γινώσκειν πρὶν μαθεῖν*.

2. The correlated clause negative.

The leading clause is negative in: *οὐδ' ὅ γε πρὶν Δαναοῖσιν ἀεικέα*

¹ The dash under the references denotes that the *πρὶν* clause precedes.

λοιγὸν ἀπόσει πρὶν γ' ἀπὸ πατρὶ φίλῳ δόμεναι ἐλικώπιδα κούρην II. 1, 97; 19, 423, etc., Od. 2, 127; 4, 747, etc. In post-Homeric Greek this construction is not so common, the negative antecedent generally suggesting a finite construction, fulfilled, unfulfilled, or anticipated (οὐ πρότερον πρὶν = οὐ πρότερον ἕως, cf. Lys. 12, 71; 25, 26; Isokr. 17, 12; Plat. Phaedo 59 E). Still the infinitive is found, especially when there is a marked contrast between 'before' and 'after' and in connection with verbs of fear as in Soph. Tr. 632, Eur. fr. 462 (N.), and unfulfilled conditions as in Eur. Alc. 362, cf. Rhés. 61; so after a negatived opt. with ἄν (though here subj. with ἄν is an alternative construction), οὕτω γὰρ γένοιτ' ἄν οὐδ' ἄν ἐκβασίς στρατοῦ πρὶν ὄρμῃ ναῶν θρασυνθῆναι Aesch. Suppl. 773, cf. Plat. Legg. 6, 769 E:—so after a past tense (orat. obliq.), ὤμωσαν μὴ πρὶν ἐς Φώκαιαν ἤξειν πρὶν ἢ τὸν μύθρον τοῦτον ἀναφανῆναι Hdt. 1, 165, cf. 4, 9, Thuc. 7, 50, 4, cf. 5, 10, 3, Xen. Hell. 6, 5, 23, Cyr. 8, 1, 38, Plat. Phaedo 61 A. Notice also the passages in which πρὶν precedes, πρὶν ἰδεῖν δ' οὐδεὶς μάντις Soph. Ai. 1418. The opt. is not a favorite, and the inf., which has an analogous use, is often employed instead.

These passages are comparatively so uncommon in the orators that it will require no great space to quote the text. The infinitive is necessary, as I have said, whether the correlated clause be negative or positive if the notion is only and necessarily 'before' and not 'until.'

Andokides: 1, 43: ὅπως μὴ πρότερον νύξ ἔσται πρὶν πυθέσθαι τοὺς ἀνδρῆς ἅπαντας. The positive (the coming of night) is the thing feared. The conception is not ἕως ἄν πύθωνται, but rather ὥστε μὴ πυθέσθαι.

[4], 8: πρὶν μὲν γὰρ χρεῖσθαι οὐ βῆδιον(ῆν) εἰδέναι τὰς αἰτίας οὐτ' εἰ ψευδεῖς εἰσιν οὐτ' εἰ ἀληθεῖς ἀποφυγόντος δὲ κτέ.—πρὶν precedes: sharp contrast between 'before' and 'after,' ἀποφυγόντος being equivalent to ἐπειδὴν δὲ τις ἀποφύγῃ.

Lysias 19, 28: Ἀριστοφάνει πρὶν τὴν ναυμαχίαν νικῆσαι οὐδὲν ἦν ἀλλ' ἢ χωρίδιον μικρὸν Ῥαμνούντι. πρὶν precedes. The 'until' formula was not present to the mind of the speaker. Besides πρὶν . . . ἐνίκησεν=ἕως ἐνίκησεν might have suggested that Aristophanes became rich afterwards, whereas the object of the speaker is to prove that οὐ κατέλειπε Ἀριστοφάνης ἀργύριον οὐδὲ χρυσίον.

19, 55: οὕτε . . . ὥφθην οὐδεπώποτε πρὶν ταύτην τὴν συμφορὰν γενέσθαι, where the indicative might have been employed.

Fr. 18, 2: καὶ γὰρ Ἀρμυδίῳ καὶ Ἀριστογείτονι οὐδὲν πρότερον ὑπῆρχε γενναῖον πρὶν γενναῖόν τι πράξαι.

Isokrates 5, 70: *ὅταν . . . δεδῶσι μὴ πρότερόν τι πάθῃς πρὶν τέλος ἐπιπείναι*, not 'until,' but 'before.'

20, 14: *οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἐστὶν αἰσθῆσθαι πρὶν κακῶς τινος παθεῖν ὑπ' αὐτῶν* (where *πρὶν ἄν* with subj. would be more usual; still there is a strong contrast to 'after,' *ἐπειδὴν γνωρισθῶσι*).

Isaios 5, 21: *οὐδὲ γὰρ πρὶν ἡττηθῆναι εἶχεν ὧν ἡμεῖς δικαζόμεθα*—where the whole statement *πρὶν ἡττηθῆναι εἶχεν* is denied. 4, 15: *ἐκ τίνος ἂν τρόπου . . . γνῶντε* (= *οὐκ ἂν γνῶντε*) *πρὶν περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ διαθῆσθαι πιστεῦσαι*; the inf. where the less usual opt. would be the theoretical construction.

Lycurg. 135: *πρὶν μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο πράξαι Λεωκράτην ἄδηλον ἦν ὁποῖοι τινες ὄντες ἐτόγγανον, νῦν δὲ κτέ*, where the contrast is to be noted.

Aischines: Only in the Letters 4, 1; *οὐδ' ἄπει πρὶν μακρὰς ἀκοῦσαι διηγήσεως*.

Demosthenes 3, 12: *πρὶν δὲ ταῦτα πράξαι μὴ σκοπεῖτε* (*πρίν* precedes).

3, 13: *πρὶν δὲ ταῦτα εὐτρεπίσαι — μηδέν' ἀξιῶντε*.

5, 15: *καὶ μοι μὴ θορυβήσῃ πρὶν ἀκοῦσαι*.

19, 165: *οὐδὲ βαδίζειν προσῆκε πρὶν ἐλθεῖν τὸν κήρυκα* (where *ἐλθαι* would have been unusual, and *ἦλθε* with *προσῆκε* might have produced a wrong impression. Comp. 20, 96).

23, 187: *οὐδ' ὅλως πρότερον πρὶν τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦτ' ἐγενέσθαι λόγον ἐποιήσαμην οὐδένα*.

30, 33: *αὕτη ἡ γυνὴ πρὶν ὥς Ἀφροβὸν ἐλθεῖν μίαν ἡμέραν οὐκ ἐχῆρευσεν* (where *ἔως ἦλθεν* would not give the required sense).

[58], 63: *πρὶν προσελθεῖν πρὸς ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ἔχοντες, νῦν εὐποροῦντες οὐδὲ χάριν ἡμῖν ἔχουσιν*.

B. PRESENT.

The Inf. pres. gives a special sense of continuance, effort, or the like, 'before undertaking to,' 'proceeding to,' *πρὶν ἐξυπλῖξειν Ἄρη* Aesch. Suppl. 702, cf. Ag. 1026; *πρὶν νῦν τὰ πλείον' ἱστορεῖν . . . ἔξελθε* Soph. O. C. 36, 37, cf. El. 20; *πρὶν κλάειν* Eur. Andr. 577, cf. Or. 1095; *πρὶν λέγειν* Ar. Thesm. 380, cf. Ach. 383, 384; also Hdt. 8, 3, Thuc. 3, 24, 2, Xen. Cyr. 2, 4, 25, etc., Comm. 1, 2, 40.

Not often in the orators:

Antiphon 5, 25: *πρὶν ἀνάγεσθαι με εἰς τὴν Αἴνον—οὐδεὶς ᾔτιάσατό με ἀνθρώπων*. The *πρίν* clause precedes. Notice the *πρὶν ἄγειν*, cited from Homer A 97 (p. 467).

Andokides [4], 1: *πρότερον χαλεπὸν ἡγούμην πρὶν τῶν κοινῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τινος*.

Lysias 13, 81: *πρὶν εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ὁ μὲν Αἰσιμὸς αἰσθάνεται*.

Isokrates 4, 157: ἀρὰς ποιῶνται πρὶν ἄλλο τι χρηματίζειν. 8, 40: καταγέλαστον ἐστὶ . . . τοὺς λόγους ἀποδοκιμάζειν πρὶν εἰδέναι (=pres.). 15, 75: εἶπον δέ που πρὶν ἀναγινώσκεισθαι τούτους.

Aischines 1, 116: συνῆστε μὲν καὶ πρὶν ἐμὲ λέγειν. 2, 92: πόσαι: πρότερον ἡμέραις ἀπώλεσε τὴν ἀρχὴν πρὶν ἐμὲ ἀπέναι—πρὶν ἐμὲ ἐξορμᾶν οἰκοθεν ἀπωλώλει. 3, 73: τοῦτ' ἐπραξαν . . . πρὶν ἐπὶ τὴν ὑστέραν ἀπαίρειν πρεσβείαν Δημοσθένην.

Demosthenes 21, 162: πρὶν καὶ προέδρους καθίξασθαι, παρελθὼν ἐπέδωκεν. 39, 23: πρὶν ἡμέτερος φάσκειν συγγενῆς εἶναι . . . ἐφοίτα. 53, 28: πρὶν ὀφείλειν τῷ δημοσίῳ ὁ Ἀρεθοῦσιος ὡμολογεῖτο τῶν ἀδελφῶν εὐπορώτατος εἶναι. [59], 78: ἐξορκοὶ τὰς γεραιράς . . . πρὶν ἄπτεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν. [59], 90: κελεύει . . . ὁ νόμος . . . τὴν ψῆφον διδύναμι προσιόντι τῷ δήμῳ πρὶν τοὺς ξένους εἰσιέναι—comp. πρὶν εἰσιέναι Lys. 13, 81).

The present infinitive in these passages can readily be appreciated. If translation is a test, the renderings above recommended will apply.

C. PERFECT:

If there were no essential difference between aor. and perf. inf. as Bäumlein maintains, πρὶν with the perf. inf. ought to occur more frequently, but, on the contrary, it is rare. I find only the following examples recorded in the collections made:

Lys. 6, 11: πρὶν ἢ (?) ἐπιδεδημηκέναι δέκα ἡμέρας ἐν τῇ πόλει προσεκαλέσατο.

Isaios 7, 27: πρὶν ἤκειν=perf. Comp. Hdt. 6, 116; Thuc. 5, 10, 3.

Aischines 3, 116: χρυσᾶς ἀσπίδας ἀνέθεμεν πρὸς τὸν καινὸν νεῶν πρὶν ἐξειργάσθαι (v. l.).

Dem. 51, 5: πρὶν γὰρ ἤφθαι μόνον τῆς τριήρους τούτους ἐπεπλήρωτό μοι. 53, 13: πρὶν ἐξήκειν τὰς ἡμέρας.

In all such passages οὐπω with the pluperfect would be the natural equivalent.

II. Πρὶν with the finite verb.

A. INDICATIVE:

The tense of the indicative is chiefly aor. Hom. does not combine πρὶν directly with the ind. (unless we count Hymn. Apoll. 357), but uses instead πρὶν γ' ὅτε, πρὶν γ' ὅτε δή, after positive and negative clauses. Posit., ἡλώμην . . . πρὶν γ' ὅτε . . . ἤγαγες Od. 13, 322; ἔχον πρὶν γ' ὅτε δή με . . . κάλεσεν 23, 44,

cf. Il. 12, 437:—negat., οὐδέ κεν ἡμέας ἄλλο διέχρινεν . . . πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ θανάτοιο . . . νέφος ἀμφοχάλυψεν Od. 4, 180. The imperf. occurs, οὐδ' ὥς τοῦ θυμὸν . . . ἔπειθον πρίν γ' ὅτε δὴ θάλαμος πύκα βάλλετο (*began to be hit*) Il. 9, 587.

1. Aor.

(a.) After negative clauses:

(1) of a fact in the past, οὐκ ἦν ἀλέξην' οὐδὲν . . . πρίν γ' ἐγὼ σφίσιν ἔδειξα Aesch. Pr. 478 sqq.; οὐ πρότερον ἀπανάστη . . . Μαρδόνιος πρίν ἢ σφεας ὑποχειρίους ἐποίησατο Hdt. 6, 45, cf. c. 79; ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς . . . ἤξιωσαν νεώτερόν τι ποιεῖν ἐς αὐτόν . . . πρίν γε δὴ αὐτοῖς μηνυτὴς γίγνεται (Hist. pr.=aor.) Thuc. 1, 132, cf. 3, 101; 5, 61, Ar. Av. 700, Xen. Cyr. 1, 4, 23; 4, 5, 13, (Hist. pr.), etc., Hell. 5, 4, 58, etc.

In the Orators:

Lys. 3, 7: οὐ πρότερον ἠθέλησεν ἀπελθεῖν πρίν αὐτόν . . . ἐξήλασαν (οὐ πρότερον . . . ἕως occurs 12, 71 and 25, 26).

Isokrates 4, 89: οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο πρίν ἐξεῦρε κτέ. So also 4, 181; 8, 68; 9, 32; 12, 83; 12, 91; 12, 158; 12, 231; 12, 256; 15, 11; 15, 318; 16, 5. In 12, 83 he has οὐκ ἀπέειπε . . . πρίν, in 12, 256 οὐκ ἀπειπεῖν . . . πρίν, in 15, 11 οὐκ ἀπέστην πρίν, in all the others οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσατο πρίν or an equivalent. Isokrates was not the man to leave a good balance unused. (For οὐ πρότερον ἕως see 17, 12.)

Isaios frag. 13, 1: οὐ πρότερον ἀφῆκε πρίν τριάχοντα δραχμὰς ἐπράξατο.

Lykurgos 128: οὐ πρότερον ἀπῆλθον πρίν ἢ (?) τῷ λιμῷ ἀπέχτειναν.

Demosthenes 8, 65 (cf. [10], 67): οὐκ ἦν ἐν θήβαις ἀσφαλὲς πρίν τὴν Βυιωτίαν ἀπέδωκε. Cf. [17], 20: οὐ πρότερον πρίν (οὐδ'?)

(2) As an integral part of an unreal condition and the like, οὐκ ἂν ἐσεψάμεθα πρότερον . . . πρίν ἐζητήσαμεν Plat. Meno 86 D, cf. Theaetet. 165 E.

So with χρῆν μὴ . . .

Isokrates 4, 19: ἐχρῆν μὴ πρότερον . . . συμβουλεύειν πρίν (πρίν ἢ Γ) ἡμᾶς . . . ἐδίδαξαν.

Demosthenes 20, 96: χρῆν τοῖνυν Λεπτινήν μὴ πρότερον τιθέναι τὸν, ἑαυτοῦ νόμον πρίν τοῦτον ἔλυσε γραψάμενος.

(b.) After positive clauses:

Examples are to be found in Soph. O. R. 775; Eur. Hec. 132 Med. 1173; Thuc. 7, 71, 5, etc. On the cryptonegative and the invariable 'until' see above, p. 469.

I have but one noted in the orators.

Aischines 1, 64: προσεπολέμει Ἀριστοφῶντι (=οὐκ ἐπαύσατο προσπολεμῶν Ἀ.) πρὶν αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἡπείλησεν ἐπαγγελίαν κτέ.

2. Imperfect.

This is rare, as also *ἕως until* with imperf. indic. There is a notion of overlapping.

Antiphon 1, 19: οὐπω γὰρ ἤδεις ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς τῆς ἐμῆς ἐξαπαταμένην πρὶν ἐν τῷ κακῷ ἤδη ἦν.

Isaios 5, 7: οὐδεὶς ἠξίωσε πρὶν οὕτως . . . ἡμφισβήτει.

Demosthenes 9, 61: οὐ πρότερον ἐτόλμησεν οὐδεὶς ῥῆξαι φωνὴν πρὶν πρὸς τεῖχιν προσήεσαν (began to approach).

In [Andok.] 4, 17: καὶ οὐ πρότερον ἀπηλλάγη πρὶν ἀποδράς ὥχρετο τετάρτῃ μηνί, the imperf. is only a *pro forma* imperf. and the real notion is ἀπέδρα.

B. SUBJUNCTIVE¹:

The subjunctive is used after negatives or equiv. of neg. only, οὐ πρὶν = ἕως, ἢν μὴ. The notion is distinctly conditional (cf. Isokr. 4, 173, where πρὶν ἄν varies with ἢν μὴ). Hom. has πρὶν with subj. οὐ καταδυσόμεθ', ἀχνύμενοί περ . . . πρὶν μόρσιμον ἦμαρ ἐπέλθῃ Od. 10, 174, 175; μὴ πω καταδύσειο . . . πρὶν γ' ἐμὲ . . . ἴδῃαι Il. 18, 135, cf. v. 190 (half quotation of v. 135), 24, 78. (In Il. 17, 506, πρὶν κε w. subj., according to the best MSS., follows an inf. after a negat.) Also πρὶν γ' ὅτ' ἄν: ἀλλ' ὁμοσον μὴ μητρὶ φίλῃ τάδε μολήσασθαι, πρὶν γ'

¹ Hermann opusc. III 179 seqq. asks the question why we can say οὐ ποιήσω πρὶν ἂν κελεύσῃς and cannot say ποιήσω πρὶν ἂν κελεύσῃς, although either ποιήσω or οὐ ποιήσω πρὶν κελεύσαι is correct. Πρὶν κελεύσαι, he says, is equivalent to πρὸ τοῦ κελεύσαι, and whether the action happens or not, it is certain that it is done or not done before the order. But ποιήσω πρὶν ἂν κελεύσῃς would mean 'faciam prius, quam quo tempore tu mandaveris, quod nescio an sis unquam mandaturus.' And this is seriously quoted in a Jena dissertation of 1878 by Karl Finsterwalder (de coniunctivi et optativi . . . usu Aeschineo p. 26) with the remark *optime disputavit Hermannus*, and is given as a valid reason for the exclusion of πρὶν ἂν with the subj. after positive sentences. *Quod nescio an sit unquam* and the rest would apply perfectly well to πρὶν with the inf., in which, so far as the language goes, the realization of the infinitive is left in perfect suspense. Is it necessary to repeat that language settles into certain grooves of expression? Theoretically you might have πρὶν ἂν after a positive sentence. There is no logic against it, any more than there is against ὅτε or ἐπειδὴ with the fut. ind. In later Greek πρὶν ἢ with the subj. is common enough after affirmative sentences. But it could not be made to mean any more that πρὶν with the inf., which admits the negative conditional notion (ὥστε, ἐφ' ᾧ μὴ) although it does not demand it.

δὲ ἂν ἐνδεκάτῃ τε δυωδεκάτῃ τε γένηται Od. 2, 373. 374, cf. 4, 475. 477. In Prose the rule is *πρίν ἂν*, but the simple *πρίν* is found; as also *πρίν ἤ* (often in Hdt.) Editors often correct in Attic writers.

1. Aorist.

This is the reigning tense. The action in the dependent clause is to happen before the action in the leading clause, which is usu. in fut. ind. or some equivalent such as universal present, imv., subj., opt. w. *ἂν* (*repraesentatio* after past tenses is also common), οὐ γαμέται παρθένος οὐδεμία πρίν ἂν τῶν πολεμίων ἄνδρα ἀποκτείνῃ Hdt. 4, 117; cf. 1, 82; 3, 109, etc.; νῦν δ' οὐδέν ἐστι τέρμα μοι προκειμένον. μόχθων (= οὐ παύσομαι) πρίν ἂν Ζεὺς ἐκπέσῃ τυραννίδος Aesch. Pr. 756, cf. 166, 176, etc.; οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἔξει τῇσδε τῆς χώρας πρίν ἂν . . στήσῃς ἄγων Soph. O. C. 909, cf. 47. 1041, O. R. 1529, etc.; οὐκ ἂν ἐκμάθοις . . πρίν ἂν θάνῃ τις Trach. 2; οὐκ ἄπειμι πρὸς δόμους πάλιν, πρίν ἂν σε . . ἔξω βάλλω Eur. Med. 276, cf. 680, Alc. 1145 sqq., I. A. 324, I. T. 19, 1302, etc.; μὴ προκαταγίγνωσκ(ε) . . πρίν ἂν γ' ἀκούσῃς ἀμφυτέρων Ar. Vesp. 919 sq., cf. Ach. 176, 230, etc., Xen. Hiero 6, 13, Cyr. 1, 2, 8, An. 1, 1, 10; 5, 7, 12, Plat. Phaedr. 228 C, Laches 187 E, etc.

The following are the occurrences in the orators:

Andok. 1, 7: οὐχ οἷόν τε ὁμᾶς εἰδέναι πρίν ἂν καὶ ἐμοῦ ἀκούσητε ἀπολογουμένους.

Lys. 19, 5: εἰκὸς μήπω ἡγεῖσθαι πιστοὺς πρίν ἂν καὶ ἡμεῖς εἴπωμεν. Also 22, 4 with *πρότερον* preceding.

Isokrates 5, 86: δεῖ γάρ μηδὲν πρότερον πράττειν πρίν ἂν λάβῃ τις. Also 1, 24; 4, 16; 4, 173; (*πρότερον*) 5, 88; (*πρότερον*) 8, 26; (*πρότερον*) 12, 152; (*πρότερον*) 14, 18; 15, 17; 15, 290.

Aischines 1, 145: ἀπόμνησι μηδὲν τούτων πράξειν πρίν τὴν τοῦ Ἑκτορος κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Πατρόκλου τάφον ἐνέγκῃ. Also: (*πρότερον*) 2, 2; 3, 26; (no *ἂν*) 3, 60; (*πρότερον*) 3, 235.

Hypereid. pro Euxenipp. 20 has πρίν ἐξετάσωσιν where some editors would read πρίν ἂν.

Demosthenes 2, 27: φημὶ δὴ δεῖν—μηδὲν αἰτιᾶσθαι πρίν ἂν τῶν πραγμάτων κρατήσητε. So 4, 41; 8, 61 = [10] 63; [13], 14; 23, 29; 23, 80; (*πρότερον*) 23, 179; 38, 24.

2. Present.

The pres. subj. is comparatively rare. The actions overlap, or there are special reasons, μήπω πρίν ἂν τῶν ἡμετέρων αἰγῆς (no aor. in Attic) μύθων Soph. Phil. 1409; Xen. Cyr. 2, 2, 8; Plat. Phaedr. 271 C.

Aischines 1, 10: ὁ νομοθέτης τὰ διδασκαλεῖα ἀνοίγειν ἀπαγορεύει μὴ πρότερον πρίν ἂν ὁ ἥλιος ἀνίσχῃ (antithesis πρὸ ἡλίου δεδυκτός).

Demosthenes [10] 29: ὑμεῖς τοίνυν οὐκ ἀκούειν πρὶν ἂν ὥσπερ νῦν αὐτὰ παρ᾽ τὰ πράγματα . . . εἰώθατε where the ὥσπερ νῦν has its influence.

Omission of ἂν in Antiphon 1, 29: οὐδὲν ἴσασιν πρὶν γ' ἤδη ἐν αὐτῷ ὥσι τῷ κακῷ.

C. OPTATIVE:

Πρὶν with Opt. (1) represents subj. after historical tenses, οὐκ ἔθελεν φεύγειν πρὶν πειρήσασθαι Ἀχιλλῆος Il. 21, 580; πρὶν γ' ὅτε, as with subj., 9, 488; ἔδοξε μοι μὴ σίγα πρὶν φράσαιμί σοι | τὸν πλοῦν ποιῆσθαι Soph. Phil. 551, Thuc. 3, 22, 8; Xen. Cyr. 1, 4, 14; Hell. 6, 5, 19 (cf. 2, 4, 18), An. 1, 2, 2; Plat. Apol. 36 C; Legg. 3, 678 D. (2) by assimilation, (α) after pure opt., ὅλοιο μήπω πρὶν μάθοιμι Soph. Phil. 960, Trach. 655. (β) after opt. with ἂν: οὐκ ἂν πρότερον ὀρμήσειε πρὶν βεβαιώσασθαι Plat. Legg. 7, 799 D.

Πρὶν with opt. seems to be little used in the orators. In the collections before me I find only:

Isokrates 9, 63; εἰθισμένων τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον μὴ διαλλάττεσθαι τοῖς ἀποστᾶσι πρὶν κύριοι γένοιτο τῶν σωματῶν. 16, 5: οὐχ ἡγούνητ' οὐδὲν οἰοί τ' εἶναι κινεῖν τῶν καθεστώτων πρὶν ἐκποδῶν ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς γένοιτο.

D. OPTATIVE AND ἂν:

Πρὶν ἂν with opt. is rare and doubtful. Where it is not an error of the copyist, the ἂν is held over from the original form of *oratio recta*.

Antiphon 5, 34: ἀπαγορευόντων τῶν φίλων τῶν ἐμῶν μὴ ἀποκτείνειν τὸν ἄνδρα πρὶν ἂν (?) ἐγὼ ἔλθοιμι (ο. γ. πρὶν ἂν ἐκείνος ἔλθῃ); cf. Xen. Hell. 2, 3, 48. 4, 18; this was to be expected in the liveliness of spoken Greek.

On reviewing the usage of the orators in regard to *πρὶν* we can hardly fail to notice a certain crystallization. It is true that the fundamental construction with the infinitive is used occasionally with negative sentences that might have assumed the finite form, but the exceptions weigh little in comparison with the whole number, and we are far from the Homeric freedom, much nearer the scenic norm. *Πρὶν* with the infin. after affirmative sentences is the rule. *Πρὶν* with the indicative after affirmative sentences, which occurs in Sophokles, Euripides and Thukydides, appears, if I may trust my collections, only once, and that in the play-actor Aischines. Perfect infinitive and present infinitive are rare and carefully used,

and there seems to me little good warrant for *πρίν* ἢ or the omission of *ἄν*. **Ἄν* in temporal sentences of limit (*ἕως, ἕσπε, μέχρι; οὐδ' πρίν, μή πρίν*) may be omitted, as a survival of an older construction, just as we use *de* instead of *is* where there is an element of purpose; but in prose this omission should be suffered very charily. *Ἦ* *πρίν* ἢ is so common in later Greek that one suspects the copyists. Of individual peculiarities in the handling there is not much to say. Demosthenes does not seem to use the particle as much as might have been expected, but all statistics of this sort are full of surprises. Where he does use it he uses it simply, while Isokrates in his more formal orations treats *πρότερον—πρίν* as he does everything, in the interest of his aesthetic seesaw and fastidious rhythm. There is more masculinity in the abruptness which characterizes Lysias' usage; but I do not wish to refine too much. Nothing is more attractive than ethical results to the syntactical investigator, nothing more 'putid' to the looker-on.

B. L. GILDERSLEEVE.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

ENGLISCHE PHILOGIE, Anleitung zum wissenschaftlichen Studium der englischen Sprache. Von JOHAN STORM, ord. Professor der romanischen und englischen Philologie an der Universität Christiania. Vom Verfasser für das deutsche Publikum bearbeitet. I. Die lebende Sprache. Heilbronn, Gebr. Henninger, 1881. (pp. xvi, 468.)

This work is a revised and enlarged edition in German of the author's Swedish work published a few years ago, and so it appeals to a much wider circle of readers. It consists of preface, introduction, and the following chapters: I. Allgemeine Phonetik; II. Englische Aussprache; III. Wörterbücher; IV. Synonymik, Phraseologie, Praktische Hilfsmittel; V. Lektüre und Literaturstudium; VI. Literaturgeschichte; VII. Grammatik; and closes with Additions, and Indexes of Authors and Words.

In his preface the author says: "Auf die Phonetik, die Grundlage der neueren Sprachwissenschaft, habe ich ein besonderes Gewicht gelegt," which is manifest, as out of 424 pages, 112 are devoted to phonetics, and 10 of the 16 pages of Additions relate to this section. While welcoming all light thrown by this new science upon the problems of language, it is to be feared that phonetic specialists are pushing their specialty too far for ordinary philologists, as it is nowadays certainly given the lion's share. It is well to use moderation, and to remember that to be a first-class phonetist requires an exceedingly fine ear, which cannot be expected of most students of language; that phonetists themselves are not at one with respect to many sounds, and that the philological study of a language can be very thoroughly pursued without the immense labor required to master the nice distinctions of sounds, many of which cannot be mastered without a trained instructor, and often do not occur at all in the language under consideration.

The introduction gives a clear idea of the object of the work, which is "den Studirenden die besten und neuesten, nothwendigsten und zweckmässigsten Hilfsmittel zum philologischen Studium der englischen Sprache anzugeben"; and it seems that, following the example of Schmitz, a more accurate title for the work would have been "Encyclopädie des philologischen Studiums der englischen Sprache."

Phonetics preponderates in the introduction, and the author lays great stress upon the acquirement of an accurate pronunciation of any language, a very desirable accomplishment; but nine-tenths, if not ninety-nine hundredths, of our students pursue the study of a foreign language with a view to learning how to read it fluently so as to enjoy its literature, and to write it in case of need, by which means they acquire also a more thorough knowledge of its grammatical structure, but they never expect to speak the language, as they have no opportunity so to do.

The chapter on General Phonetics is a useful résumé of the works on this subject, with a detailed discussion of some of them. It notices the works of Rapp, Merkel, Brücke, Rumpelt, Lepsius, Helmholtz, Sievers, Trautmann, Bell, Ellis, Sweet, and Lundell, the last a Swedish phonetist, and discusses at length those of Sievers, *Grundzüge der Lautphysiologie*, and Sweet, *A Handbook of Phonetics*, the leaders in their respective countries of the modern phonetic school. The author takes exception to some of Brücke's statements, *e. g.* (p. 20), "englisches *a* in *man* identificirt [Brücke] mit deutschem *ä* und französischem *ê*, das er wieder von *ê* unterscheidet, von dem es in der That nur durch die Länge verschieden ist." Storm's exception to Brücke's view is correct certainly with respect to English *a*, but French *ê* in *bête* seems to an untrained ear to approach more nearly to *ê* in *idle* (Trautmann, p. 52), though more prolonged, than to *ê* in *père*, Sweet's *ε* mid-front-narrow rather than *æ* low-front-narrow. Storm again corrects Brücke (p. 23), and Sievers (p. 45), with respect to the sound of English sonant *th*, where they think they hear *dʒ*, a remarkable combination, importing German conceptions into English pronunciation, and rightly characterized by Sweet as "never heard by any Englishman," nor, I would add, by any American. Be it also remarked in passing that the *h* for *th*, as *I hink* for *I think*, noticed by Sweet (p. 45, note 1) and Sievers (p. 430), is altogether un-American,¹ and furnishes one more illustration, if any were needed, of the fact that the pronunciation of the English language is more corrupt in England itself than in the United States, notwithstanding the slur cast by Storm (p. 128): "Es gilt die englische Aussprache zu kennen, nicht die amerikanische." Storm rightly corrects Rumpelt also when he says (p. 30): "Der Laut des frz. *j* findet sich im Englischen nur in romanischen Wörtern wie *mansion*, *pretension*." When distinguished German phonetists make such blunders with respect to English pronunciation, how can we follow them? To Sievers's work is given nineteen pages and to Sweet's twenty-five. One of the most evident results of these examinations is that the English cannot pronounce French, for they are credited with pronouncing long *a* in *pâte*, *pas*, as *aw* (pp. 35, 59), short *a* in *patte* as *a* in *pat* (p. 35), and with various blunders in respect to the nasals. In his examination of Bell's work Storm says expressly: "Die Vokalqualität der französischen Nasenlaute richtig aufzufassen scheint für einen Engländer fast unmöglich zu sein" (p. 58); and with respect to the *aw*-pronunciation: "Auch die meisten englischen Phonetiker vermögen sich von diesem Eindruck nicht zu emancipiren" (p. 59). I am not aware that American phonetists, if such there be, make these blunders. Certainly to an untrained ear what Storm says about French sounds seems strictly correct, with the exception above noted. Storm misses in Sievers "eine bestimmte und scharfe Analyse der Vokale," which he finds in Sweet especially, and gives his table in full (p. 65). With respect to *r* Storm says (p. 39): "Nach Vokalen ist *r* den engl. Phonetikern zufolge zu blossen 'vocal murmur' herabgesunken," which is generally true, although in his *History of English Sounds*, Sweet does not represent accurately American pronunciation of *r*; but how Sievers can say, with Storm's approval, "Wörter wie *tried* für ein ungeübtes Ohr fast nicht von solchen wie *chide* zu

¹ Also "*ferv*" for "*fellow*" (p. 25, note 2) is never heard in this country, although "*feller*" is common enough.

unterschieden sind," is incomprehensible: certainly every educated American pronounces his *r* in that connection distinctly enough. Sievers claims in the text that English *t, d, r, l, n, sh*, are *cerebral* (*kakuminal*), although Sweet says expressly, "No supradentals in English," (p. 42), using "supradental" for "cerebral," as Storm explains in a note (p. 429), but this statement, at least with respect to *sh*, is corrected in a note by Sievers (p. 429).¹ The numerous notes at the foot of the page and in the Additions make the reading of this lengthy phonetic section very inconvenient and increase its difficulty, for as here we find statements made in the text which are corrected in the notes.

Storm closes his notice of Sievers's book with some commendatory remarks, but says (p. 50): "Ueberhaupt findet man bei den Deutschen ein zu starkes Theoretisiren, eine allzu abstrakte Behandlung ohne hinreichende faktische Grundlage," and supports this by Sweet's opinion: "The defect of German phonetics is that it is hardly practical enough"; and again, "The German treatment of the vowels is utterly inadequate—their phonetics break [breaks] down precisely at the most important point. Even Sievers's book shows no material advance on the antiquated division of the vowels." Sievers informs Storm (p. 427) that he is preparing a new edition of his work, "worin das Kapitel über Vokalbildung und manches andere wird gänzlich ungearbeitet werden," so that when phonetists have settled disputed points to their own satisfaction, I hope they will give us a brief, clear, and practical basis for the philological study of a language.

Sweet's work receives the greatest praise, but Storm thinks his list of sound-signs is hard to read and might be simplified to advantage. He devotes more space to a notice of it than of any other work. With respect to *u* in English *but*, Sweet's mid-back-narrow, he warns Germans (p. 64) against making it *ö*, which, he rightly says (p. 66), is a hard sound for the English; but he also warns (p. 431) against the false pronunciation "*bot*," "die zwar in Amerika [!], aber nicht in England gelten würde." This again is news, and the much-abused Americans must go to German works to learn the pronunciation which prevails in this country. Again, with respect to German *e* in *Gabe*, Sweet's mid-mixed-narrow (Storm's remarks on which deserve attention), Sweet says in a note (p. 432): "The *e* of *Gabe* occurs long in the American [!] pronunciation of 'earth' as (ëëp)." Now the ordinary *American* pronunciation of 'earth' to my ear is *irth*, *ir* as in '*bird*,' '*birth*,' Sweet's low-mixed-narrow. With respect to the *e* of *Gabe* Sievers is certainly right when he says (p. 432): "wir haben alle möglichen Varietäten der Aussprache des unbetonten *e*." This covers the whole ground, and I recollect well pronouncing to a German this *e* final as *u* in English *but* (Sweet's mid-back-narrow), which sound, to my ear, it most nearly approaches, and as close *e* in Frh. *et* (Sweet's mid-front-narrow), which sound I considered incorrect for it, although often heard, and both sounded alike to his ear, showing that an untrained ear does not make the distinction, thus confirming Sievers's remark, and confirming also Sweet's mid-mixed-narrow position for it, being intermediate between the two, but it does not correspond to "the *American* pronunciation of 'earth.'" Storm says with good judgment (p. 73): "die Abschätzung der Vokale bloss nach dem Gehör und subjectivem Gutdünken ist

¹ See also Sweet's note at foot of p. 429, with whom Storm agrees, but they do not use "supradental" in the same sense.

ein verlässener Standpunkt. Um über dieses primitive Stadium hinauszukommen musste man vorläufig vom akustischen Eindruck absehen und bloss auf den Mechanismus des Lauts Rücksicht nehmen. Aber Jedermann versteht, dass die Laute ohne ein scharfes und geübtes Ohr nicht genau unterschieden werden können." While the effort may be made to get rid of the ear and of subjective impressions, the last sentence shows that Storm realizes the difficulty, and it is hard to see how it can ever be avoided,—but phonetists must settle that.

With respect to the consonants, the ordinary American ear finds no "gutturality" in the *l* of *well* (p. 74), thus agreeing with Sweet vs. Storm, and to it the normal *l* is found as clear in English *bell* as in French *belle*. With respect to French syllabification and word-accent, the criticisms of Storm upon Sweet's view are well-sustained and seem justified by the facts of the case. We sometimes hear it said that French has no word-accent, but not, as Sweet, "the word-stress is generally on the first syllable." Storm says (p. 77): "Alle Romanisten sind aber jetzt darüber einig, dass der Wortaccent (*ictus*), wo er sich findet, auf der letzten sonoren Silbe liegt," and this certainly corresponds to the impression made upon "the ordinary American ear," however the English may pronounce French (see p. 81, note 3).

I can hardly agree with Sweet's remark in respect to the sound *h* (p. 83): "It is certain that if English had been left to itself, the sound *h* would have been as completely lost in the standard language as it has been in most of the dialects," or that the distinction between *house* and *'ouse* is "a comparatively slight one." There has been for centuries on this side of the water a large and increasing portion of the English-speaking people, amounting now to double the number in England itself, among whom this Cockney mis-pronunciation has never found a foothold, and to all appearances never will find one, for one marked characteristic of *American* pronunciation is that *h* is never misplaced, and there is no "natural tendency to drop the *h*," thus adding one more proof of the comparative purity of American pronunciation of English. The remarks of both Sweet and Nicol about *r* after a vowel (p. 84) apply with more force to American pronunciation, which in this respect more nearly resembles the English, the retention of strong *r*, accompanied as it often is by a nasal twang, being considered a dialectic peculiarity. Storm does not sympathize fully with Sweet's efforts for "Spelling Reform"; he says (p. 84, note 2): "Wenn man das Englische streng phonetisch schreiben wollte, würde es wegen der grossen Menge gleichlautender Wörter, verdunkelter Vokale und anderer phonetischen Eigenthümlichkeiten schwer genug zu lesen sein. Der Bruch mit dem Bestehenden würde so gewaltsam sein, dass er mit einer vollständigen Umwälzung gleichbedeutend, und die überlieferte Literatur dem Volk ein verschlossenes Buch sein würde. Es ist eine schwere Sache Orthographien wie die englische und die französische zu reformiren. Wenigstens wird es praktischer sein, die gewöhnliche Orthographie zu regeln, als eine ganz neue zu schaffen." While what Sweet says is strictly true, and English spelling needs reforming badly enough in all conscience, we commend to the careful consideration of ardent spelling reformers these judicious remarks of a foreigner, and would mildly suggest, *festina lente*.

Chapter II, on English Pronunciation, gives occasion for much more comment than the limits of this notice will permit. A careful perusal of it causes the

reader to feel sadly the lack of some common system for marking sounds accurately in English. Each phonetist, or lexicographer—but the terms are by no means synonymous—adopts his own system, or no-system, and the general reader must grope among different methods of characterizing the same sound, with the conviction at last that each method is objectionable. If the phonetists, or the spelling reformers, will remedy this deficiency, they will help the cause wonderfully. Before giving the chief authorities for pronunciation, Storm explains his own system of marking the sounds, which will answer well enough, if only others will adopt it; it is certainly an improvement upon those found in most English dictionaries. The works noticed are those of Schmitz, Maetzner, Walker, Knowles, Smart, Nuttall, Donald, Cooley, Cull, Stormonth and Phelps, and the National Pronouncing Dictionary; and of these Smart's edition of Walker receives the longest notice, 13 pages. Webster and Worcester are not even named in the list, although the former's preface is quoted from and the dictionary itself is noticed very briefly in the following chapter on "Dictionaries," but Worcester, the chief authority for pronunciation in this country, is barely mentioned there and altogether ignored here, with the remark: "Amerikanischen und deutschen Wörterbüchern ist mit Bezug auf die Aussprache nur eine beschränkte Autorität beizumessen." One general result from the comments made is, I think, that Walker's pronunciation is better preserved in this country than in England, including even Smart's emendations, but Storm does not seem to be aware of that fact. Many pronunciations of particular words are given which, to my knowledge, are never heard here, and others pronounced antiquated which are in daily use. Both Walker and Smart retain the distinction, universal in this country, between *mourning* and *morning*, while Ellis and Sweet say that Englishmen pronounce the first as the second, *māorning*.¹ Sweet says (p. 93, note 1), "I certainly make no distinction between *mourning* and *morning*. Scotchmen do, as also archaic speakers in London, but it is certainly extinct in the younger generation." It is impossible for one American to speak for the whole country, as we have provincial variations and alternative pronunciations even among educated persons, but I think this will be news to most Americans; also to hear that *gäl* for *girl* is "very common," whereas it is purely vulgar in this country. This is Ellis's assertion, who says that he pronounces *g^ääl* (p. 94, note 1), while Sweet says: "I think palatal *k* and *g* must be quite extinct in my generation. I only know *girl* as *g^öäl*, *gäl*, and *g^üäl*, which last is my father's pronunciation." Now *girl* with *ir* as in *bird*, Sweet's low-mixed-narrow, Storm's *g^öäl*, though sometimes with a stronger *r*-sound, is most common in this country, but Ellis's pronunciation is retained in Virginia, this palatal *k* and *g* being a well-known Virginian shibboleth, authorized too by Walker who gives *kⁱaard*,² *gⁱaard* for *card*, *guard*, and similar words. This is evidently derived from the Anglo-Saxon breaking, and shows that pronunciations now antiquated in England are still preserved in Virginia. The long *a* in *father* is also carefully preserved all through Tidewater and parts of Piedmont Virginia in such words as *plant*, *ask*, *ant*, *aunt*, *haunt*, *past*, *half*,

¹ Storm represents by *ä* both the *u* in *but* and that in *burn*, which are distinguished by Sweet; also final *er*, as *rider* = *rai'de*.

² Storm is not consistent here with respect to *r*, as p. 94 he gives *kⁱaard*, *gⁱaar'dn*, for *card*, *garden*: Smart and Cooley also give *gⁱaar'dn*.

psalm, laugh, draught, etc., and I have often heard *kʰaan't* for *can't* and *kʰaast* for *castle*. Also Thackeray's *Yeames* (*dshiims*, Storm) is very common in the mouths of old persons, and even *pint* for *point*, *bile*¹ for *boil*, now considered vulgar, but which prevailed in England in the days of Pope and Johnson. The common narrowing and shortening of the diphthongal sounds *i*, *ei* (*ai*), and *ou* (*au*), as in *mite*, *night*, *slight*, and *house*, *mouse*, *grouse*,² is not noticed by Storm, nor, I believe, by Sweet, as perhaps it does not prevail in England, but being so common in this country, phonetists should make note of it; also, of the pronunciation of *here*, *hear*, *near*, *year*, with a palatal sound after the initial consonant instead of the pure *ii*, as *hʲjɔ*, *nʲjɔ*, *yɔ* (cf. *yearn* = *yɔnn*), instead of *hiɪ*, *miɪ*, *yiɪ*. These are, I think, the only words in which this provincialism is heard, if we except the vulgar pronunciation of *ear* as *yɔ*, no distinction being made between *ear* and *year*. So far as I know, all other words with these and corresponding terminations, such as *mere*, *sere*, *fear*, *lear*, *tier*, *pier*, etc., retain the pure *ii*. Here should be added the South Carolinian provincialism of *ii* for *aeae*, as *ðii* for *there*, *piɪ* for *pear*, and many other such words. Storm notices the pronunciation of *pure*, *sure* as *pʲjɔ*, *shɔ* (p. 114), not heard in this country, to my knowledge, but the provincialisms *pʲɔ*, *shɔ* (not *shā*), also *pɔ* (not *pā*) for *poor*, are common enough (see also pp. 292, 293). The pronunciation of *oo* for *u*, as in *dooty* for *duty*, so common in the northern part of this country, but nevertheless still provincial, is noticed by Storm only in his sections on "Die Vulgärsprache" and "Amerikanismen" (see pp. 292, 294 and 328, 340). He quotes Alford's remark: "Though many people call *new*, *noo*, no one ever yet called *few*, *foo*."³

Storm finds Walker's *een'tshent* (*ancient*) "eine sonst unerhörte Aussprache" (p. 104): it is common enough here, but *een'tshent* would be more exact. He corrects Smart for finding no difference between the *a* of *various* and of *vacant*, saying, "der Laut *eei* wird vor *r* zu *ee* oder *aeae*," but he should have added "in the same syllable," for many here pronounce *va-rious* with *a* as in *va'-cant*, authorized too by both Webster and Worcester. This has led him to correct Maetzner also (p. 97) for pronouncing *a* in *Mary* as in *lady*, saying, "es heisst *eei'di*, aber *me'e'ri*," but Maetzner gives the more usual pronunciation. With reference to the much discussed *either* and *neither*, he quotes Smart, "usage as well as regularity favors the sound *ii*," but adds (p. 110): "Mir scheint *ai'ð*, *nai'ð*, die fashionable und feierliche Aussprache, die man stets z. B. von Predigern hört." Certainly *ið* is still the more common in this country, and I have heard the late Prof. Haldeman ridicule *ai'ð* very strongly, but the latter is gaining currency, for American "Prediger" have taken it up, and I fear it is destined to be "die fashionable und feierliche Aussprache" here too.

It is hard to speak with positiveness on many questions of English pronunciation and accent, for orthoëpists differ, and the layman follows that pronunciation to which he has been accustomed, so that neither in this country nor in England is there a common standard observed by all educated persons, and I

¹ *Paint, bail*, as Storm writes. This is noticed p. 293, but there represented as *vi*.

² In Storm's symbols it would be, I suppose, *mɪɪ* and *mɔɪ*, not *mail*, *maus*; *writer* = *viɪt* and *ridér* = *rai'd* show the distinction, also *house* = *hɔɪ* and *hound* = *haund*.

³ It is strange that this pronunciation should be so prevalent when it is not authorized by either Webster or Worcester (eds. 1870).

see no justification for the opinion that English is spoken more correctly in England than in America. As already stated, Worcester is regarded here by many persons as a better authority than Webster in these matters, but it seems both are ignored by Storm, who wants to know the *English* and not the *American* pronunciation. It is to be hoped that the Philological Society's Dictionary will be taken as a standard on these points as well as others, and that greater uniformity will then prevail.

Chapter III, on Dictionaries, must be passed over, but Storm's criticisms of the etymologies in some of our standard dictionaries deserve attention.

Chapter IV, on "Synonyms, Phraseology, and Practical Helps," need not detain us long. It begins with Crabbe, whose wonderful etymologies "stehen auf ganz mittelalterlichem Standpunkte," devotes most attention to Roget (34th edition), and omits Soule entirely. In fact, American books receive scant notice on any subject. Most of the works noticed are naturally German and intended to aid Germans in learning English.

The sections on Books of Reference and Encyclopedias, and especially that on English Institutions, are very incomplete. We miss Rees, Appleton, Johnson, and other American works, besides the valuable English collection of monographs known as the Encyclopedia Metropolitana: some of the standard works¹ on English Constitutional History are passed over entirely, and nothing American is admitted here.

Chapter V, on Reading and the Study of Literature, comprises over two hundred pages, nearly one-half of the volume. About three-fourths of it is taken up with the sections on Colloquial English, Vulgar English, and Americanisms. The author thinks that the change from a synthetic to an analytic speech has done the language no harm (p. 207): "In der Kraft des Ausdrucks kann sich schwerlich eine andere mit der englischen messen, und in Klarheit steht sie kaum der französischen nach." Many expressions formerly current among the lower classes alone have penetrated to the higher. He well says (p. 223): "Die Grenze zwischen 'Colloquial' und 'Vulgar' ist oft schwankend. Einer betrachtet als vulgär, was ein Anderer für erlaubt oder regelmässig hält"; and his own remarks furnish good illustrations of this statement. His examples are drawn chiefly from Thackeray, Dickens, and Trollope, but sufficient care is not taken to note whether the language is that of an educated or uneducated person, or whether the author uses bad English purposely. With respect to the pronouns, according to the Horatian dictum, we must allow "it is *me*" (p. 207) to be good English, but that does not justify Mr. Wardle's "it is *them*." The Anglo-Saxon "*ic eom hit*" is precisely analogous to the German "*ich bin es*," but the later language has developed the idiom analogous to the French "*c'est moi*," and doubtless under its influence.² It will not do to correct Abbott for his explanation of "And damned be *him* that first cries 'Hold, enough!'" (p. 210). *Him* has most probably come from the equivalent locution with *let*: as well defend Byron's "Let *he* who made thee answer that" (p. 211), about which Moon's statement is right: "All that it shows was [is] that Byron was not correct in his grammar." This is also

¹ Hallam and Stubbs are mentioned, however, on p. 344.

² Cf. p. 234 and Storm's examples from Chaucer of "*it am I*." "*It is me*," "ist wenigstens vom 16 Jht. an Idiomatisch, und damit ist die Frage entschieden." Cf. also pp. 242 and 334.

shown by Maetznér's quotation from Byron: "Thrice have I *drank* of it" (p. 215, note 2), which cannot be used to justify the use of *drank* as a past participle. Professor A. S. Hill has well shown, in his *Rhetoric*, that nearly all writers are sometimes guilty of such slips. These are instances of mere carelessness and will not do to found usage upon. Moreover, examples from Shakspeare cannot be used to illustrate present use of preterite and past participle, for in his day the forms had not been differentiated. "I have *broke*," "I have *spoke*," become the archaic language of Shakspeare, but will not answer nowadays. "I have *drank*" is bad English, no matter how many examples may be quoted from Dickens and Trollope; and it surprises me to find Sweet writing (p. 216): "'I have *rode*' or '*ridden*' is a question which has puzzled me lately. I am quite unable to decide which I naturally use, and still less to determine what is the general usage. *Rode* is no doubt very common"—not, as far as my experience goes, on this side of the water: I should as soon use for the preterite the old form *rid* (analogous to *bit, ris*), which once justified the pun at the expense of the booted and spurred countryman: "You came to see 'Orpheus and *Eurydice*' (*you-rid-I-see*)." While grammatically correct, it would be mere purism to substitute *whom* for *who* in "*Who* can I trust?" (Miss Muloch, p. 212). The loss of the subjunctive is much to be regretted, but grammarians cannot control usage, and I fear the addition of *-er* and *-est* to adjectives of more than one syllable, though so forcible in the archaic style, is doomed to perish. It is not worth while to insist longer upon the distinction between *hung* and *hanged* (p. 219); and Storm has some judicious remarks upon *wake, awake, waken, and awaken*; A. S. *wacan, wbc, wacian, wacode, and waecnian*, have been confounded. *Try and do*, however illogical, has fixed itself in the language, and we might as well reject "*I am gone*" as "*I am done*." In the face of so many examples to the contrary, it is scarcely worth while to try to enforce Alford's dictum: "*So* cannot be used in the affirmative proposition, nor *as* in the negative"; Storm well adds: "Dennoch ist er, wie man sieht, sehr häufig." *Worret*, as well as *worrit*, is purely vulgar in this country, even though Trollope and George Eliot are quoted as authority for it.

Lack of space must limit my remarks on the remainder of this section to the fewest possible. It is taken up with discussing Alford's *Queen's English*, Moon's *Dean's English*, and *Bad English Exposed*, and with a few extracts from Hyde Clarke's *Grammar of the English Tongue*. Gould's *Good English* is not noticed, but its author is occasionally referred to by Moon. The main result of the lengthy examination is that Storm sides with the Dean as against Moon and other English critics. Notwithstanding Moon's corrections of Alford's own language, Storm thinks "er hat aber das Wesentliche in Alford's Buch nicht umgestossen." He sees here two schools, the Dean representing natural "colloquial English," and Moon the "klassisch-conservativ," who think "colloquial English is bad English." He convicts Moon of inconsistency, and, while acknowledging that many of his remarks are correct, says: "Er hat aber in vielen Fällen die Sprache schulmeistern wollen, und darin können wir ihm nicht beistimmen." A few expressions may be noticed briefly. *I had rather* is as common here as *I'd rather* or *I would rather*, although Storm's English correspondent says, "it would sound very pedantic" (p. 230, note 1). Even if *I'd rather* may be short for *I would rather*, that *I had rather* is not expanded from it (as both Storm

and Sweet suggest), and that it is good English from the fifteenth century on, is shown in Dr. Fitzedward Hall's excellent article in Vol. II, No. 7 of this Journal, which treats the idiom historically and supplies copious examples of its use. The very objectionable *ain't* is certainly colloquial, but should not be written, and when used in conversation should be limited to its use as a substitute for *are not*: *I ain't* and *he ain't* are still solecisms, and isolated quotations from Thackeray, Trollope, and *Punch*, will not mend the matter. *Than whom* (p. 233) has established itself, but *than me* for *than I* may well be questioned: of course "bei transitiven Verbis muss der ursprüngliche Kasusunterschied aufrecht erhalten werden" (p. 243), but that is not the question, and Moon's "Paar Bibelstellen gegen Alford" are irrelevant. Let us banish *on to*, *mutual* friend, twenty *clergy*, *party*, but not *person*, *female* for *woman*, and all such Gallicisms as *assist at*, *give upon*, etc.

The quotations from Moon (p. 244) have already done duty in several recent works on rhetoric; but however justly the Dean may be convicted of carelessness in his use of language, I am inclined to agree with Storm and consider Moon hypercritical, too much disposed to play the schoolmaster, and his critical method "wenig empfehlenswerth." The trouble is that when one begins to write upon questions of English usage, every man becomes a critic. No matter what his previous linguistic or philological training may have been, or indeed his opportunities for learning the best usage, every writer feels at liberty to criticise without measure, and to set up his private judgment as, if not law, at least a great part of it. I cannot agree with Mr. Matthew Arnold that we need an Academy to remedy this state of things. Let us never stretch our sturdy English speech upon the Procrustean bed of French precision, but let us try and obtain the consensus of the best English writers and speakers. This is the business of grammarians, and not to lay down *a priori* rules and theories; and if they fail to set down this usage, so much the worse for the grammarians as authorities.

The section of forty pages on the "Vulgar speech" is a very full and excellent collection of examples, though drawn almost exclusively from the writers already mentioned. The author divides these peculiarities into two classes, those resulting from the preservation of old forms of expression which have dropped out of use in cultivated speech or have given way to a learned correctness, and those which have resulted from an extension or a corruption of the laws and tendencies of the language. The former class is treated with special fullness, and it would surprise one who has not given any attention to the subject to see how many old forms of speech are still preserved by the lower classes. I would instance particularly the treatment of the Gerund in *-ing* and its construction with *a*. It is scarcely correct to say "Während *a* jetzt *allgemein für vulgär* gilt, haben es doch einzelne neuere Schriftsteller wieder aufgenommen": these late writers would not have taken it up again if it were not preserved in archaic phrases, especially in the Bible, which serve to justify their use of it. Had we preserved *ung* or *ing* for the verbal noun, *end* or *ind* for the present participle, and *en* for the dative or gerundial form of the infinitive, even dropping *e* from all, we might have avoided some confusion, and rendered unnecessary much grammatical explanation, but *ing* must now do triple duty. While there may be some justification for the bad English of the first

class of expressions, there is none for the second; but they serve, as all popular speech (*Volkssprache*) does, to illustrate certain tendencies in language. The section closes with a careful summary of the most important peculiarities of pronunciation in this speech. If "Uncle Remus" had been accessible to the author, it would have represented one phase of corrupt English pronunciation better than Dickens and Thackeray have done for the lower classes in England.

The chief writers of American literature are passed over as not differing essentially from the English, but as "most typical" are mentioned "Sam Slick," Maj. Jack Downing's Letters, The Biglow Papers, Artemus Ward, Uncle Tom's Cabin, The Wide, Wide World, Bret Harte and Mark Twain. From this list it is easy to see that American Slang and Colloquial English are not distinguished. This is seen also in the lengthy discussion of Americanisms, the chief work noticed being that of Professor Schele de Vere. Bartlett's dictionary is mentioned, but Storm has not seen it, and thinks "dass es sich nicht mit De Vere's mehr systematischem Werke messen kann." Grant White's articles in The Galaxy ('77-'78) and The Atlantic Monthly ('78-'79) call for some remarks, although his "Words and their Uses" and "Every-Day English" are not mentioned, and the section closes with a short notice of American pronunciation. While granting that the American ideal is pure English, Storm says (p. 301): "Die grosse Menge selbst gebildeter Leute spricht eine eigenthümliche Sprache, die man nicht nur am Accent, sondern auch an einer Menge besonderer Ausdrücke und Wendungen sogleich erkennt." One would judge so, if Artemus Ward, Bret Harte and Mark Twain are to be taken as representatives of standard American colloquial English. The author seems to have no idea that these writers, and the bulky works on "Americanisms" which he cites, do not represent the ordinary everyday speech of cultivated American homes. He seems not to be aware that the talk in these works sounds almost as strange to an educated American as to himself, and represents in an exaggerated way the speech of only the lowest classes in this country. He thinks that some purists, as R. G. White, try to keep their speech as near as possible to the English normal speech; but in spite of the purists, Americanisms "zum grossen Theil allgemein verbreitet sind." There are, doubtless, provincialisms in this country, both North and South, as in England itself, and there to a much greater extent than here, but to suppose that Americans talk as Artemus Ward does is to lose all sense of the ridiculous.

Storm shows that some of these "Americanisms" are prevalent in England, and some of the words which he would substitute for the American terms would be styled here "Briticisms." His remarks on the Biblical use of *coast* (p. 315), which seem quite irrelevant, will not suit the Revised Version, which rescinds this obsolete word and substitutes *borders* in Matt. II, 16, Mark V, 17, and *country* in Acts XIX, 1. He rightly corrects the quotation from Chaucer (p. 321), but there is no denying that *lay* and *lie*, *set* and *sit* are often confounded.¹ His Biblical quotation for *proper* (p. 324, note 2) will also no longer answer, as the Revised Version has *goodly*, Heb. XI, 23, just as in Exod. II, 2. Some of our purists who pride themselves on always using *reared* for the Americanism

¹ While we say "to sit *on* a Committee," I have never heard "to sit *on* the Legislature," and no one would say "to sit *on* Congress," which Storm adds (p. 323).

raised may be surprised to learn that an Englishman would always say *brought up*,—which is common enough in this country despite Storm's assertion to the contrary (p. 324, note 3),—while *reared* is, in England, applied most frequently to animals. *Mad* = angry is by no means "auch in Amer. etwas vulgär." It is a good old English word in that sense, as the quotations from the Bible and Shakspeare show, and is of everyday use in this country, even if it is "in England veraltet." *Drawing-room* is "etwas veraltet" here and *parlor* has taken its place; but *station* is as common as *depot*. I must pass over many other points, but would add that I know of no better standard than that set up by Grant White (p. 334): "But in all languages there is, and must be, a standard, and this is the usage of the best society—that is, the most intellectually and socially cultivated society by which it! [*i. e.* the language] is spoken. Now, in regard to the English language, that society is the aristocracy and the upper middle classes." This is certainly the case in England; and while we have no aristocracy in this country—at least we are supposed to have none—we have an "intellectually and socially cultivated society," and the usage of this society must be the standard of correct American speech. Foreign writers do not take the pains to find out what the usage of this society is, but judge by such works as those above mentioned.

It may be pertinent to add that in glancing over the first few chapters of William Black's last novel, "The Beautiful Wretch," I found several words and expressions which some might, on the usual principle, style Americanisms, and others which are "aristocratic" slang, *e. g.*, *was you, thank ye, ax yer, doocid* (the New England *u*-sound has crossed the water), *ain't we, conclude* (called an Americanism by Fitzedward Hall, p. 335), *robustious* (included in "Americanisms" by Prof. Schele de Vere, but used by Shakspeare and Swift, as Storm shows, pp. 157, 332, 436), *guess* (regular Down-East), *spoon*, and many others which I do not now recall. It is true that some of these are used by Singing Sal, but she is said to speak with great correctness, and others by a boy of eighteen, who, although a scion of the minor nobility, is devoted to slang, as all boys are; but some are used by Black himself in the narrative portion, and taken altogether they illustrate colloquial English of the present day in England; so I think the two great divisions of the English-speaking people may well "cry quits."¹

The accent and tone of American speech are, without doubt, very different from the English, so that the natives of each country readily detect those of the other, and foreigners at once detect both. I recollect well, at a hotel in Antwerp, asking the simple question, "Do you speak English here?" when I was immediately answered, "Yes, and American too." But this is true of different parts of England and of this country also, so that it can often be discovered at once from what State the speaker comes. Storm says (p. 339): "Bei fein gebildeten Amerikanern besonders im Süden ist es bisweilen selbst

¹ Mr. White has made a slip in his grammar here.

² Black's writings would furnish a useful study for modern colloquial English usage, although a writer in *The Nation* (No. 842, Aug. 18, 1881) says of them: "They abound in what would twenty-five years ago have been called slang, but English fiction has been within that period so permeated by slang that a great body of it appears to have become part of the accepted language of novel-writers." If then they are true to nature, this shows that it has become the accepted language of good society in England, however much we may regret it.

Engländern schwer, den fremden Accent zu entdecken," and the peculiarities which he mentions are all prevalent exclusively in the North, except the *a*-sound of *a*, as *änt, dāns*, for *aant, daans* (*ant, dance*),—the latter still prevailing, however, in Boston and in Eastern Virginia, as already mentioned,—and the "vocal murmur" of *r* after vowels, very common in the South, which Storm says is the usual pronunciation now in England too. This is confirmed by Sweet, in his *History of English Sounds*, who, however, carries to an extreme this disappearance of the *r*-sound, giving as examples some words in which *r* is still distinctly pronounced here, as already stated.

The sections on Anthologies, History, Drama, Poetry, Editions with Commentary, Eighteenth Century, and Seventeenth Century to Shakspeare, are very meagre, consisting of but few pages each, only twenty all together, and as they furnish little of interest or information to the English reader, must be passed over.

We have an interesting section on Shakspeare, "Heros der englischen Literatur, diesem Centrum, in welches alle Linien zusammenlaufen" (p. 361), but lack of space will not permit remarks upon it. Storm disclaims being "ein Shakspeare-Kenner," but gives many of the most useful works for the study of Shakspeare. While Furness's Variorum edition, Grant White's edition, and Rolfe's edition of the separate plays are included, we miss all mention of Hudson. Dowden's *Mind and Art of Shakspeare* is given, but his very useful little Primer omitted. Storm has some critical remarks on Macbeth, Act I, relating to Clark and Wright's separate edition, and prints some parallel passages of Q₁ (1597), Q₂ (1599), and Q₃ (1609) of *Romeo and Juliet*, from Mommsen's edition of the play. Relative to the new method of verse-tests for determining the chronological order of the plays, insisted on by Fleay, Furnivall, and others, he quotes from Elze, who thinks that too much has been made of it, and that it is only one of many criteria which must be considered, but that the German "aesthetic" method cannot neglect it. A list of some of the publications of the New Shakspeare Society is given, and a few editions of works of some of Shakspeare's contemporaries are mentioned, but the list is by no means complete.

The chapter closes with a section on the language of the English Bible,¹ of which he says: "Die englische Sprache hat durch die Bibel, Milton, und Shakspeare einen Schatz feierlicher und edler Ausdrücke gewonnen, zu dem wohl keine moderne Kultursprache ein Seitenstück hat." He quotes several pages of the archaic peculiarities of Biblical speech, many of which have, however, been modernized in the Revised Version, thus losing something of the archaic flavor. While referring to the Revision as in preparation, he says: "Der alte Stil und Ton wird hoffentlich unverseht bleiben." This has been in great measure preserved, but some distinctive archaisms, dear to a lover of the older language, have been lost. In one passage the revisers have not observed their own rule of consistency in translation; while they read, Matt. IV, 2, "he afterward *hungred*," they retain, Mark II, 25, "was *an hungred*," an old euphonic corruption, merely referred to by Storm (p. 411) as "statt der Vorsilbe *a* kommt *an* vor"; cf. A. S. *of-hyngrian*; Wycliffe has here *he hungride*; Tyndale, *was an hungred* and *was anhongred*: this was, I presume, an oversight in the revi-

¹ From p. 402 to end of chapter, p. 413, "Shakspeare" is a misprint at the top of the page.

sion. Davies's Bible English is specially mentioned as "Eine ausgezeichnete Arbeit, die in systematischer Darstellung gründliche Auskunft giebt über das Verhältniss der Bibelsprache zur gegenwärtigen Sprache."

Chapter VI, on the "History of Literature," is only a three-page list of works, as Storm says: "Nach dem ursprünglichen Plane sollte die Literaturgeschichte in dem zweiten (historischen) Theile dieser Arbeit behandelt werden." The most important works on this subject are, however, included.

Chapter VII, and last, on "Grammar," is also brief, for Storm intended originally to treat the grammar in a separate volume, but as it may be long before he can do this, he mentions briefly the most important works, and may perhaps treat the grammar more fully hereafter. Scientific works, beginning with Maetzner, Koch, and Fiedler and Sachs, are chiefly mentioned, and few school-books are noticed. Of American works Goold Brown's and Prof. Whitney's Grammars alone are included, the former being styled "ein präventiöses, einseitiges und unwissenschaftliches Werk."¹ On the history of the language, Dr. Murray's article in the last (ninth) edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is considered, "Ohne Vergleich die beste übersichtliche Darstellung der Geschichte der engl. Sprache." Of American works, Marsh's *Lectures* alone are mentioned, Prof. Lounsbury's recent *Hand-book* being apparently unknown. We miss here such a treatment of the Grammar as Storm has given to the Phonology, Colloquial English, and Vulgar English, and which should be included in a scientific work on the living speech. It appears as if the work had grown on the author's hands, and he felt the necessity of cutting it short, not having the time or space to give to an adequate treatment of the grammar, an important part of the analysis of English speech, notwithstanding that English is often said to be "a grammarless tongue." We shall therefore look with more eagerness for his forthcoming work on the grammar, as a necessary complement to the present work, as well as for the second part of this work, which will doubtless be as instructive to the native as to the foreigner, for whom the first part has been specially written. We have no work in English which treats as thoroughly the subjects above mentioned, especially the phonology of our speech, in a succinct view, and by omission and revision a useful English book could be made.

I cannot close this review without heartily praising the clear style in which the work is written, so different from many German works that I wot of, even after translation, which style the author has doubtless acquired from his familiarity with English and French literature.

J. M. GARNETT.

¹ We are glad to learn (p. 422) that Sweet is preparing a complete English Grammar, and concur with Storm in expecting a thorough and independent work.

Pindar's Siegeslieder. Erklärt von FRIEDRICH MEZGER. Leipzig, B. G. Teubner, 1880.

Professor Mezger has undertaken in this work to supply the want of a commentary on the entire poems of the great lyricist, a commentary which shall comprehend the results of the years that have elapsed since Boeckh and Dissen, a period fruitful in special studies, not fruitful in connected exposition. For the text he refers us to Christ, Teubner, 1869, no text being given with the commentary. Professor Mezger's object is to make the study of the poet easier; but while he endeavors to avoid all extraneous and learned disquisitions, he fears lest some of his remarks may seem superfluous to those who are acquainted with the subject. In other words, he expects to run the risk of seeming to shut other men's hobbies out of the course for the pleasure of careering more freely on his own.

Professor Mezger has abandoned the Alexandrian order of the Odes, and has made a local division according to the home of the victors. The principle is simple, and from certain points of view not without its utility, but it enhances the difficulty of reference so much that no practical editor would have followed it. Each ode is preceded by an account of the personal history of the victor and his house, of the time and the place, a critical history of the interpretation down to the present day, and then a discussion of the text in detail. Upon this follows the distribution of the matter according to the Terpanthian *vóμος*, of which so much has been made of late years, and finally the question as to the basic idea of the poem and the way in which that idea is carried out. Such is the programme, and Professor Mezger has allowed himself 484 pages for the development of his ideal of a commentary on Pindar.

There are points in this programme to which one may take exception; but on the whole it is not unattractive, and the reader might well be impatient to see how the work has been done. But fortunately, or unfortunately, Mezger has made a discovery; and if the glittering wealth of Pindar did not admit of so much discovery, one might be excited by the solemn tone in which that discovery is announced. However, what he has to say is not more surprising than Furtwängler's architectural schemes of the Pindaric poems, and no fibre is stirred when it is announced that Pindar in every poem repeats one or more significant words in the corresponding verses and feet of his strophes, and that in these words we must look for the secret of his thought. Mezger is not satisfied with a general correspondence: that would be nothing new. We must have the same word, not the spirit but the body; and he calls on us to notice the fact that in thirty-eight of the forty-four extant poems this repetition is found, and that the six excluded are of very narrow compass. No stereotype expressions, no *epitheta ornantia* are counted among these repetitions, but only substantial and significant words. It cannot be accident. It must be design. And while Mezger does not go so far as Paley and his docile follower Fennell in depressing the age of a written literature in Greece, still he holds that in Terpanth's time little use was made of writing, and that these repeated words served as cues, as mnemonic devices. Pindar, he maintains, worked on the scheme of Terpanth's *vóμος*, and succeeded to the mnemonic device as well, which is supposed to have had its counterpart in the technic of melody, accompaniment and rhythmical movement. Then the public being of the same blood

with the chorus, became aware of this device, and the poets made further use of it to facilitate the understanding of their thought and kindly gave the key to their puzzles—the first syllables of the answer to their conundrums. In order to appreciate this revelation we must begin, says Mezger, with those poems in which the connexion of the repeated words with the main thought is clear, and then proceed to others in which, either through our own fault or *the poet's*, the references are not so striking. But if even in one solitary case it should be shown that the poet must have had a design, the fact of that repetition would gain a higher significance and challenge the most careful investigation.

This is the substance of the preface. It will be seen that the hobby begins to show its paces. The editor is under the dominion of a fixed idea, which of course has fastened itself on him with irresistible evidence. He would scout the concession of an element of truth. The partial truth must be universal. That is a widespread trouble. If the horses of the dawn will draw one chariot, they will furnish motive-power for the whole orrery of Olympus. If four bars constitute a favorite measure, then there must be four bars everywhere,—no more, no less. If Terpander's *vóμος* with its seven parts—Mezger gives it eight—works in one poem, make it work in all the others. If *στιχομυθία* is the rule, take no account of the foreshortening of passion. Obelise every verse that interferes. And so we have hardly reached the end of the preface before we are convinced that the new editor of Pindar does not possess the calm judgment which were welcome in a man who has undertaken to gather up the results of the Pindaric work that has been done in the last fifty years.

Upon the preface follows a list of the games mentioned by Pindar, a catalogue which the author himself considers misplaced; then a brief sketch of Pindar's life and poetry, with a register of the chief editions, treatises, dictionaries, introductions and translations. We might expect in an edition which should give us the most valuable results of recent work on Pindar something about the dialect, something about syntax, something about the order of the words. He lays great stress on the rhythmical beauty of Pindar, but he leaves Christ to present the schemes; and while there is abundance of counting and distributing, the result is presented in the most repellent way.

Let us see what he has to tell us in his short chapter of Principles for the Interpretation of the Pindaric Poems—at the risk of repeating the preface. Scarcely another poet of antiquity is so difficult as Pindar. The ancients soon lost the key which Mezger has just found, and had little relish for him. He was studied in the schools, annotated, praised, but little understood. It is rarely the case even to-day that two interpreters agree in their exposition of any one of his odes. Things have been better since Boeckh and Dissen showed how to handle the myth in Pindar; but the lack of an objective basis is felt. Pindar composed his poems for oral delivery, and consequently wished to be understood at once. But even to his contemporaries, in spite of all their advantages, the immediate comprehension of his poems would have been impossible, if they had not had some outside help. Of these extraneous aids, three, melody, musical accompaniment, and dance, are lost for us irrecoverably. But there was a tradition, a fixed norm for such compositions, a *τεθμός* from which the *ἐπινίκιον* must not vary, a *τεθμός* not only for the contents, but

also for the form. To be sure, the old interpreters in their blindness knew nothing of this; but Boeckh and Disson observed certain laws of structure, certain recurrences, certain symmetrical responses. Thiersch proved the triple division *προκῶμιον, μέσον τοῦ ὅσματος, ἐπικῶμιον*; but it was reserved for Westphal to set forth and establish the proposition that Aeschylus in the composition of his choruses, and Pindar in that of his *epinikia*, followed the *νόμος* of Terpanther with its sevenfold division.¹ This Mezger considers Westphal to have made evident for all the forty-four odes except eight, at least so far as the three principal parts are concerned, and these principal parts are—hear, O Heavens, and give ear, O Earth!—beginning, middle, and end! The seven principal parts are according to Westphal's emendation of the passage in Pollux 4, 66—*προοίμιον* (*ἐπαρχά* rejected by Westphal is retained by Mezger)—*ἀρχά*—*κατατροπά*—*ὀμφαλός*—*μετακατατροπά*—*σφραγίς*—*ἐξόδιον*. An *epinikion* that has all its parts is provided with seven members. Westphal himself seems to be fully aware that the lover of Pindar will rebel against the thought that the great poet worked by a mere mechanical rule; but his theory has been accepted by sundry Pindaric scholars, and I would say at once, forsaking Mezger for a while, that I do not mean to imply that there is nothing in it. I have a great respect for the number seven. We know, for instance, that the *parabasis* of comedy was made up of *μέλος, παράβυσσις, μακρόν, στροφή, ἐπίρρημα, ἀντιστροφή, ἀντεπίρρημα*, though no one, I believe, has ever suggested a Terpantherian origin for that. Given beginning, middle, end, which we can get from Aristotle (Poet. c. 7) if they are denied by nature, and it is easy to expand them into seven, as it is easy to contract the seven into three. The *parabasis*, as we all know, was seldom complete and there is often a missing member in the Terpantherian *νόμος*. Even in prose it would not be difficult to arrange speeches—say the speeches of Demosthenes—into Terpantherian schemes. Of *προοίμιον*—*ἀρχά*—*ὀμφαλός*—*σφραγίς* and *ἐπίλογος* we are sure in advance, and it would go hard if we could not rake up even an *ἐπαρχά* for Mezger's comfort, to say nothing of a trifling *κατατροπά* and *μετακατατροπά*. In the Philippics it would also be easy to get up the due number of mnemonic words in which *Φίλιππος* and *Ἀθηναῖοι*, might, it is true, be suspiciously prominent. If we are going into heptads and triads and tetrads, there is simply no end. The three angles of the pediment of a Greek temple will give us a triad; and so we get our scheme for Ol. VI, the poem of the *πρόθυρον*. The human body may be considered a heptad of head, arms, chest, navel, feet, in which due prominence will be given to the artistic and Delphic *ὀμφαλός*; and this will answer for Nem. VI, in which Pindar says that he is not a statuary—a sufficiently good reason in the eyes of some commentators for making him one. There are Greek poems in the form of panpipes, axes, eggs, wings, altars—not a very noble style of composition. And yet such an outer mechanism is hardly worse than the inner mechanism which is here set up. The egg with its wonderful Eros-symbolism, in which the yolk would of course represent the myth, might be taken as the type of the Pindaric ode with quite as much advantage as the Terpantherian *νόμος*.

But to return to our guide through these circles of the Pindaric poems. The *ὀμφαλός* of the Pindaric *epinikion* is the organic centre of the poem, and

¹J. H. H. Schmidt has attacked the 'Terpantherian composition' in his usual unrestrained fashion, *Kunstformen* Bd. IV. 636 fgg. See also Croiset, *Pindare*, 126 sqq.

contains a mythus. To be sure there are exceptions—and such exceptions!—Py. I and IX and Nem. I. The beginning (*ἀρχά*) and the close (*σφραγίς*) regularly contain the praises of the victor and of his house. Then there are transitions mediating between the *προοίμιον* and the *ὁμφαλός* (just as in oratory the *προκατασκευή* prepares for the *δήγησις*) and between the *ὁμφαλός* and the *σφραγίς*. I am at a loss to see anything in this except the rhetorical arrangement naturally indicated by the theme, and cannot refrain from asking, What is gained by the hard names?

At the same time I would not for a moment have it understood that I am opposed to investigations into the symmetry of antique compositions. The trouble is that this theory gives no symmetry. The elements of the Terpan-dian composition emerge at the most irregular intervals and the distribution offends against all sense of proportion. Take one of Blass's rhythmical analyses of a *prooimion* of Demosthenes and one of Mezger's exhibits of the composition of a Pindaric ode. You may not agree with Blass, but there is an architectonic principle in the one, while it is utterly incredible that we should have such proportions as:

O I: 7 (π .) + 16 ($\acute{\alpha}$.) + 4 (κ .) + 69 ($\acute{\omicron}$.) + 7 (μ .) + 11 (σ .) + 6 (ϵ .) (p. 95.)

O III: 5 (π .) + 8 ($\acute{\alpha}$.) + 2 (κ .) + 18 ($\acute{\omicron}$.) + 4 (μ .) + 4 (σ .) + 4 ($\acute{\epsilon}$.) (p. 175.)

O XIII: 23 (π .) + 6 ($\acute{\epsilon}\pi$.) + 17 ($\acute{\alpha}$.) + 6 (κ .) + 40 ($\acute{\omicron}$.) + 5 (μ .) + 16 (σ .) + 2 ($\acute{\epsilon}$.) (p. 459.)

P I: 28 (π .) + 14 ($\acute{\alpha}$.) + 3 (κ .) + (12 + 3 + 20) ($\acute{\omicron}$.) + 4 (μ .) + 14 (σ .) + 2 ($\acute{\epsilon}$.) (p. 83.)

Contrast this with Blass's analysis of the *prooimion* of De Corona (§ 1-8):

I. § 1-2.	II. 3-4.	III. 5-6.	IV. 7-8.
3. 2 2. 3 3. 3	4. 4 3. 5 5. 3	2. 4 4 4 4. 2	2. 2. 2. 2 2. 2. 2. 2
= 16	= 24	= 24	= 8 = 8
			= 16

But Mezger is not satisfied with adopting Westphal's Terpan-drianisms. He out-Westphals Westphal, and comes back to what he has announced in his preface as his great discovery: the recurrence of certain significant words in the same place of strophe and antistrophe—the said recurrences being intended to mark the transition. So the *Τλαπολέμων* of Ol. VII 20 comes back to us in the *Τλαπολέμω* of v. 77, thus circling the myth, and in Ol. VIII 28 *πράσσω* recurs in the form *πράξαις* v. 73; and in the *ἐπαρχά* the word *εὐπραγίας* stands in *almost* the same position. In Py. I we have *ἐλπομαι* in the *κατατροπά* v. 43 and *ἐλπίδας* in the *μετακατατροπά* v. 43. In Ol. I the *ἀρχά* ends with *λάμπει* *δέ οἱ κλέος ἐν εὐάνορι Ἀνδῶν Πέλοπος ἀποικίᾳ* v. 23, and v. 96 the myth closes with the words *τὸ δὲ κλέος τηλόθεν δέδορκε τῶν Ὀλυμπιάδων ἐν δρόμοις Πέλοπος*.

Such evidence as this—and these are among the strongest 'proofs'—falls very far short of establishing a principle of composition. The recurrence of a poet in the cycle of this thought to the point from which he set out is natural enough. It is the poetic Q. E. D. Significant words may shine out at intervals as brightly as the *stelle* with which Dante ends alike Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradiso, but the art which we are called on to admire here, if established, would not be much more elevated than that of an acrostich.

But I shall take another occasion to discuss the principles of Pindaric composition. The true plan is not to take a concordance and look out recurrent words. The true plan is to work patiently and lovingly after the poet himself. The historical interpretation, as everybody can see, has been overdone. Perhaps it is impossible to understand the poet as well without the historical lore that has been gathered about the odes since the time of Boeckh, but it is perfectly possible to misunderstand the poet by reason of historical lore. Even Boeckh's clear eye was confused at times by seeing too much, and his friend Dissen has been guilty of many utterly absurd over-interpretations of details, some utterly impossible, utterly unhistorical expositions of entire poems. Nowadays the tendency to emphasize the formal side of Pindaric art is pushed to an extreme that is calculated to narrow rather than widen the circle of Pindar's admirers. If it had not been for his discovery, Professor Mezger might have done much to help forward the good cause. He knows how to make his annotations brief, except when he gets on the theme of the recurrent word; but he has wasted much space in literal translations of expressions that translate themselves, and not satisfied with his own renderings, he reproduces many of Fennell's in the original English, as if that helped the matter much. I open the book at random and find the following notes on one page, 199, Py. XII, 10 foll.: *δυσπενθέϊ σὺν καμάτῳ* "bei der leidvollen Qual": v. 11 *τρίτον ἀνισσεν κασιγνητῶν μέρος*: "er machte dem dritten Theil der Schwestern den Garaus"—which to my perception of German is about equivalent in this connexion to: he did the job for the third part of the sisters, v. 12 *μοῖραν ἄγων*: den Tod bringend; v. 14 *λυπρὸν—θήκε*: in Trauer verwandelte er dem Polydektes den Mahlesbeitrag; v. 19 *πάμφωνον*: vollklingend; v. 21 *χριμφθέντα*: hervorgestossen—*σὺν ἔντεσι*: mit den Instrumenten; v. 23 *κεφαλᾶν πολλὰν νόμον*: die vielköpfige Weise. This kind of annotation reminds an American of the Saturnian reign of Dr. Anthon.

B. L. G.

WORKS OF SPYRIDON A. LAMBROS.

1. Αἱ Ἀθῆναι περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ δωδεκάτου αἰῶνος κατὰ πηγὰς ἀνεκδότους. Διατριβὴ ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῖς τοῦ μαθήματος τῆς Ἑλλ' Ἱστορίας ἐν τῷ Ἐθνικῷ Πανεπιστημίῳ, ὑπο Σπυρ. Π. Λάμπρου, Δ. Φ. Ἀθῆναι, ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφίαις τῆς φιλοκαλίας 1878. 8 vo. pp. viii, 141.

2. Μιχαὴλ Ἀκομινάτου τοῦ Χωνιάτου τὰ Σωζόμενα, τὰ πλείστα ἐκδιδόμενα νῦν τὸ πρῶτον κατὰ τοὺς ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ, Ὁξωνίῳ, Παρισίαις, Βιέννῃ κώδικας. Δαπάνη τοῦ δήμου Ἀθηναίων, ὑπὸ Σπυρίδωνος Π. Λάμπρου, Δ. Φ., ὑψηλ. τῆς Ἑλλ' Ἱστορίας καὶ γραφογνωσίας ἐν τῷ Ἐθνικῷ Πανεπιστημίῳ. Τόμος Α', περιέχων τὰς ὁμιλίας καὶ τὰ προσφωνήματα. Ἐν Ἀθῆναις, ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου Παρνασσοῦ, 1879 8 vo. pp. lxxii, 368: Τόμος Β', περιέχων τὰς ἐπιστολὰς καὶ τὰ ποήματα τοῦ Μιχαὴλ, τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπιστολὰς τοῦ Νέων Πατρῶν Εὐθυμίου τοῦ Τορνίκη, Γρηγορίου Ἀντιόχου καὶ Γεωργίου Τορνίκη, σημειώσεις ἱστορικὰς καὶ γραμματικὰς καὶ πίνακας, οἷς προσηρτήθησαν καὶ φωτοτυπικὰ πανομοιότυπα τῶν κωδίκων. Ibid. 1880, 8 vo., pp. 660, xxviii.

3. Collection de Romans grecs en langue vulgaire et en vers, publiés pour la première fois d'après les manuscrits de Leyde et d'Oxford, par Spyridion P. Lambros, Docteur-ès-lettres, Professeur agrégé d'Histoire grecque et de Paléo-

graphie à l'Université d'Athènes. Paris: Maisonneuve et Cie., 1880. 8 vo. ccxv. 372, four facsimiles of MSS.

4. Ἐκθέσις Σπυρίδωνος Π. Λάμπρου, Δ. Φ., ὑφηγητοῦ πρὸς τὴν Βουλὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων; περὶ τῆς εἰς τὸ Ἄγιον Ὄρος ἀποστολῆς αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ θέρος τοῦ 1880. Ἀθήνησιν, ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου τοῦ Αἰῶνος, 1880, pp. 32.

5. Ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῦ Πανσελήνου, μετὰ μιᾶς χρωματογραφίας, ὑπὸ Σπυρ. Π. Λάμπρου, Δ. Φ., ὑφηγητοῦ. Ἀπόσπασμα ἐκ τοῦ Ε' τόμου τοῦ "Παρνασσού." Ἐν Ἀθήναις ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου τοῦ Παρνασσού, 1881, pp. 8.

6. Κανανὸς Λάσκαρις καὶ Βασίλειος Βατάτζης, δύο Ἕλληνες περιηγηταὶ τοῦ ΙΒ καὶ ΙΗ αἰῶνος. Ὑπὸ Σπυρ. Π. Λάμπρου, Δ. Φ., ὑφηγητοῦ τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Πανεπιστημίου (Ἀπόσπασμα ἐκ τοῦ Ε' τόμου τοῦ Παρνασσού); ἐν Ἀθήναις, ἐκ τοῦ τυπογραφείου τοῦ Παρνασσού, 1881, pp. 15.

Classical scholars usually have the feeling that Hellenism paid the debt of nature in the sixth century of our era, and was succeeded by a condition of things so low, dark, and squalid as hardly to deserve more attention than the affairs of Maoris or Apaches, and that what now claims to be Hellenism has nothing more to do with the genuine article than the inhabitants of Massachusetts have with the tribe that once went by that name. Though these are judgments natural enough, and intelligible to any one who knows how small and scanty are the means within the reach of most scholars for studying the history of post-Justinian Hellenism, and though, if we admit a certain, rather narrow, definition of Hellenism they are not entirely false, it is easy to see and understand that those who still take pride in calling themselves Hellenes should reject them and take an entirely different view of the meaning and historical limits of Hellenism. To them, Hellenism, in spite of all the vicissitudes, degradations, miseries and seeming deaths which it has undergone, is still alive, and the fact that it has survived so much is only a proof of its inexhaustible vitality. And from their point of view, the Hellenes are right also. While it is true that the Pagan Hellenic life, that life of art and intellect, of balance between heart and head, which is growing ever more attractive to modern men as they emerge from the moral dyspepsia of mediaevalism into the harmonious *εὐκρασία* of natural life, was dead or dying for centuries before Justinian, and was succeeded by a very inharmonious and unlovely form of what was always "to the Greeks foolishness"; it is likewise true that the Hellenic national feeling, the Hellenic aspiration for freedom, the Hellenic love of letters, the Hellenic tendency toward the ideal, and the Hellenic speech, have never died out, but are even to-day sending forth fresh shoots, which show that there is still much vigor in the old stock. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the modern Hellenes, however uncertain their genealogy, should endeavor to show that Hellenism has had a real, living, uninterrupted existence in all departments of human activity from the days of Justinian to the present, and that with this view they should direct their attention to the literary monuments of the middle age and try to form them into a connected literary history. It must even be admitted that their success in discovering such literary monuments is beyond all expectation. To be sure, they have no Thomas Aquinas or Alexander of Thales writing great thoughts in the old language, and no Dante or Chaucer singing a fresh national feeling into existence in the new; but they have their historians and priests and poets, whose works mirror their times as

truly as those of the men named mirror theirs, and therefore furnish essential material for a history of the long generations of Hellenic captivity. To bring these works before the world, much has been done by foreigners, such as Ellis-sen, Wagner, Legrand, Deffner, etc.; but the Greeks themselves have done their share, witness the collections of Sathas, Mavrophrydis, etc.

Among the Greeks who have striven or are striving to give body and strength to the national feeling of the modern Hellenes, by making them conscious of an unbroken existence in the long past, the first place belongs to Spyridon P. Lambros, a partial list¹ of whose works relating to the middle age stands at the head of this article.

Mr. Lambros, who is still what may be called a very young man, hardly over thirty, is the son of a well-known Athenian archaeologist. After studying at the university of his native city, he went abroad to France and Germany, and in 1873 took the degree of Ph. D. at the University of Leipzig, the subject of his dissertation being *Τὰ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκιστὰς τῶν παρ' Ἑλλήσιν ἀποικιῶν καὶ τὰς αὐτοῖς ἀπονεμομένας τιμὰς καὶ προνομίας* (Leipzig, 1873). Since that time he has travelled much abroad, and copied many MSS. in the libraries of Germany, Austria, England, France, Holland, Italy, and Turkey. He is now assistant professor in the National University of Athens. His inaugural address is printed in the *Ἀθήναιον*, Vol. VII, pp. 1-35 (*Λόγος εἰσιτήριος εἰς τὸ μάθημα τῆς Ἑλ. Ἱστ.*)

Of the above-named works, the first two belong together, inasmuch as the account of Athens in the 12th century (No. 1) is for the most part drawn from the works of Michael Akominatos (No. 2). The picture of Athens in the twelfth century is by no means an inspiring one, or one calculated to cause us much regret for the subsequent downfall of the wretched empire of which the city formed a part. Poverty, degradation, misgovernment, dilapidation, insecurity of life and property, feebleness, servility, these are the features that most forcibly strike us. But Mr. Lambros' work contains many interesting particulars regarding various buildings in Athens, and especially regarding the Parthenon, which was then almost intact, and bore the name of *Ἐκκλησία τῆς Παναγίας τῆς Ἀθηνιωτίσσης*. A passage quoted from Michael Akominatos seems to prove that the Parthenon in the twelfth century was lighted from the top, a fact which has some bearing upon the much vexed "hypæthral question."²

Michael Akominatos, whose works fill two bulky volumes, was born about the year 1140 at Chônae (Χῶναι), the ancient Kolossai, in Phrygia. He was the elder brother of the equally famous Nikêtas Akominatos, whom he treated as a son and educated. He went to Constantinople about 1157 and there received instruction from Eustathios, subsequently Bishop of Thessalonika, and favor-

¹ I say partial, because the list does not include his *Παναγιώτου Δοξαρά περὶ Ζωγραφίας, χειρόγραφον τοῦ ΑΨΚΣ' νῦν τὸ πρῶτον ἐκδιδόμενον*. Ἐν Ἀθήναις, 1871, or his pamphlet *Περὶ Κόρυμν*, works which I have never seen.

² It runs thus: "Οὐκ ἔστι τοῦτο ἀλλ' ἡ οἶκος θεοῦ καὶ αὐτὴ ἡ πύλη τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καντεῖθεν τὸ ὑπερουράνιον τοῦτο φῶς ἀκοίμητον εἰσρεῖ δεῦρο, οὐκ ἀμαυρούμενον ἡμέρας οὐ διακοπτόμενον νυκτὶ, ἀέριον, ἀνύλον, ἀκραιβνέστατον, ἀειλαμπές, ἀειφανές ἀβεβήλους καὶ πιστοὺς ὁμμασι," p. 35, n. This distinction between the immaterial and material light in the Parthenon would have no meaning if the building was lit artificially with lamps.

ably known as the commentator of Homer and Pindar. From this enthusiastic scholar he imbibed a genuine affection for the old Greek poets, especially for Homer, whom, after the Bible, he quotes most frequently in his works. He was made Bishop of Athens about 1182, and from that date till 1220 his history is bound up with that of the unfortunate city of whose miseries he has left us so sad a picture. That it is so sad was certainly no fault of the good bishop, who did manfully what in him lay, by tongue and pen and sword, to rouse his people from their brutish lethargy of vice and ignorance, to interest the imperial government in their favor, and to defend them from hostile attacks. It is hard to imagine anything more pathetic than this enthusiastic, half-pagan Greek bishop, living on the Akropolis, worshipping every day in the Parthenon, and looking down upon once glorious Athens (*ὑπαραὶ Ἀθῆναις*), now a mere labyrinth of squalor and ruin.¹ It must have been rather the Pagan than the Christian spirit that induced him to gird on his sword and take the field at the head of his flock against Lepn Sgouros, who besieged the city in 1203. Michael was partially successful against this native *condottiere*, who could only burn the lower town without being able to enter the Akropolis; but, in the following year, the whole city was taken by the Franks under Bonifacio di Monferrato, and handed over to Othon de la Roche. On this occasion the Parthenon was plundered, the bishop's extensive, painfully collected library scattered,² and the bishop himself compelled to flee. After wandering about for some time in Thebes, Aulis, Thessalonika, Chalkis, Eretria and Karystos, he finally took up his abode at Keos, whence he could still cast loving and longing eyes toward Attika. Old, poor, lonely, and without his books, the brave, exiled bishop spent most of his time in prayer, meditation and letter-writing. He persistently refused all offers of other bishoprics, resolved to die Bishop of Athens. And so he did. From time to time his monotonous life was interrupted by reports of events whose issue promised to reinstate him; but they all proved baseless. The drop that filled the cup of his suffering was the news of the death of his beloved brother Nikêtas. He lived long enough to write the touching *Μνημὸς εἰς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ κτῖρ. Νικήταν τὸν Χωνιάτην*, many passages of which recall to us Carlyle's *Reminiscences*. He died in 1220 at the age of eighty.

As literature, the writings of Michael Akominatos have little or no value. Instead of being written in the living speech in which their author thought and conversed, they are composed in the turgid, flowery, patchwork, the would-be-Attic Greek, of the pedants of Byzantium. Their style is frequently involved and obscure, and new compounds and words are not unfrequent. Mr. Lambros has at the end of his second volume made a collection of these words, whose number amounts to several hundreds. The best of Michael's works are his

¹ When Mr. L. in this connection says: "Οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ναυτίλοι διέκρινον παρακάμπτοντες τὸ Σούνιον καὶ μακρόθεν τὴν αἰχμὴν τοῦ ὄρατος τῆς Προμάχου," he falls into a very common error, due to misinterpretation of a passage in Pausanias (I, 28, 2). Any one who has ever been at, or sailed round, Cape Sounion, knows that not even the Akropolis is visible from any point near it. Nor does Pausanias say anything to the contrary. He merely says: "Ἡ τοῦ ὄρατος αἰχμὴ καὶ ὁ λόφος τοῦ κράνουσιν ἀπὸ Σουνίου προσπλέονσιν ἔστιν ἤδη σύνοπτα." Mr. L. likewise shares the common error with regard to the Pelasgic wall.

² See a very interesting article by Mr. Lambros on the contents and fate of this library in the *Ἀθηναῖον, τόμος Ε'*, τεύχ' ε', pp. 354-67.

letters and the *monody* already referred to. These show him to have been a brave man and a good priest. Some of his other writings, especially his addresses to certain political potentates, exhibit him in a much less favorable light, as time-serving and insincere like other men of his time. His poetry is as sorry doggerel as one could readily find in the works of any rural Heber or Keble. Nay, even the New England Puritan Wigglesworth is hardly inferior to him as a poet. Here are the first four lines of the first poem, entitled *Θεανώ*:

Ἑσυχίης τόδ' ἄδυρμ' ἐμὸν ἡδέ τε λίσσῃ μακρὰ
ἀνδρὸς ἀκρδιώοντος ἀήματι νυσταλθέντι,
οὐ μὲν ἄμουσιν πάμπαν ὅλον τὸ ποίημα πέπαυται
ἀλλ' ἐπιμῖξ τῆς παιδιῆς ἐσθ' ἃ καὶ ἐσπούδασται.

These are hexameters by an enthusiastic admirer of Homer!

But whatever faults we may find with the Athenian bishop and his works, it is a matter of great moment that these works should be placed in good shape before the student of history, and this Mr. Lambros has done, bringing to the task care, industry, erudition, judgment, and that familiarity with the language of his author which only a Greek can have. The hundred and sixty-eight pages of notes at the end of the second volume are full of curious erudition.

If the writings of Michael Akominatos acquaint us with the last stages of the decay of the Greek empire, the next work, the *Collection de Romans grecs*, introduces us to the first stages of Hellenic regeneration, the popular literature of the awakening people. These romances, four in number, are written in a semi-popular dialect, "*difficile à définir*," as Mr. Lambros says, and in the dreadful 'political verse,' with which the Klephtic ballads have made us so familiar, and in which even at the present day most Greek poetry is written. They are preceded by an excellent introduction, and followed by a very complete glossary, both in French. Their titles are as follows:

1. Τὰ κατὰ Καλλίμαχον καὶ Χρυσορόρην, ἐρωτικὸν διήγημα.
2. Διήγησις ὡραιότητος τοῦ ἀνδρείουμένου Διγενῆ (in eight books).
3. Διήγησις ἐξαιρετοῦ ἐρωτικῆ καὶ ξένης τοῦ Ἑμπερίου θανμαστοῦ καὶ κόρας Μαρ-
γαρίνας.
4. Λόγος παρηγορητικὸς περὶ εὐτυχίας καὶ δυστυχίας.

The first is printed from the only MS. of the poem known to exist. This MS., which Mr. Lambros had much difficulty in discovering, was presented, along with many others, by Jos. Scaliger, in 1609, to the University of Leyden, in which it is still preserved. The story is a wonderful one, a kind of cross between *Dornröschen*, the *Arabian Nights*, and the old Greek romance of *Chaireas and Kallirrhōē*. I have not the least doubt that it sprang from the same root as the *Fafnismál* and the *Sigrdrífumál*, recently made so familiar by Jordan's charming *Nibelunge*. The poem is simply a very long ballad, with all the directness and naiveté that characterize that species of composition. It is not without a certain rugged force here and there. Here is a description of a witch in which Hebrew and Greek mythology are mixed up in a charming way:

Ἢ γραῦς ἡ κακομήχανος, τὸ σκεῖος τῶν δαιμόνων,
τῆς ἀστραπῆς ὁ σὺντροφος καὶ τῆς βροντῆς ἡ μάνα,
τοῦ Σατανᾶ τὸ παίδευμα, τῶν Νηρηίδων μᾶμμη,
πάσης ἀπλῶς κακωτικῆς πράξεως συνοδίτις.

Some of the descriptions of enchanted places recall passages in Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*. The date of the composition of this poem is not very clear. Mr. Lambros is inclined to place it some half century before the time of the chivalrous Michael Komnenos, that is, about 1100.

The second poem, which runs to 127 pages, is a Greek *Chanson de Roland*, and exists in about as many forms. In 1876 an edition of it was published by Sathas and Legrand, from the so-called Trebizond MS., which was at that time supposed to be the only one in existence. Indeed, the poem was at that time regarded as the only example of a mediaeval metrical romance in Greek. Since then there have come to light, not only numerous other romances of a similar kind, but also numerous MSS. of this one. The author of a version discovered in the island of Andros calls himself Eustathios. The version here published by Mr. Lambros is that of a Chian monk of the name of Ignatius Petritzis, who put the last touches to his work in 1670, and whose autograph MS. was brought from Greece by the traveller Wheler toward the end of the seventeenth century, and is now in the library of Lincoln College, Oxford. This version differs very considerably from the others, and is in several ways an improvement upon them all. The language, which is almost purely Romaic, shows strong traces of the dialect of Chios. When the legend of Digenis originated, or what historical foundation it has, is by no means clear, but it seems to have occupied in the Eastern Empire the same place that the legends of Arthur and Charlemagne did in the West.

The third poem, fifty pages long, is an imitation of the well-known Provençal romance *Pierre de Provence et la belle Marguelonne*, and was published by Wagner in 1874 from a Vienna MS. This edition was so incorrect that Mr. Lambros has done well to recollate the MS., as he has done, making use also of another at Oxford and one at Naples.

The fourth poem is a kind of allegory, a *Pilgrim's Progress*, standing in no very distant connection with the *Pinax* of Kebês. It occupies thirty-three pages, and is not destitute of poetic merit.

All these poems belong to an extensive literature, the very existence of which was unknown a few years ago, but which, when rendered accessible, will, no doubt, be as popular and interesting as the romance literature of the western nations. We will conclude this notice by saying that the volume in which they are contained is a very handsome one.

No. 4 is an account of a visit of research which Mr. Lambros made to the monasteries of Mt. Athos in the summer of 1880. Since Tischendorf made such valuable discoveries in the monasteries of the East, there has been a strong feeling abroad that these monasteries, and especially the great collection of them on Mt. Athos, must contain literary treasures. Mr. Lambros' researches hardly go to confirm this belief. New things of value he certainly did find, but they relate rather to mediaeval than to classical times. He intends to publish shortly a detailed account of his discoveries.

While at Mt. Athos, Mr. Lambros took the opportunity of studying the mediaeval paintings which decorate the churches of the various monasteries, and found some of them far superior to anything usually recognized as Byzantine art. He was particularly struck with the frescoes of a certain Panselinos (Πανσέληνος), whose name has long been familiar, but of whose date and history

nothing is known. A French painter, who accompanied Mr. Lambros, succeeded in making copies of a good many of these frescoes, as well as of numerous miniatures, capital letters, etc., and these he intends shortly to publish. No. 5 gives an account of one of Panselinos's frescoes, and is accompanied with a good chromo-lithograph representing the infant Jesus. This infant, if they were not warned by the presence of the cross, most people would certainly take for Heraklēs. It is the infant that developed into the Christ of Michael Angelo's *Last Judgment*. If this be a fair specimen of good Byzantine art, Mr. Lambros is certainly justified in claiming for that art more consideration than has hitherto been accorded to it. It would be interesting to know to what extent the early Italian painters were influenced by the works of the now forgotten Byzantine masters.

The subject of No. 6 is sufficiently indicated by its title. The *Περὶ ἡγῆσεως* of Laskaris is very brief, occupying only about a page and a half, and describes a visit to the north of Europe in the beginning of the 15th century; that of Batatzis, written in the usual political doggerel and miserably rhymed, gives an account of two voyages made in the first quarter of last century, one to Russia and Persia, the other to various European countries. Neither contains anything of great interest.

In this notice we have not mentioned any of Mr. Lambros' numerous archaeological articles scattered through different periodicals, the *Ἀθήναιον*, the *Παρυασσός*, the *Mittheilungen des deutschen archaologischen Instituts in Athen*, etc. In taking leave of so profound and accurate a scholar, we can only express the wish that his valuable activity may be continued for many years, and that he may succeed in making the middle age of Hellenism as interesting as that of Latinism has long been recognized to be.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

Griechische Grammatik von GUSTAV MEYER. Leipzig. 1880. Breitkopf und Härtel (Bibliothek Indogermanischer Grammatiken, Band III.)

This book is important from the position which it must hold in the future history of Greek grammar, if for nothing else, for it is the first treatise in which the investigations recently made on Indo-European vocalism are applied to at least two important chapters of Greek grammar; and it may be regarded as an official summary of what has been done in this field up to the time of the appearance of the book. Its completeness, its trustworthiness, and above all the extent to which it affords new light, will necessarily depend upon the degree in which these researches on vocalism are themselves complete and trustworthy. Gustav Meyer is one of the most ardent devotees of these studies, and that too after having clung to older methods up to an astonishingly short time previous to the publication of his grammar. Kuhn's *Zeitschrift*, vol. XXIV, 216 ff., contains an article by him entitled "Ueber den einfluss des hochtons auf den griechischen vocalismus," which is now valuable mostly because it shows how an honest scholar can change his opinions from 1879, the date of the article, to 1880, the date of the book before us.

In the article he seems to ignore completely the grand advances of the preceding four years of investigation. In the grammar he meets views resulting

from the principles of the new school not only in a just spirit, but with something like a friendly eagerness, governed perhaps by the feeling that new light, if it is to be gained on a large scale, is to be gained only by an ardent forward movement. On the other hand he by no means fails to recognize that fresh acquisitions, which have not had time to settle, ought to be used with caution by the author of a grammar which is to represent a language for some time to come, for it is not probable that any one will attempt another treatise on Greek form within the next ten years; and it is, to use the words of the author, a "*periculosae plenum opus aleae* to attempt at this time from a comparative point of view a treatise on any single I. E. language" (preface, p. viii).

Only two portions of Greek grammar are discussed: a "lautlehre" (description and history of the sounds) and a "flexionslehre" (description and history of the inflections). Of these two the first aims to be exhaustive, comprehending all the accessible material of the language; the second restricts itself to the most important phenomena. Just at this time an attempt at a "stammbildungslehre" would be especially interesting. Much has been brought to light in this department lately, especially by Osthoff, Brugman, and Joh. Schmidt, and a systematic treatment by a skilful hand of the facts and principles of "stammbabstufung" (strong and weak stems) would no doubt throw light upon many vexed questions of Greek form and sound. This, however, was made impossible by the restriction on the part of the publishers as to the size of the series of I. E. grammars, of which this is one.

The "lautlehre" contains nine chapters, of which the first two are devoted to the vowels. It is here that most of what is new and requires comment is to be found.

The first fact new in a Greek grammar is contained in the statement that *e* and *o* are original sounds and not the result of weakening from an old I. E. *a*. Meyer simply states that this opinion is now generally accepted without attempting to prove it. It will not be out of place to state compendiously what the grounds are.¹

1. In Greek itself *e* and *o* exchange with one another in the same root in such a way that as a rule *e* appears in one certain set of formations, *o* in another set: *e. g.* γέν-ος, μέν-ος and γέ-γον-α, μέ-μον-α; never *γον-ος (as an -es- stem) nor *γε-γεν-α. The variation between *e* and *o* is therefore an organic one, and the two sounds cannot be the result of phonetic corruption from *a*.

2. The appearance of Sk.-Iranian *a* for Greek and European *e* and *o* (North-European *a*), which gave rise to the assumption that all of these came from an original I. E. *a*, is now deprived of its importance by two facts: first, that the Armenian (an Iranian language) shares the *e-o* with Europe; secondly, that the traces of a phonetic value much the same as that of Greek *ε* has been found under the cover of this Sk. *a*, for only on this supposition can the change of certain gutturals into palatals before it be accounted for.²

The theory of *guṇa* has been given up; the consequence is roots of the form *ās, āi, srāu, bhār, mān, dāik, dārḥ, bhāndh* (εσ, ει, σρεν, φερ, μεν, δεκ, δερκ, πεινθ). Formerly the roots were inconsistently set down as εσ, φερ, μεν, δερκ,

¹ For the literature bearing upon this question see this Journal, vol. I, p. 281.

² Cf. this Journal, vol. I, p. 301 ff.

πενθ, but ι, σρν, and δικ, thus allowing the ε a function in the one case and denying it the same in another which is perfectly parallel. These roots have in addition to the form with ablaut *ā* (Greek ο: αι, δορκ, πονθ, etc.) a weak form, which differs from the strong by the lack of this ε (ο): σ, ι, σρν, φρ, μν, δικ, δρκ, πνθ. This reduced form may safely be assumed to have stood originally only in formations which had the word-tone on some non-radical syllable,—thus naturally bringing about a less distinct pronunciation of the root-syllable. The graphical representation of this weakened utterance is *root minus the e-o-vowel*.

The recognition of these weak root-forms leads irresistibly to the assumption of *I. E. lingual and nasal vowels (liquida and nasalis sonans, Sievers' Grundzüge der Phonetik, p. 28 ff)*; *I. E. ʔ, (.), ʔ, ʔ* represented in Greek by *ap* or *pa* (αλ or λα for the lingual and *a* and *av*, *a* and *av* for the nasal vowels; cf. Jenaer Literaturz. 1877, p. 735; this Journal, vol. I, 292 ff.

Strange in external appearance are the *I. E.* and *Gr.* groundforms or explanatory symbols which are the result: *τη-νυμαι* for *τάννυμαι*; *σι-σλ-ιω*¹ for *ιάλλω*; **βη-ιω* for *βαίνω = venio*. In order to explain *ἀάσκει· βλάπτει* (Hesych.) a ground-form **Fυ-σκεi* is to be assumed, as for **ἀα-τός* in *ἀ-άτος* ("unhurt") **Fη-τός = Germ. vum-d(a)-s*. In both these forms *a* is prothetic before the *F*, which has been lost; the strong form of the root is *Fev = Ved. van* in *van-ati*; he conquers, RV. Striking is the explanation of *-φασσα* in *Περσέφασσα* (Περσεφόνη). **Φασσα* is an old participle from a root-verb (non-thematic conjugation); ground-form **φη-τ-ια* from a root *φεν* (more correctly *θεν*; all three root-forms: *θεν, φον, *φν*; K. Z. xxv, 168) = Sk. *hatt* for **ghn-t-t*; so also *πρό-φασσα* for **προ-φρητ-ια*. Further, **ρηghn* for *ἐλαφρός* (ε prothetic); **ηsmā* or **ηsma* for Lesbian *ἄμμε* for **ασμε*; cf. Sk. stem *asm-d-*, Germ. *uns*. The Greek groundform for *ἐφθάρητο* would be **ē-φθp-γτο*; **η-μ* the predecessor of *ἦμα*.

It certainly does not seem as though one of the acquisitions of the grammatical science of to-day were simplicity of method in representing its processes. We will, however, gladly put up with a cumbrous system of symbols if we are compensated for it by exactness—if such symbols help to convey to the reader the exact meaning of the writer. This quality the signs, which may be gleaned from the examples above, in general possess to a high degree. When we examine the symbol-group **ηsmā* there can be no doubt as to the exact value represented by it: *η-* is a syllable in which the element that carries the syllable tone is in the main nasal (a nasal vowel). The vocalic color of this nasal vowel the symbol does not undertake to express, and it is indeed unknown. The representations of it in the various languages of the family diverge widely: *Gr.* and *Sk.* *a* and *an*; but *Germ. un*, *Lat. en*, *Lithuanian in*, *Old Bulgarian ɛ*. In the same way *ʔ* is an element mainly of a lingual character, bearing the tone of the syllable; in the rendering of it the *Sk.* at least coincides with the symbol (*Sk. ʔ*); the other languages again vary greatly: *Zend ərē*; *Gr. ap* and *al*; *Lat.* and *Germ. or(ur)*; *Lith. ir*; *Old Bulg. ri*; *Old Irish re*.² The remainder *mā* is practically identical with *Gr. με*. The symbol does not, however, profess to

¹ *ǰ* is Sievers' designation for semivocalic or semiconsonantal *y* in distinction from the full consonant (spirant) *y*; *Phonetik*, p. 123. The same is true for *ʔ*, etc., employed further on.

² Windisch, *Kurzgefasste Irische Grammatik*; pref. V; Zimmer K. Z. XXIV, 209.

define the value of the I. E. vowel, which it renders, quite so closely; \acute{a} expresses a vowel sound lying somewhere between e and a , but without quite reaching a ; in the same way \hat{a} is a sound between o and a , which does not quite reach a . Nevertheless it is becoming more and more common to write simply e and o for \acute{a} and \hat{a} even at the expense of perfect exactness.

The work which the discovery of the I. E. lingual and nasal vowels has done must be admitted to be great. They have bound together firmly much that was indeed felt to belong together; but could not be proved to do so, because the phonetic laws which would allow the union could not be formulated. The entire work of Meyer is studded with striking and convincing etymologies and with lucid explanations of the phenomena of formation. The ending of the accusative singular is m ; no other more complicated form is now needed to explain any I. E. accusative. This m appears unchanged in vocalic stems $\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron-\nu$, $\pi\acute{o}\lambda\iota-\nu$, $\sigma\acute{\upsilon}-\nu$; after consonantal stems the same m becomes vocalic \bar{m} (a): $\pi\acute{o}\delta-a$, $\phi\acute{\upsilon}\lambda\alpha\kappa-a$, $\eta\gamma\epsilon\mu\acute{o}\nu-a$. When we find forms like $\iota\chi\theta\acute{\upsilon}-a$, etc., they are later formations made with the ending a abstracted from combinations where it was legitimate. In the same way the Homeric endings of the third person— $-αται$, $-ατο$ —find a perfect explanation; see §19.

Interesting is the effect which the assumption of nasal vowels has in case of the root of the Gr. word for 'one'; the root is sem ; it appears in Lat. $sem-el$, $sim-plex$, $sin-gul\bar{i}$ and $sin-cin\bar{ia}$ ('cantatio solitaria'); the Gr. $*\sigma\epsilon\mu$ appears regularly as $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ ($=*\acute{\epsilon}\nu-\varsigma$ for $*\acute{\epsilon}\mu-\varsigma$). Supposing that the root-vowel of sem falls out there remains a sound-group sm , which can remain unchanged before vowel-endings: thus we have the fem. $\mu-ia$ for $*\sigma\mu-ia$; before consonants the m of sm must turn sonant: $sm\bar{i}$ = Sk. sa = Gr. \acute{a} ; so $\acute{a}-\pi\alpha\varsigma$, $\acute{a}-\pi\lambda\acute{o}\varsigma$ and Sk. $sa-k\bar{r}\bar{i}$ are satisfactorily laid aside; the Doric and Cretan form $\acute{a}-\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ for $\acute{\epsilon}-\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$ (also appearing in Attic in crasis: $\theta\acute{a}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu$) is in the same manner = $*sm\bar{i}-taras$; a genuine etymon for the word is thus gained. Further, the best acquisition is a beautiful comparison between Sk. $sahasra$, Zd. $hasa\bar{h}ra$ and the Gr. word for 'thousand,' $sa-hasra$ is $sm\bar{i}-hasra$, 'one thousand'; $-hasra$ is identical with the stem $\chi\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron-$ (for $\chi\epsilon\iota\lambda\omicron-$, $\chi\epsilon\sigma\lambda\omicron-$) in Homeric $\delta\epsilon\kappa\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\lambda\omicron\iota$, $\epsilon\acute{\nu}\nu\acute{\alpha}\chi\iota\lambda\omicron\iota$; the Lesbian form $\chi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\lambda\omega\iota$ for $*\chi\epsilon\sigma\lambda\omega\iota$ is the same $-hasra$ extended to $hasrya$ (§406). Finally the $\acute{\epsilon}$ - of $\acute{\epsilon}-\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{o}\nu$ is identified with this $sm\bar{i}$; $\acute{\epsilon}-\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{o}\nu$ stands for $*\acute{a}-\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{o}\nu$; this appears in the Tegean $\tau\rho\iota-a-\kappa\acute{\alpha}\sigma\iota\omicron\iota$ and in the Doric and Boeotian $\delta\iota-a-\kappa\alpha\tau\acute{\iota}\omicron\iota$ (§405). These combinations seem all sound; but even if some of them should not stand the test of time, we believe that on the whole the method which underlies them betokens a deeper insight into the morphology of I. E. words than could ever be attained by conservatively clinging to the results of the older masters: Bopp, Schleicher, Curtius, etc.

The new school follow Schleicher in treating the vowel-phenomena in 'reihen,' 'vocalreihen,' an expression, which like many Germ. grammatical terms, can be rendered but inadequately into English by 'vowel-series.' The phenomena which have just been considered all enact themselves in the \acute{a} -reihe; parallel with the three vocalic forms which this offers (form with \acute{a} , form with \hat{a} , and form without this $\acute{a}-\hat{a}$) there appear three other series—the $\acute{\epsilon}$ -series: $\acute{\epsilon}$, δ , $\acute{\epsilon}$ (§37), the \acute{a} -series: \acute{a} , δ , δ (§43), and the δ -series: δ , δ , δ (§71), justifying the following proportion for the Greek:

TABLE I.

<i>ε</i> -series	: <i>ε</i> :	<i>ο</i> :	—	=
<i>η</i> -series	: <i>η</i> :	<i>ω</i> :	<i>ε</i>	=
<i>ᾱ</i> -series	: <i>ᾱ</i> :	<i>ω</i> :	<i>ᾱ</i>	=
<i>ω</i> -series	: <i>ω</i> :	<i>ω</i> :	<i>ο</i>	

An example of the *η*-series is presented by: *τίθημι, θωμός, τίθεμαι*; of the *ᾱ*-series by: *φημί, φωνή, φαμέν*; of the *ω*-series: *δίδωμι, δέδωκα*,¹ *δοτός*. It is to be noted that the material for the middle ablaut is very fragmentary in the *η*- and *ᾱ*-series (§§40, 41, 45, 49), a fact which is explained by assuming far-reaching assimilations in favor of the first ablaut. In order to understand precisely the origin of these series, *i. e.* the method which led to their recognition, it will be necessary to refer to a theory which as far as can be seen emanates from Brugman, and has been most extensively employed by De Saussure, a pupil of his, in his 'Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes.'

NOTE ON THE THEORY OF SONANT COEFFICIENTS.²

The very life of this theory is the assumption that all I. E. roots can have but one vowel: *â* (*e*) varying with *ā* (*o*); all other seemingly vocalic elements are in reality semiconsonants, which assume the function of vowels only when this *e-o* has for some reason been lost (*κλέψ-ος, κλυ-τός*); this semiconsonant is called 'sonant coefficient' (coefficient sonantique). In cases where the root does not possess such a sonant coefficient it remains vowelless (*πέτ-ομαι: ἔπτ-όμην; δs-mi: s-māsi*). This agrees incontrovertibly with all the facts in the case of roots of the *ā*-series; *πετ, δει, χεν, δερ, στελ, μεν, λειπ, ἐλευθ, δερκ, πενθ*, etc., can interchange with *ποτ, δοι*, etc., but only upon the loss of this *e* or *o* do the semiconsonantal elements contained in these roots assume the function of vowels: *δι, χυ, δρ, στλ, μυ, λιπ, ἐλυθ, δρκ, πυθ*, etc. The possible sonant coefficients of roots of the *ā*-series are accordingly: *ι, υ, ρ, (λ), π, μ*, and if we add these to the real vowels of the *ā*-series we obtain the following five (or six) series within the *ā*-series:

TABLE II.

<i>ει</i> :	<i>οι</i> :	<i>ι</i> =	(<i>ελ</i> :	<i>ολ</i> :	<i>λ</i>) =
<i>ευ</i> :	<i>ου</i> :	<i>υ</i> =	<i>εν</i> :	<i>ον</i> :	<i>ν</i> =
<i>ερ</i> :	<i>ορ</i> :	<i>ρ</i> =	<i>εμ</i> :	<i>ομ</i> :	<i>μ</i> =

In Greek the roots made according to these models are about 250 (Journal, vol. I, p. 310), and we consider it not unsafe to state that more than one-half of the roots which occur in verbal formations are of this class. In the other languages also these roots are preponderatingly represented (*e. g.* Sk. and Gothic). The thought then that the remaining roots also may be found constructed on the same plan does not lie far removed, and Saussure boldly makes the attempt: As in table II, *ι, υ, ρ, (λ), ν, μ* are the sonant coefficients to *e-o*; as these are

¹ M. and Brugman regard this word as coming from a root *δωκ*: *δέδωκα*; see below and § 557.

² Saussure, p. 134 ff; for reviews cf. Misteli: Lautgesetz und Analogie, Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie, Vol. XII, fasc. 4. Fick in Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen, stück 14; April 7th, 1880.

forced in the reduced root-form to play the part of vowels (ι , υ , ρ , (λ), ν , μ), so in table I ϵ of the η -series is a sonant coefficient (ϵ), which is performing the function of a vowel, because the real root-vowel ϵ -o has been lost; *i. e.* η stands or $\epsilon\epsilon$: ω for $\alpha\epsilon$; in the same way the vocalism of the $\bar{\alpha}$ -series goes back to $\epsilon\bar{\alpha}$ for $\bar{\alpha}$; $\alpha\bar{\alpha}$ for ω , and $\bar{\alpha}$ is the sonant coefficient; so also the ω -series is to be resolved into $\epsilon\omega$, $\alpha\omega$ and o . We could then add to table II three perfectly parallel series:

TABLE III.

$\epsilon\epsilon$:	$\alpha\epsilon$:	ϵ	=
$\epsilon\alpha$:	$\alpha\alpha$:	α	=
$\epsilon\omega$:	$\alpha\omega$:	o	

From the standpoint of the phonetist we believe there is no objection to be urged: ϵ , α and o can be 'consonants' as well as ι and υ (Sievers, *Phonetik*, p. 123); the contractions with the root-vowels into the vowel-forms actually occurring would also pass criticism, though it is to be noted that in the first perpendicular column of table III the *semiconsonantal* elements impress their vocalic color on the result ($\epsilon\epsilon$, $\epsilon\alpha$, $\epsilon\omega$: η , $\bar{\alpha}$, ω), while in the second perpendicular column the semiconsonantal element succumbs, and the result of the contraction (ω) has the *vocalic color of the real root-vowel* (o).

One cannot but admire the ingenuity and dash, the mental 'chic' which underlies these investigations; but from the standpoint of the history of the I. E. languages we must refuse for the present to accept their results. No one language shows even a single instance in which the elements supposed to underlie the contraction occur uncontracted. This to be sure is no final condemnation; we are becoming accustomed more and more to view the immediate historic background of the separate I. E. languages,—the I. E. parent language, as a real language devoid of unnatural regularity, presenting in many respects phenomena of a very secondary nature—phenomena which had a long history before them, and the possibility of these contractions must not be absolutely denied. Practically, however, they cannot *as yet be recognized in that form*.

But one result this theory has yielded, and this Meyer has incorporated, namely, the recognition of the fact that the η and $\bar{\alpha}$ of the η - and $\bar{\alpha}$ -series vary with ω under the same circumstances under which ϵ varies with o . Meyer does not state the same principle outright for the ω -series, perhaps because it there loses all practical value, since the first two ablauts fall together in ω . No doubt it would have been better in spite of the slender material to recognize and state distinctly that the ω of $\delta\iota$ - $\delta\omega$ - $\mu\iota$ is to the ω of $\delta\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\delta\omega$ - $\kappa\alpha$ (or $\delta\delta\omega\delta\alpha$) what the $\bar{\alpha}$ of $\phi\bar{\alpha}$ - $\mu\acute{\iota}$ is to the ω of $\phi\omega$ - $\nu\acute{\eta}$, and the ϵ of $\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi$ - ω to the o of $\lambda\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\lambda\omega\pi$ - α . If the ablaut is assumed for all other series, the mere fact that in one series the two vowel-forms coincide can furnish no reason for ignoring the existence of the same principle there.

Extremely interesting will it be now to see what vocalic and semivocalic material is furnished by the exposition of Meyer for the I. E. parent speech.

The $\bar{\alpha}$ -series yields two real vowels: $\bar{\alpha}$ and α (ϵ and o) and the following sounds wavering between consonantal and vocalic function: γ and $\acute{\iota}$; ν and ω ;

r and *ṛ* (*l* and *ḷ*); *n* and *ṇ*; *m* and *ṃ*.¹ Its diphthongs would be: *ei*, *oi*, *eu*, *ou* (in a wider sense of the term also *er*, *or* (*el*, *ol*); *en*, *on*; *em*, *om* and even *eñ*, *oñ*; *eñ*, *oñ*).

The *ē*-series yields: *ē* and *ē*¹ (so designated to differentiate it from the *ē*'s of the two following series) and *e*.

The *ā*-series yields: *ā* and *ā*²; and *a*.

The *ō*-series yields: *ō*³ and *ō*⁴ and *o*. Of diphthongal material, in which the first part is a long vowel there appears certainly at least: *āu* in the stem *nāu*-; Ionic (not pan-hellenic) *νηῦ*-ς; Sk. *nāu*-s (Whitney 361, a); Lat. *nāv*-is; Sk. *gāu*-s probably is to be referred to an I. E. stem *gōu*-.

Thus far we have seen nothing of the I. E. *ā*, which formerly played so great a role in I. E. grammar. The *a* which appears as the weak root-form in the *ā*-series has too special and doubtful a character to allow one to assert definitely that it was originally a pure short *a*-vowel (cf. *σά-τός*=Sk. *sthi-tās*); on the other hand a quantity of material containing short *a*-vowels, which cannot be arranged in any of the four series, is collected by the author in § 57; material containing the diphthongs *ai* and *au* in §§ 104-5. Much that is to be found there lacks clearness; very few forms have corresponding ones in several languages of the family.

We subjoin a provisional scheme of I. E. vowels and semivowels, claiming neither absolute correctness nor scientific symmetry in the symbols employed. It will, however, suffice to give a fair idea of what Meyer supposes to be the material contained by the immediate predecessor of the separate languages of our family:

Pure short vowels	: ē — ō; ā
Their diphthongs	: ei — oi; ai
	eu — ou; au
Long vowels	: ē — ō ¹
	ā — o ²
	ō ³ — (ō ⁴)

Short vowels or semivowels corresponding to these: *e*, *a*, *o*.

One diphthong: *āu*

Semiconsonants: *y*-i; *v*-u; *r*-ṛ (*l*-ḷ); *m*-ṃ; *n*-ṇ (*ñ*-ṇ; *ñ*-ṇ).

Compare this with a scheme that would perhaps represent the average opinion of scholars before the vocalic investigations!

Short vowels	: a, i, u
Long vowels	: ā, (ī), (ū)
Diphthongs	: ai, au
Semiconsonants	: y, v

The semiconsonantal character of linguals and nasals was not recognized in the sense that it is now; and *r*, *m*, *n*, etc., according to the older opinion belong to the consonants entirely.

It will be seen throughout that there is no hesitation on the part of the younger grammarians of to-day to postulate for the I. E. parent-language all the fulness of sound-material which a language of historical times possesses. So

¹ One might fairly add the nasals corresponding to the two I. E. guttural series, which could be designated by *ṇ* and *ṇ*; and *ṇ* and *ṇ*; Sk. *bhrāṇ*-āte; *bhrāṇ*-āte contain *ṇ* and *ṇ*; Zend *rañjista*-; Sk. *rañh*-ā, *ēlañ*-ā, Germ. *lang*-er contain *ṇ* and *ṇ*.

Meyer (§ 216) following Sievers adds to the semiconsonant *i* an I. E. *y*, a spirant and a full consonant, *i* in the beginning of a Greek word is represented by spir. asper; *y* by ζ: ἄζ-ομαι: Sk. root *yaj*; and ζημία: Sk. root *yam*; the difference between the Gr. initials reflects itself in the different treatment of the two Sk. roots when reduplicated: *i-ydj-a* but *ya-ydm-a*; for a similar opinion pronounced more hesitatingly with regard to a difference between initial semiconsonantal *u* and *v*, a spirant consonant, see § 242.

The change in principle which is illustrated by all this amounts to the following: There is a perfect willingness to-day to believe that the parent speech was a language furnished with all the riches and all the defects of historical languages. We are not acquainted with any attempt to explain forms of that language by that much-employed factor in the grammatical investigations of to-day, namely 'false analogy,' 'form-association'; but it is interesting to see that I. E. *irregularities* are being recognized more and more. Every one will at once think of κει-ται=Sk. *kt-te*=Zd *kat-te*, irregular in that it has a strong root-form, accompanied by the tone on the root-syllable, in the middle voice of a root-verb; the same irregularity is probably to be seen in ἦσ-ται=Sk. *ās-te*; the adjectives ὤκ-της and ἦδ-της=Sk. *āf-ús* and *svād-ús* having the tone on the suffix are irregular in showing a strong root-form; cf. θρασ-ής=Sk. *dhṛsh-ús*; βραδ-ής=Sk. *mṛd-ús*; γλυκ-ής: γλεῦκ-ος, etc.; from other languages one need but mention *ma-tis*: *gd-tis*, where the tone of *gd-tis* is irregularly on the root; this difference of accent reflects itself perfectly in Gothic (*ga*)-*mun-d(i)s*: (*ga*)-*qum-p(i)s*, which are according to Verner's law: -*mun-dis* but -*qum-pis* in perfect correspondence with the irregularity of the Sk., we have here therefore an I. E. irregularity. Much more material of this character could be added, and facts of this kind are well fitted to make the acceptance of an extensive and complicated system of I. E. sounds seem less hazardous and perhaps more in accordance with genuinely sound and sober views of language, than were the unnaturally simple systems, established by the older grammarians; the results of an undue prepossession in favor of the phenomena of the Sanskrit.

Totally changed as the treatment of the vocalism of Greek appears in Meyer's treatise, little that is new in principle can be found in the treatment of the consonants. Here we find the author in all important particulars on the same ground with older comparative treatises. Truly comforting it is to find the formerly large chapter on Greek metathesis reduced to two paragraphs (173-4); this is due to the recognition of the fact that I. E. *ʔ* (?) appear in Gr. indifferently as *ap* or *pa* (*aλ* or *λα*). The treatment of the two guttural series also offers nothing that is very new, except the identification of Gr. *dentalism* with the specially Aryan (Sk.-Zd.) *palatalization*; the author follows Joh. Schmidt and Collitz (cf. Journal I, 301 ff.). Very happy is the device by which the different character of the two series is indicated without resorting to the usual method of differentiating them by numbers or diacritical marks (§ 184 ff.).

The most important new factor which has been added to the knowledge of Greek *form* and *inflection* is the recognition of the variableness of stems within the same formation, much the same in principle as in Sk., the Germ. '*stammabstufung*.' This acquisition has a thorny side on Gr. ground; for the variableness of stem is in general preserved only in faint remnants; it has been wiped away by assimilations to and fro; these assimilations were rendered easy

because the old accentual law, so far the only known ground for a large part of this phenomenon, is superseded by the enclitic accentuation (the recessive accent). There is no distinct attempt in the book to give a survey of the stems, which are subject to the laws—there being no chapter on stem-formation—but in the course of treating the case-endings and the present stems, much that is keen and suggestive appears. We cull but a few examples:

Doric $\pi\acute{\omega}\varsigma$: $\pi\omicron\delta\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ is reflected in Sk. $\acute{p}\acute{a}d\text{-}am$: $\acute{p}\acute{a}d\text{-}\acute{a}s$; cf. $\phi\rho\acute{\eta}\nu$: $\phi\rho\alpha\text{-}\acute{\sigma}\iota$ (Pindar).

Ποι-μήν: ποι-μέν-ος: ποι-μν-η: Sk. $\acute{r}\acute{a}j\text{-}\acute{a}n\text{-}am$: $\acute{r}\acute{a}j\text{-}nas$, $\pi\alpha\text{-}\acute{\tau}\epsilon\rho\text{-}\alpha$, $\pi\alpha\text{-}\tau\rho\text{-}\acute{\iota}$, $\pi\alpha\text{-}\tau\rho\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\sigma\iota$: Sk. $\acute{p}\acute{i}\text{-}t\acute{d}r\text{-}am$, $\acute{p}\acute{i}\text{-}tr\text{-}\acute{a}$, $\acute{p}\acute{i}\text{-}t\acute{r}\text{-}shu$; $\alpha\eta\eta\rho$: $\alpha\eta\delta\rho\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$: Ved. $\acute{n}\acute{d}r\text{-}am$, $\acute{n}\acute{f}\acute{n}$.

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\text{-}\acute{F}\acute{\omega}\varsigma$, $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\delta\text{-}\acute{F}\acute{\omicron}\tau\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\acute{\iota}\delta\text{-}\nu(\sigma)\text{-}\acute{\iota}\alpha$: Sk. $\acute{v}\acute{id}\text{-}\acute{v}\acute{a}ñs\text{-}am$, $\acute{v}\acute{id}\text{-}\acute{v}\acute{d}t\text{-}su$, $\acute{v}\acute{id}\text{-}\acute{u}sh\text{-}\acute{\iota}$.

$\epsilon\upsilon\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu\text{-}\acute{\eta}\varsigma$, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\text{-}\epsilon(\sigma)\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$: Sk. $su\text{-}m\acute{d}n\text{-}\acute{a}s$, $m\acute{d}n\text{-}as$.

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\text{-}\mu\iota$, $\acute{\iota}\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$; $\phi\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$, $\phi\acute{\alpha}\text{-}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$: $\acute{\iota}\text{-}m\acute{\iota}$, $\acute{\iota}\text{-}m\acute{d}s$.

$\tau\acute{\iota}\text{-}\theta\eta\text{-}\mu\iota$, $\tau\acute{\iota}\text{-}\theta\epsilon\text{-}\mu\epsilon\nu$: Ved. $bi\text{-}bh\acute{d}r\text{-}mi$, $bi\text{-}bh\acute{t}\text{-}m\acute{d}si$.

$\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\beta\eta\text{-}\nu$, $\beta\acute{d}\text{-}\acute{\iota}\eta\nu$: Ved. $d\text{-}\acute{c}ro\text{-}t$, $\acute{c}ru\text{-}t\acute{d}m$.

$\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\omicron\iota\kappa\text{-}\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\iota\kappa\text{-}\tau\omicron\nu$: Sk. $bi\text{-}bh\acute{e}d\text{-}\alpha$, $bi\text{-}bh\acute{id}\text{-}\acute{u}s$: Goth. $stai\text{-}g\text{-}stig\text{-}um$.

$\acute{\iota}\pi\text{-}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, $\acute{\iota}\pi\text{-}\pi\epsilon$: Old Lat. $eq\text{-}uos$, $eq\text{-}ue$.

Doric $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}\omicron\text{-}\nu\tau\iota$, $\acute{\epsilon}\chi\text{-}\epsilon\text{-}\tau\epsilon$: Old Lat. $veh\text{-}o\text{-}nt$, $veh\text{-}i\text{-}te$: Goth. $vig\text{-}\alpha\text{-}nd$: $vig\text{-}i\text{-}\acute{p}$.

The chapter on 'stammabstufung' will probably always remain a dark one within the precincts of the Greek. Especially in the case of noun stems it may be assumed—considering the fragmentariness of the material—that the reconstruction of more ancient conditions will always remain subjective opinion, rather than convincing fact. Sufficient is the gain from these investigations if they only show, first that the striking phenomena of Sk. in this direction are paralleled extensively in Europe, secondly that the Greek stem-formations of historical times are secondary in this respect.

New in a Greek grammar is the view emanating from Scherer and now generally accepted, that the Greek distinction between ω - and μ - verbs ($\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega$: $\tau\acute{\iota}\text{-}\theta\eta\text{-}\mu\acute{\iota}$) is original and the Sk.-Zend $bh\acute{d}r\text{-}\acute{a}\text{-}mi$ has borrowed its mi from forms that possessed it legitimately, e. g. $d\acute{a}\text{-}dh\acute{a}\text{-}mi$; cf. Goth. $ba\acute{t}r\text{-}\alpha$: $i(s)\text{-}m(i)$. This is one of the many examples which illustrate the growing tendency to suspect the originality of Sk. forms.

Finally the new explanation of the $\kappa\alpha$ -perfect should be noted, both for its own sake and because it illustrates most forcibly the views which are held by some scholars with regard to the extent to which 'false analogy' may be found doing work in language. Compare upon this point the instructive essay of Misteli in Volumes XI and XII of the Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie. The $\kappa\alpha$ -perfect is explained by Brugman (K. Z. XXV, 212 ff.)—Meyer hesitatingly accepts the explanation—as due to one single perfect $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\omega\kappa\alpha$, where, he claims, κ belongs to the root ($\delta\omega\kappa$ =Sk. $d\acute{a}\acute{c}$); this $\delta\acute{\epsilon}\text{-}\delta\omega\kappa\text{-}\alpha$ was afterwards felt by the language-users to belong to root $\delta\omega$; i. e. $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\delta\omega\text{-}\kappa\alpha$ instead of $\delta\epsilon\text{-}\delta\omega\kappa\text{-}\alpha$, and this is the origin of the suffix $\kappa\alpha$. To be sure this root $\delta\omega\kappa$ is decidedly problematic on Greek ground (a doubted present $\delta\acute{\omega}\kappa\omega$ on the Cypriot inscription of Idalion is the only proof) and the meaning of the root $d\acute{a}\acute{c}$ ('to reverence,' 'to bring offering') is also unfavorable to an identification with it, but this does not deter Brugman; he still prefers this to the old explanation, which, it must be granted, rather arbitrarily assumes that a special stem in $\kappa\alpha$ lies at the bottom of the formation. The view of Brugman and Meyer has nothing convincing; it is, however, a sign of the times. Explanations of difficult forms will in the imme-

diate future be made on the same supposition of analogy working in this extraordinary if not morbid way. Leskien in his lectures on Lithuanian explains the second person singular of the present, perfect, future, etc., of all Lithuanian verbs—they end in *i*: *sukl*, *sukal*, *sūksi*—as *due to the analogy of the single form esi*, second person of *esmi*=Sk. *asi*, etc. Osthoff (K. Z. XXIII, 327) explains the infinitives in *-σθαι* as having originally only the ending *-θαι*=Vedic *dhya*; that those verbs, which show a radical *σ* on being connected with the ending, *e. g.* *ῆσθαι*, *πε-πείσθαι*, etc., gave rise to the feeling that the ending was really *-σθαι* (*ῆσθαι*, *πε-πείσθαι*) and according to this misconception the entire infinitive in *-σθαι* was built up (*λέγεσθαι*, *φέρεσθαι*, etc.) The great danger of such explanations is that they are uncontrollable, and that they open out unlimited possibilities for other uncontrollable explanations. One cannot disprove them; the possibility of such processes must be admitted; one case in which a few single forms have given rise to a distinct category of formation in German, Latin, Sanskrit, etc., may be fairly said to be lifted above doubt. The type of Gothic *bēr-um*: *bar*; Latin Pf. *lēg-imus*: Gr. *λέ-λογ-α* (Hesych.); Sk. *ten-imd*: *ta-tān-a*, which is richly represented in each of these languages, owes its existence to a few single forms, in which this contracted weak perfect-form was due to a phonetic process: *e. g.* Gothic *sēt-um*: *sat*; Lat. *sēd-imus* to a lost **se-sod-i*; Sk. *sēd-imd*: *sa-sād-a*; they go back to an I. E. stem *sē-sd*, which contracted to *sēd* even before the separation of the languages. This *sēd* and one or two others: *ēt* (Gothic *ēt-um*, Lat. *ēd-imus*) and perhaps *mēn* (Sk. *men-i*, Irish *domén-ar*) are the types from which the numerous stems in *i* have developed in the separate languages. For forms like Gothic *hlēf-um*, Latin *cēp-imus*, Sk. *grēth-us* (: *granth* /) cannot be explained as *phonetic* products in the respective languages; they are due to the generalization of the ablaut contained in *sēt-um*: *sat*, etc. Other cases of a similar character could be mentioned; the difficulty, however, lies in the circumstance, that generally when such assumptions are made for remote periods of language, the background of fact, such as lies before us in the case of the type *sēd* is wanting; there remains then subjective opinion; 'one man's guess is as good as another's'; there is scarcely a difficult form that would resist explanation by this method, and the ground gives way under our feet.

M. BLOOMFIELD

Notes on the Nalopākhyānam or Tale of Nala, for the Use of Classical Students. By JOHN PEILE, M. A., Fellow and Tutor of Christ's College, Cambridge. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press. 1881.

Any one who has attempted to teach Sanskrit to English-speaking students knows full well how great is the need of a suitable text-book. The announcement in the University Bulletin of Mr. Peile's attempt to supply this need was greeted by us with eager expectation; but his book has filled us with the deepest disappointment.

These Notes are intended to be used either with Jarrett's or Williams's *Nala*: the former contains the text and vocabulary, all in Roman letters; the latter, the same in Devanāgarī. Mr. Peile's notes are very discursive, but they are often interesting, and his classical comparisons happy. Thus *sabhārya*, which puzzles beginners, is aptly paralleled (page 17) by a hypothetical ἀνὴρ ἀμάγνος

and *vir consuxor*; while the reference to Nala's subjects as his children is illustrated (79) by the verse about "Odysseus who *πατήρ ὡς ἦν υἱὸς ἦεν*." Mr. Peile has studied the Nala-episode faithfully, and made careful collections of facts. This is shown, for example, by his remarks on the use of the genitive (78), on desiderative adjectives (51), on the order of principal and final clauses (191-2), and many others. His general study and reading in Sanskrit, however, can hardly have been such as to warrant him in attempting to write a book for the instruction of others. That the author evidently distrusts himself is shown by his frequent use of "apparently," "probably," "seems to be," etc. He says (76), "It seems to me that *ṣ* [of *paras-para*] is probably the nominative sign." How he can state a trite and undisputed fact in this hesitating fashion, unless it be from force of habit, it is hard to see. His book will help an isolated student without a teacher to read the Nala with tolerable correctness; but it will give him little or no power over the language, and very little linguistic training. The statements (52) about *artha* and its derivatives, for example, are loose and disorderly. By the aid of the St. Petersburg Lexicon he might have given the logical development of *ar* and its derivatives in beautiful order, so that the student should exercise his reason rather than downright memory. The inaccuracies of the book are not to be excused on the ground that it is "for the use of classical students." Surely, if the pioneers of Sanskrit scholarship learned anything from the great lights of classical scholarship, it was method and *ἀκρίβεια*—two characteristics which are sadly lacking here.

Even the external form of the work calls for censure. The author follows the outrageously bad innovation of Professor Jarrett and employs a dot to denote long vowels.¹ This is an offense even to a scholar familiar with Sanskrit quantities. Short *i* loses its dot and becomes *z*. That is, in the case of *a* and *u*, length is denoted by an unusual diacritical mark, which is all very well, but in the case of *i* by a mark which we expect to see there, and whose diacritical value is therefore null—which is a fatal objection to this method. He also clings to the misleading use of two letters in transliterating an *ṛ*-vowel—thus, *ṛz* and *ṛi*. This method, aided by occasional misprints, ought to be enough to baffle a clear-headed beginner. What will he think of the statement (129) that "roots in *ṛi* change to *ir* before *na*"? In Sanskrit, short vowels are nearly three times as frequent as long ones. If we mark about one vowel in four with the clear old-fashioned macron, and leave the shorts unmarked, the quantities may be easily learned and printed correctly. Aside from the unfortunate transcription, the misprints are too numerous for an elementary book. Thus we have: *greṣṭaḥ*, 14; *tvaramānā*, 26, *harinim*, 137, and *purarāṣṭrāni*, 181 (*n* instead of lingual *ṇ*); *Balavratrahā*, for *Valavratrahā*, 90; "*vyaṣanam*, from *vi* + *aṣ* 'to throw,'" 92; *dṛiṣ*, for *dhṛiṣ*, better *dhārṣ*, 124; *ṣ* for *ṣ* in "*sāva* from *su*"—a peccatum ab origine and complete confusion of roots—128; *ṣatur*, 138, and again 139; *ṣva*, for *ṣvaḥ*, 212; Boetlingk, 231. Twice he prints *ḥṛtau* with spiritus lenis (18, 88). Can he have had Ionic *κάρηται* or the

¹ In the interest of uniformity in transliteration, may we not repeat Boetlingk's sound advice?—Man einige sich über eine gleiche Transcriptionsweise und gebe die Unart auf auch hier dem Particularismus freien Lauf zu lassen. Wenn das wissenschaftliche Gewissen schlägt, der mache in einer Vorrede seinem Herzen Luft, folge aber einer hergebrachten Weise und erzeuge keinen neuen Anstoss beim Leser. *Mélanges Asiatiques*, vii. 539. See also Whitney, *Proceedings of Am. Or. Soc'y* for Oct. 1880.

like in mind as a justification? The author failed to decide on one method of printing fused vowels. And so—for example, merely—we have: the compound *yath' oktam*, 73, with apostrophe; *-garbh-ābham*, 170, with hyphen; *-pat'-āyata*, 184, with both; and the separate words *saktā bhūn*, 69, with neither; but *n'ātra*, 164.

But when we consider matters more essential than those of form, the case is far worse. Pages 2-9 contain a rambling talk about compounds. It retains the old Hindu classification, and fails to bring out the relative importance of the different classes. The very rare compounds like *tarad-dveṣas* occasion a digression of a page (6-7), while the exceedingly common possessive forms of descriptive compounds are despatched in a few lines (3). Peile's preface is dated Feb. 2, 1881: that of Whitney's grammar, July, 1879. That Peile should have published such a sketch after Whitney's treatment of this subject, passes belief.

The diffuse etymological notes are spread over a great deal of ground, that could be covered much more briefly and effectively, for learner as well as for book-maker, by a glossary. If, of the 244 pages of the book, 44 had been given to notes and 200 to a properly-made glossary, its chances for usefulness would have been vastly improved. Words like *surabhi* (67) or *nakṣatra* (68) are of too doubtful origin to be discussed in an elementary book—supposing the discussion to be kept within the bounds of good judgment. But this is not the case with *surabhi*, 'sweet,' which, says Peile, is "from *su+rabh+i*, apparently = very much be seized" (sic)! Even if this were not untenable, the fact that the Vedic *pada*-texts write the word without division into *su+rabhi* deserves some consideration. The old Hindu explanation of Manmatha as 'mind-churner' (*mano-matha*) is given on pages 21 and 46. It is an intensive formation, like *cañcala*; cf. *jañjabh*, etc. On p. 105 we read: "*prāṭha* 'the back' is of uncertain derivation; the termination is probably *-stha*; but Benfey's suggestion of '*pra*' for the first part is very unlikely, even if referred to an age when men had tails." This is too bad. *Sunt certi denique fines*.

On the other hand, Peile discusses derivations now quite well settled without knowing the best recent views about them. A cognate of the root *prach*, 'precor,' "does not seem to occur at all in Greek" (128); but Hadley, *Essays*, p. 38, has shown that one occurs in *θεο-πρόπος*: and the indirect connection of *sev* with *σέβομαι* (Peile, 120) has been set aside by Brugman, Kuhn's *Zeitschrift* xxv, 301, who identifies it with *tyaj*. The curious history of *asura* (39) and *asita* (147)—from which were derived by popular etymology their modern pendants *sura* and *sita* (cf. *aditi dāitya, sukha duḥkha*)—is utterly unknown to Mr. Peile, although he might have found it five and twenty years ago in the St. Petersburg Lexicon. A judicious use of this work would have saved our author scores of mistakes. On p. 75, *ā-yata*, 'long,' is explained as 'unrestrained,' *ā* having "the usual negative (!) force here." And this unfortunate mistake is repeated on pages 19 and 107. A little thought and looking would have set him right: *yam* means 'hold'; *ā yam*, 'hold out, extend'; *ā-yata*, 'extended, long.' The roots *ṣaṁs*, 'recite', and *ṣas*, 'cut,' are hopelessly confused (43, 124, 127); the latter never has the nasal. On the other hand, *śuc*, 'beam,' and *śuc*, 'grieve,' are wrongly separated (61). True, the first meaning is chiefly Vedic, and the second chiefly post-Vedic; but the dividing line is no sharp one. The

transition is well illustrated in AV. iv. 26. 7, and by the word *çoka*, and the development is perfectly parallel to that of *tap*, with which indeed *abhi çocis* is glossed in Mahidhara's comment on VS. xi. 45—*sañtāpaya*.

A good knowledge of the Veda would often have been of the utmost service. Instead of commenting (74) on "'unwinking eyes'" as "the one mark of those who have by austerities risen from humanity to divinity," he would have told us of the old Vedic conception of the watchful Varuṇa and of the sleepless Adityas (e. g. RV. ii. 27. 9) who never close their lids in slumber, and how this conception lived on in the popular belief. And instead of trying (154) to derive *taru*, 'tree,' from *tar*, 'force up,' he would have mentioned the old Vedic form *dāru* (द॒रु, Eng. tree), which is related to it as is *vibhidaka* to the later *vibhitaka*, *guh* to *kuh*, etc.

Had Mr. Peile known Grassmann's article, Kuhn's Z. xxiii. 564, the explanation of the preposition *parā* as an instrumental (15) would doubtless have been consigned to the waste-basket. There certainly belong the explanation of *vāi* as locative of *va* (89), that of *uta* as weak instrumental of *u* (45), and that of *yadi* as locative of *yad* (28)!

The carelessness of the following statement (48) is very culpable: *sāhāyā* is "from *sāhāya*, which is from *saha+yā*." No less so is the derivation (63) of *sahita* "from *saha* with suffix *-ita*, not a compound of *saha* and *ita* from *i*, which must have been *saheta*"!! And this book is for a beginner. Peile says (107): *viḥāyas* is "prob. (sic) from *vi+hā*, but the suffix is not clear." He might have made it clear to himself and his pupils by no greater trouble than is involved in turning, for instance, to Whitney's chapter on derivation (1151 c and 258).

The treatment of verbs is especially weak. Thus *lakṣyate* (36) is called a "passive of *lakṣ*—probably, as Benfey suggests, a denominative from *lakṣa*." We might as well say that "*amo* is, as Smith in his learned grammar suggests, probably a present indicative form of the verb *amare*." The denominative of *mantra* is not *mantr* (38), but *mantray*. Peile speaks (79) of "*pālāya*, described as a causal of *pā*." Either lexicon or grammar would have told him that it is simply the denominative of the derived noun *pāla*, 'protector.' The form *çrāvayāṁ cakrīre* gives most excellent occasion (192) for tracing the interesting historical development of these periphrastic perfects (see, e. g., Whitney, 1070, 1045); but Peile is silent about it. It is incomprehensible that he should blunder over *karavaṇi* as he does (57). There is no such thing as a real first person imperative in Sanskrit, and there never was. Old subjunctive forms have survived in the first person, and there they do duty as imperatives. In *karavaṇi* we have the old form, with its old function merely.

On page 168 the author says that a certain phrase is "apparently condensed from *rūpo yam paçyāmi*—analogous to the English," etc.; and, we may add, his Sanskrit is entirely analogous to the Latin *corpus quem* (sic) *video*!

The Sanskrit has a preposition *vi*. It has also a root *viç*, which makes in the third dual perfect middle *viviçāte*. Mr. Peile must know from the verb-ending that this is a perfect form, and the *vi*—therefore the syllable of reduplication. But by some fatality he has taken it to be the preposition. He says (34-5), in *ā-viçta* "the *ā* is redundant, as *vi* is in *vi-viçāte*." This is equivalent to saying in a school-edition of the Iliad, "the preposition *ἐν*—in *ἐνέσθραδεν* is redundant."

C. R. L.

Der Chor im Agamemnon des Aeschylus, scenisch erläutert von RICHARD ARNOLDT. Halle, 1881.

This is a volume of eighty-nine pages by the author of "Die Chorpartien bei Aristophanes" (Leipzig, 1883), and will scarcely lessen the disposition on the part of many to consider thoughtfully the views there advanced.

It is an extended analysis of the choral parts in the Agamemnon. He rejects in advance the theory that the chorus consisted of 12 members, and accepts Hermann's belief in 15. The Parodos, he contends, shows a great similarity to that in the Persae. He criticises sharply Keck's arrangement, by which all the twelve (the number assumed by Keck) choreutae are made to speak separately. This is the more noteworthy perhaps when reference is had to his own arrangement of the Parodos in Aristophanes. His conclusions about the Parodos are: 1. The leader of the chorus recited the anapaestic part; 2. The same sang the dactylic part interchangeably with the chorus, the latter singing the refrain after the former; 3. The whole chorus sang the trochaic-iambic strophes throughout.

The rest of the tragedy he divides as follows:

1. Epeisodion	. . . 243-351	1. Stasimon	. . . 352-453
2. "	. . . 454-658	2. "	. . . 659-748
3. "	. . . 749-941	3. "	. . . 942-993
Exodos from 994 to the end.			

In conclusion, while admitting the necessity of a comparison with the remaining parts of the Oresteia, Arnoldt says: "Das Princip nun, nach welchem der Dichter auch in diesen chorischen Verhältnissen seine Trilogie gestaltete, war unstreitig das der Abwechslung und der Steigerung."

F. G. A.

Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. Jahrhunderts in Neudrucken herausgegeben von BERNHARD SEUFFERT. Heilbronn, 1881.

No. 1. Otto. Trauerspiel von F. M. Klinger.—No. 2. Voltaire am Abend seiner Apotheose von H. L. Wagner.—No. 3. Faust's Leben von Maler Müller.

This is a most valuable series of reprints, running parallel with a similar French series, and with Braune's "Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke, des 16 und 17. Jahrhunderts." Halle, 1877.

These reprints are diplomatically exact copies of the originals, only the misprints having been removed. For investigations upon style, language and orthography they are invaluable. The original paging is given and the lines are numbered, making them peculiarly adapted to verifying old references and to citations in lexicographical work. Some of the works which could not be had hitherto for love or money can now be obtained at a "spottpreis." We look forward with high expectation to the promised "Frankfurter gelehrte Anzeigen," "Bremer Beiträge," and other critical journals. Some one has suggested that Dr. Seuffert give us the original "Faust: ein Fragment." It would be very desirable indeed.

H. C. G. B.

Altdeutsche textbibliothek herausgegeben von H. PAUL.

No. 1. Die Gedichte Walthers von der Vogelweide herausgegeben von H. Paul.

The Heliand is promised by Behaghel, Otfrid by Kögel, Reinhard Fuchs by Reissenberger, Reineke Vos by Prien, etc. In contrast with the two series of reprints just mentioned, this library is to be regularly edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary. It might be called a scientific school edition, such as we have not had hitherto; for Cotta's Schulausgaben, by Bechstein, can hardly be called scientific; much less the Pfeiffer-Bartsch "Classiker des Mittelalters," a sort of Middle-high German without tears for the general reader, not fit to be used at gymnasium or university. Paul's position as to Walther is well known from his publications in his own and Brune's Beiträge.

The introduction is a masterpiece of conciseness and sobriety of views. It is divided into (1) Walther's Leben; (2) Walther's Stellung in der Geschichte der deutschen Lyrik; (3) Die Ueberlieferung und kritische Behandlung der Gedichte. The sifting of Walther-literature and editions on p. 24 must be particularly welcome to the student. But we do object most emphatically to the "wörterbuch," which is very incomplete. Either let us have a complete one or none at all. Such vocabularies as we get, as a rule, with readers and texts are a delusion and a snare.

H. C. G. R.

OTIS, Elementary German. New York, 1881.

It is natural to compare this little book with another just issued, Sheldon's Short German Grammar (Boston, 1880). Sheldon's book is best adapted to the acquisition of a reading knowledge, Otis's to the acquisition of a practical speaking knowledge. The pronunciation was therefore an important subject for Mr. Otis, and this is the weakest and the really slighted part of the work. In § 1 the name of *s* is given as "zet" in English equivalents. If *c* is given as "tsä," should not *s* be "tset"? § 6 mentions the difficulty of acquiring "the new sounds, which we do not have in English, viz. *ö, ü,* and the guttural *g (ch).*" We have never yet seen a grammar that laid stress upon the acquisition of the German sounds which do not *seem* "new," but really *are* so, of those which are very much like English sounds, and are confounded with them. Thousands learn the three sounds mentioned by Mr. Otis who never learn, partly because they are not taught, German *w, r,* short *ö* in *Stock, sch, e* in *Gabe,* and others. *B, d, g,* when doubled, are said to be "hard." If "hard" means "surd," does not Mr. Otis distinguish between *ecke* and *egge, gewitter* and *widder, ebbe* and *kappe*? There is no such statement in Prof. Whitney's "unequalled German grammar and dictionary, for which all students and teachers of German owe the author a great debt of gratitude." § 26: "Initial *sp* and *st* are pronounced in Prussia as *schp* and *scht.*" The author's geography must be at fault, or he is a "Muss-Preusse." Are not Hannover, Schleswig-Holstein and Westphalia Prussian provinces? The more distinct and forcible utterance of the German as compared with the English is said to be owing to the greater prominence of the vowel sounds in German—a very shallow observation, of a piece with the quick utterance of the German or Frenchman, observed by the tourist abroad. § 14 warns the

student not to pronounce the doubled vowels or consonants double. No danger ! This might be a proper warning to an Italian or Swede, who pronounces double consonants double. What are so-called double consonants are in English, German and most languages, nothing but lengthened consonants, unless they spring from the composition of words. See Sievers *Phonetik*, p. 174, also Sweet and Storm. Mr. Otis mistakes §§ 52 and 53 of Whitney's grammar.

In the preface we are told that *o* in *wohl*, meaning "certainly, indeed," and not "well," is short. Only strictly Low Germans preserve the originally short vowel. The standard pronunciation requires *o* long, no matter what it means. Imagine Mignon singing "Kennst Du es woll?"

Of course it is very difficult to describe the sounds of a language without phonetic training and some scientific system of notation; but even making allowance for this, Mr. Otis's treatment of German sounds is very shallow and unsatisfactory.

The rest of the book is excellent. The illustrative sentences are better than any we have seen. Except in the selections at the end, Roman type has been used, a very commendable innovation. As *wohl* is spelt *wol*, it is surprising that other modified spellings, already in Whitney's dictionary, have not been adopted.

H. C. G. B.

REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM.

XXXV, 3.

1. pp. 321-335. J. Steup. Herodotus IX 106, and Thucydides. A slight inversion of the argument will make it seem clearer in an abridged statement. From Hdt. IX 106 it appears that the Asiatic cities of the mainland were excluded from the Greek confederacy formed immediately after the battle of Mykale. This is clearly contradicted by Diod. Sic. XI 37. Accordingly Kirchhoff and others have argued that the statement of Diodorus must be rejected. But the statement in Herodotus, as it stands, is inconsistent with itself. We read there, *προθύμως εἰξαν οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι*. But if it be true that the cities of the mainland were excluded, it was the *Athenians* who really gave up their point. Before calling attention to this inconsistency, however, Steup examines the indirect testimony of Thucydides. He finds in Thuc. I 89 (*Λεωντιχίδης μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς κτλ*), I 95 (*ἡδὴ δὲ βιαίον—ἡλευθέρωντο*), VI 76 (*ἡγεμόνες γὰρ γενόμενοι κτλ*), a distinct implication in support of the version of the story given by Diodorus. But it is exceedingly improbable that Herodotus and Thucydides can have made contradictory statements about a matter of such notoriety and such cardinal importance. Everything leads us, then, to suspect that the passage in Herodotus has suffered some injury or loss in the course of the centuries since it was penned. Steup proposes to insert *καὶ τοὺς ἡπειρώτας* after *τοὺς ἄλλους νησιώτας*. With this reading all goes smoothly. Herodotus no longer contradicts himself, nor is he contradicted by Thucydides and Diodorus. Most readers will probably be convinced by the argument as a whole, though some points do not seem entirely conclusive. Minute discussion is out of place here; but Thuc. I 89 is surely capable of an interpretation consistent with Kirchhoff's assumption. In this passage Steup conjectures that *ἡδὴ ἀφαστηκότες ἀπὸ βασιλέως* is a gloss, and seeks to defend the *ξύμμαχοι*, bracketed by Wilamowitz. I cannot agree with him on either point. The argument from the speech of Hermokrates (VI 76) seems over-acute. But on the other hand it must be admitted that the passage in Thuc. I 95 is incapable of any other natural interpretation than the one given by Steup. In the words *καὶ δοὺι νεωστὶ ἡλευθέρωντο* we must find an allusion to the events of the year 479. In this passage Steup argues strongly that *κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές* must be an interpolation. He does not convince me. The greater portion of the allies who addressed their prayer to the Athenians at this time were Ionians, who could perfectly well put forward their kinship in support of their petition, in spite of the fact that a rather important portion of their associates were of another stock. For it is sufficiently proved that the Lesbians, at least, joined the Ionians in this prayer.

2. pp. 336-349. P. Schroeder. Bentley's copy of Ammianus Marcellinus. In R. M. XXXIII, pp. 468 sqq., appeared a communication from Zangemeister, giving a part of the emendations contained in Bentley's copy of Ammianus Marcellinus, now in the British Museum. Schroeder completes the task which Zangemeister had begun.

3. pp. 350-363. P. Weizsäcker. Investigations in regard to the Vase of Klitias and Ergotimus. The writer began his discussion of the François Vase in vol. XXXIII, and gives now his general conclusions. He discards all attempts to name the specific poem in which the artists found their inspiration as fruitless: "Der in den Epen verarbeitete Stoff allein ist es, welchen die Künstler zu verarbeiten pflegten. Die Art der Zusammenstellung und der das Ganze beherrschende Grundgedanke gehört also dem Künstler und nicht dem Dichter, oder der Dichter ist der Künstler selbst." Weizsäcker is sure the vase was a *κρατήρ*, and explains the purpose of the artists on this theory. He believes it was made at Athens during the period 520-500 B. C. The style of the discussion is exceedingly agreeable.

4. pp. 364-372. A. Weidemann. The Greek Inscription of Ipsambul, an attempt to fix the date of this famous inscription. The question to be settled is, which one of the four Egyptian kings of the name was the Psammetichus whom the Greek mercenaries of the inscription served. Most scholars who have discussed the question, and especially Kirchhoff, have settled upon Psammetichus I. W. argues that the story of Herod. II 28 is incredible; that Herod. II 30 by no means proves that Psammetichus I. was ever at Elephantine; and that the whole story of which the latter passage forms a part is without historical value. Furthermore, the entire absence of inscriptions with the name of Psammetichus I. at Elephantine affords very strong evidence that he never was there. Letronne and others thought of Psammetichus IV; but it is wholly improbable that he ever ruled Nubia, and the inscription itself is plainly older than his time. Psammetichus III. is entirely out of the question. Psammetichus II. remains. Gutschmid and Bergk (Lit. Gesch. I, p. 105) have assigned the inscription to his reign. W. now supports this view by fuller proof. Herod. II 161 informs us that this king made an expedition to Ethiopia; the fact that Herodotus knew of the expedition at all makes it probable that Greek mercenaries were employed. Further, Aristes (a trustworthy writer so far as matters of this sort are concerned) tells of Semitic allies of Psammetichus. But beside our inscription are found Phoenician inscriptions of similar import; and the Greek inscription contains the name of a Phoenician, Πασιδών, which is merely a compound of Egyptian formation, meaning "the Sidonian." Here arises a difficulty. One of the Phoenician inscriptions gives the name of the commanding general as Hor: the Greek inscription speaks of those τοὶ σὺν Ψαμματίχῳ τῷ Θεοκλεῖς ἐπλεον. But we learn from an inscription now in the Louvre that a certain Hor was a general and administrator holding the highest position in the beginning of the reign of the next later king: we also learn that he had the further name Psemtekmeh. The syllable *mench* is an ending of the sort which the Greeks almost regularly rejected in making over Egyptian names. To be sure, the name of the father of Hor was Aufrer and not Theokles, but this fact is of little importance. The Greeks often replaced Egyptian names which they could not or would not pronounce by Greek names of simple formation. The inscription belongs, then, to the period B. C. 594-589. Two or three special remarks follow. W. citing Herod. II 154 finds in the ἀλ[λ]όγλωσσ[ος] a Carian; Κέρκιος, he thinks, is probably a mistaken reading for Κέρριος. In Egyptian *Kerti* means the level water of the river above the first cataract.

5. pp. 373-389. W. Hoerschelmann. Critical remarks on Apollonius Dyscolus de pronomine. These remarks are based on the recent edition of Schneider. Many of H.'s observations will be found of interest by scholars who care for Greek grammar.

6. pp. 390-407. F. Buecheler: Coniectanea de Silio Juvenale Plauto aliis poetis Latinis—a series of concise and pregnant discussions. Attention is called to the stoic zeal of Silius Italicus. Pliny's description of the poet's occupations (Ep. III 7) is illustrated by a reference to Epictetus III 8, fin. A number of notes on Juvenal follow:

I 79. *Facit indignatio versum*: an intentionally faulty line.—IV 33. *Fracta de merce siluros*: salted fish, spoiled on account of accidental cracks in the jars.—IV 34-36. *Incipe Calliope, licet et considerare*. B. cites Ov. Met. V 338, Prop. II 10, 11. Then for *prosit mihi vos dixisse puellas* he cites Verg. Aen. IX 91, and remarks: *immane quantum falluntur qui Musas intellegunt virgines pudicas*.—V 104. B. refers to Galen III cap. 30, calling attention to the fact that Tiberinus served as the ordinary name of a sort of fish caught in the river near the city in water polluted by sewers. Perhaps a reference to Hor. Sat. II 2, 31 (where see Orelli's note) might lead to a slight modification of B.'s view. Compare also Mayor's note on the present passage.—V 135: *frater ab ipsis ilibus*. "*Aliud ab valet, aliud de*." Trebius is addressed as a *frater ὁμόσπλαγχνος*.—VI 82: "*recte codex ludum, comitata est gladiatorum catervam*." B. compares VII 185, where "*optime codex condit*." "*Magis cavebat Juvenalis versum quam sermonem ne corrumperet*."—VI 107. B. conjectures *deformia, ficus*.—VI 326. Why *Nestoris hirnea*? "*Nescio an traxerit ex Atellanis*."—VIII 194. A genuine verse: the point lies in the word *celsi*,—the proper epithet of a knight, *i. e.* of a man born of lower rank than the prostitute senators.—VIII 247: *frangebat vertice vitem*. "*Frangit fustem qui percutit et pulsat, non qui patitur verbera*." "*Verticis igitur nova quaerenda est interpretatio*." "*Fortasse . . . iam pridem castrensi sermone primos quosque in centuriis milites coeperant appellare vertices*."—IX 129. Borrowed by Auson. Epigr. XIII.—IX 133, 134. B. writes: *alter amator gratus erit, tu tantum*.—X 359. The passage gives a summary of the doctrine of the Tusculan Disputations. The last word of 359 must be written *dolores*.—XI 106. "*Juvenalis nudam clipeo et hasta effigiem Martis, sine armis suis advolantem deum in amplexus declaravit*." It seems incredible that any tolerable scholar should ever have dreamed of taking the words in any other sense, but the feat has been accomplished by more than one, and B. does well to cite Ov. Fast. III 1, 9, 10.

Next comes a learned note on Plaut. Aul. 627 (IV 4, 10, Gruter). The slave's misunderstanding of Euclio's word *pone* is explained by supposing this adverb to have been regularly used by the vulgar as an indeclinable noun. Among other illustrations a gloss is cited from Hesychius: *πιννὸς ὁ πρακτός*. In the same connection comes a fragmentary epigram against Pompey out of Plotius. "*Verba ista contendo in disticho fuisse conlocata ad hunc modum*—

*quem
non pudet et rubet, est non homo sed ropio.*"

B. connects *ropio* with *robustus, ruber*, and explains by quoting *Priapi rubrum porrectum ab inguine palum*. Perhaps Calvus was the author of the epigram.

Very interesting is the note on a gloss of Placidus: *Fabricora proverbium in eos qui domesticis alimentis usi aliis laborarent. Dictum ab eo quod Capitolium aedificanti Tarqunio fabros et structores corvi cum suo victu miserunt.* B. writes *fabri Cora* and in the last line *Corani*. To me it seems the proverb itself must have been *Fabri Corani*. There are several more notes on Placidus, one on a curious contamination of Claudian with Luxorius, and finally the genuine name *Grattius* is restored to the poet, hitherto known as Grattius.

7. pp. 408-430. J. Freudenthal. On Phavorinus and the Florilegia of the Middle Ages. F. has found that a Paris manuscript contains several genuine fragments of the γυμναστικά of Phavorinus together with others falsely ascribed to him, but really borrowed from the borrower Diogenes Laertius. The discussion of the relations of Diogenes, Stobaeus and later collectors of similar character to Phavorinus and to each other is both learned and acute.

8. pp. 431-447. F. Leo: Vindiciae Propertianae. This article will be read with delight by those who have had occasion seriously to consider what manner of task it is to convert an ancient manuscript into a book. Careful students of Propertius will wish to read Leo's discussions for themselves: only a list of the passages treated, with the proposed corrections, can be given here. It will be seen that a good part of Leo's care has been given to punctuation. The importance of this matter—that is, of considering with what inflections a poet would have wished his lines to be read—is not often so thoroughly considered as Dionysius Thrax would have it.—I 1, 24: "nec graecum nec latinum est *Cytaines* vel Cytainis . . . verum mihi videtur *Cyteiadis* vel potius *Cylaeiadis*."—I 19, 16 sq. Grator et (Tellus hoc ita iusta sinat!) quamvis te longae remorentur fata senectae.—II 1, 5: sive illam *video* fulgentem incedere *Cois*. Doubtful, perhaps; but Leo's argument, on the whole, against Lachmann's transpositions in this passage is very strong.—v. 11, he writes: Seu *compescentes* somnum declinat ocellos.—II 5, 18: parce *iniusta nimis*, vita, nocere tibi.—II 5, 27: scribam igitur, quod non umquam *tibi* delectat aetas.—III 13, 48: *Delius* Iliacis miles in aggeribus.—III 28, 53: et quot Troia tulit vetus et quot Achaia formas | *Atridae* et Priami diruta regna senis.—III 29, 5: atque alii faculas, alii *intendere* sagittas.—III 29, 21: atque ita me iniecto *laxarunt* rursus amictu.—III 29, 41: sic ego tam sancti *discedo elusor* amoris.—III 32, 23: nuper enim de te nostras *malus iuit* ad aures.—III 33, 39: non *Oropeae* prosint tibi fata quadrigae aut Capanei magno grata ruina Iovi.—IV 19, 25: at (vos, innuptae, felicius urite taedas!) pendet Cretaea tracta puella rate.—V 2, 12: Vertumni *Tuscus* credidit esse sacrum. Leo had made the correction *Tuscus* (for *rursus*) before learning that it belonged to N. Heinsius.—V 2, 41: nam quid ego adiciam de quo mihi maxima famast? | hortorum in manibus dona probate meis.—V 4, 55: si comes *accipiarve* tua regina sub aula.—V 8, 6: qua penetrat virgo (tale iter omnè cave) | ieiuni serpentis honos cum pabula poscit. This is the punctuation of some of the older editors. For serpentis honos (σέβας δράκοντος) Leo refers to Hes. Sc. Herc. 144, δράκοντος φέβος. For further illustration of the passage, Ach. Tat. VIII 6, 12, and Aelian. de Nat. An. XI 16, are cited.

In a footnote Leo gives the passages in Seneca's Tragedies about which his judgment has changed since the publication of his edition. He now reads H. F. 20, nurius sparsa tellus. H. O. 684: tenuit placidas Daedalus

oras.—H. O. 1381: redeuntes minax ferrem ruinas. In another note a capital letter is suggested for *Μεγάλη* (earth), Callim. Hym. in Del. 266, and many illustrations given. In this connection Strabo X, p. 469, is corrected by the insertion of *καὶ* after *θεόν*, (*καὶ Φρυγίαν θεόν Μεγάλην*). Still another note corrects the pseudo-Ovid, Nux v. 110: coniugis Aonidum misit in arma virum.—V. 176: sed non [aura], metus causa tremoris erat: "*aura* omittit codex Marianus: reliquorum *οὐδεὶς λόγος*."

The concluding part of the essay consists of a concise but masterly and exhaustive examination of the authority of the manuscripts of Propertius. The conclusion, which the judicious will accept, may best be given in Leo's words: "Demonstravimus quod demonstrandum erat, codicem Neapolitanum et unum non interpolatum et librum esse multo reliquis lectionis integritate superiorem. Illo igitur in posterum quoque, et unico quidem illo donec similis inventus sit, Properti carminum recensio nitetur. Librarii errores arguere valebit e melioribus vulgaris notae libris quicunque eligetur. Verum ADFV omnino nihil valent." The reviewer may perhaps be pardoned for calling attention to a particle of evidence on which Leo has not touched. A quotation will introduce the matter: "Sed Baehrensium in Neapolitanum ex V³ scripturas istas fluxisse contendit. Hoc si verum esset, N non tantum Vaticano, sed codice recentior esset descripto ex Vaticano iam correcto." Elsewhere Leo collects the following false readings of the Neapolitanus: I 13, 16, *inlectis* for *iniectis*; I 18, 16, *delectis* for *deiectis*; II 9, 2, *electo* for *eiecto*; III, 29 5, *inlecto* for *iniecto*. This blunder occurring once would not prove much, perhaps; occurring four times, it proves a good deal. The scribe who made the blunder had before him a manuscript in capital letters. Therefore, if the Vaticanus were an ancestor of the Neapolitanus, it would also have these same corrupt readings. This is not the case.

9. pp. 448-455. C. Wachsmuth. Notes on the History of Alexandria. A discussion and refutation of Lumbroso's theories about the topography of the city.

10. pp. 456-468. H. van Herwerden: Ad Plutarchi Vitas. Emendations proposed for 88 passages.

11. pp. 469-496. Miscellanies. W. Ribbeck explains and corrects a number of Homeric scholia.

R. Förster defends his view (R. M. XXX 316) that Plato alludes to Sophron in Rep. V 451, B (*λέγειν δὲ, ἔφην ἐγώ, — προκαλεῖ*). In *τὰνδρείον* and *τὸ γυναικεῖον δράμα* he can find no other sense than that of character pictures. Such pictures are not to be found in the drama, but surely in the Sicilian mimes. Förster cites the recently edited works of Choricus (Apol. Mim. III 10, p. 215 ed. Graux): οἷτος (sc. Σώφρων ὁλαχὼν Πλάτωνα ἐραστῆν) μιμεῖται μὲν ἄνδρας, μιμεῖται δὲ γυναῖκας. Admitting that the arrangement of the mimes in the order known to later readers is probably due to some Alexandrian, Förster thinks the division into *ἀνδρεῖοι* and *γυναικεῖοι*, especially in the light of the known titles, is so natural that it cannot have escaped the eyes of Plato's contemporaries.

A. Ludwich proposes to read Nonnus Dion. XXVIII 287: *ἀνθερίκων πάτον ἀκρον κτλ.*

H. Tiedke gives also notes on Nonnus. Dion. XXXIII 56, he defends *ρίψε* against Ludwich, explaining: "pallore infecta Venus ridere desiit.—XLVII 649–50, T. proposes *ἐνὶ λάρνακι μείζονι δεσμῷ | πλωτὸν ἀκοντίζω*.—XV 411, sq.: *εἰς τίνα λόχμην | ἰχθυὸς ἄγω*.

F. Susemihl gives notes and conjectures on the *Magna Moralia* of Aristotle.

E. Rohde discusses Suidas's treatment of the Tyrannios, and corrects the form of a statement attributed to the younger. "Und so wird *der Sinn* . . durch folgende Schreibung hergestellt: *ἀτομα μὲν εἶναι τὰ κύρια ὀνόματα, τμητέα δὲ τὰ προσηγορικά, ἀθέματα δὲ τὰ μετοχικά, θεματικά δὲ τὰ πρωτότυπα ἀντώνυμα*."

G. Goetz gives up the view he formerly expressed, that no traces of double recension were to be found in the *Menaechmi* of Plautus.

E. Schulze proposes to read Cic. de Fin. I 23, id est *iudicet voluptatem*.

F. Gloeckner offers notes on Seneca.

K. J. Neumann shows that Eutropius (VIII 19) follows Herodian (IV 2, 1) in his account of the apotheosis of Severus.

F. Susemihl discusses Aristot. Poet. 2, and proposes to read "natürlich nur si licet hariolari": *ὥσπερ Πέρσας Τιμόθεος καὶ Ἀργᾶς, Κίκλωπας Τιμόθεος καὶ Φιλόξενος*.

T. Koch explains a fragment from the *Στρατιώτιδες* of Theopompus (Meineke 2, 812). The *οἶκος τετραβολίζων* is a family from which both man and wife go to the wars, thus earning two obols each as daily wages.

C. Wachsmuth calls attention to a second statue of Masinissa found in Delos. The inscription is: *Βασιλέα Μασαννάσαν Βασιλέως Ταΐα Ἑρμῶν Σόλωνος τὸν αὐτοῦ φίλον. Πολιάνθης ἐποίηε*.

J. Klein conjectures that Odaenathus received the title of Augustus in the year 264, *consulatu* Valeriani fratris (Trebellius Pollio, Gallieni, cap. 12), and proves from fragmentary inscriptions that the full name of the Torquatus who held the consulship A. D. 124 was C. Bellicius Torquatus Tebanianus.

F. Buecheler explains the Paelignian inscription recently found at Corfinium. The explanation may be summed up in the following translation: *Pedes paucos hos* (these few feet of ground) *incubat senex usa aetate Kaeso* (or Gaius) *Annaeus omnibus rebus dives fortunae suae faber*.

The reports of the Rheinisches Museum have been unavoidably delayed, but they will now speedily be brought up to date.

J. H. WHEELER.

NEUE JAHRBÜCHER FÜR PHILOGIE U. PÄDAGOGIK. FLECKEISEN U. MASIUS. 1880.¹

IX.

79. K. Zacher discusses Vergil's *pictura*, Aen. I 466 ff., and after showing the impossibility of representing these scenes by groups of statuary in a pediment (as Weidner, Ladewig, and Kvičala take them), and the probability that Vergil had a Roman rather than a Greek temple in mind, he concludes that the description is of a mural painting, and not of a group of statuary, no matter how disposed (pp. 577–601).

¹ See American Journal of Philology, Vol. II p. 265 foll.

80. Aratus, at the head of a band of conspirators, set out from Argos to overthrow Nicocles, tyrant of Sicyon, and chose for his watchword 'Απόλλων Ὑπερδέξιος. W. H. Roscher draws an ingenious parallel between the relations of Aratus to Nicocles and of Apollo to the Python in the cultus of Sicyon, so as to show the *raison d'être* of this watchword. Plutarch states that Brutus chose for his watchword in the battle of Philippi "Apollo," but Valerius Max. I 5, 7, says *qui deus* (Apollo) *Philippensi acie a Caesare et Antonio signo datus in eum telum convertit*. From a story told by Suetonius (de Aug. 94), according to which Augustus was flattered by being called the son of Apollo, R. believes that the statement of Valerius is the true one.

81. The editor, Prof. Fleckeisen, proposes to write in Plaut. Amphitryo 98 ff., *quocum Alcumenast nupta, Electri filia*, and takes Electri, nom. Electrus, from an original Electron, Gr. Ἠλέκτρων, comparing ἀρχιτέκτων = architectus, Εὐθιμῶν = Euthemus. If the Amphitryo has for its original some play of the new Attic comedy, we have here a proof of the existence of the form Ἠλέκτρων (instead of Ἠλεκτρῶν)—a form recently found in a Rhodian inscription discussed by Möllendorf, Hermes XIV, p. 457. The question is whether the traditional Ἠλεκτρῶνος and Ἠλεκτρῶνη in pseudo-Hesiod's Scutum ought not to be written without the υ? (pp. 605-608).

82. R. Arnoldt proposes ὅς πολλῶ βρύσας ποτ' ἐπαίνω for ὅς πολλῶ ρέβσας κ. τ. ε. Aristoph. Knights 526.

83. L. Gurlitt gives, as an appendix to his dissertation "de M. Tulli Cic. epistulis earumque pristina collectione," a careful discussion of the order and connection of the correspondence between Cicero and Decimus Brutus; and concludes that this collection of letters exists substantially in the same completeness and order as it was edited by Tiro and known to antiquity. (pp. 609-623.)

84. C. Wagener discusses Caesar's Bellum Gallicum V 43, 1, particularly the expression *fusili ex argilla*, and proposes to change this to *fusilis ex argilla*, connecting *fusilis* as acc. plur. with *glandes*.

85. W. H. Kolster treats of the composition and spirit of the tenth Eclogue of Vergil in an article of twenty-five pages, five of which are taken up with a profitless discussion of the relation of Lycoris to Gallus and Antonius, and of Lycoris to Cytheris. The parallelism between Theocritus Idyll I 64-83 and this ode is pointed out in detail. K. accepts in general Ribbeck's analysis of the ode, believes with him that after v. 41 there is a lacuna, and rejects *tantum* from v. 46.

86. F. M. M. Schröter reviews Heydenreich's "libellus incerti auctoris de Constantino Magno ejusque Matre Helena, e codicibus primus edidit." According to this brief romance, now first published, Constantine was the natural son of Helena, was stolen by tradesmen, gained the hand of the daughter of the Greek emperor, was banished with his bride to a desolate island, rescued by seamen and brought back to Rome. There he opened an inn, was at last recognized through his valor, and became the heir of the Roman and Greek Empire. Schröter thinks that H. assigns too high an antiquity to this composition, the language indicating a mediaeval origin only. This romance throws light on the gloss of Suidas on Constantine. (pp. 649-653.)

87. E. Ludwig and E. Rohde contribute textual emendations of Heydenreich's editio princeps just noticed. R. thinks the composition cannot date earlier than the twelfth century, and may have been written in France, at any rate not in Rome.

88. A mural inscription, found in Pompeii, discussed by E. Rohde.

89. M. Petschenig defends the reading *sic* (changed by critics to *secundo* or *secus*) in V. Gallicanus's life of Avidius Cassius 10, 1: from a number of other instances he infers that *sic* after *primum* or *prius* may have in later Latin the sense of *deinde*.

X, XI.

90. Karl Brugman reviews Delbrück's Grundlagen der griechischen Syntax, which forms Part IV of his Syntaktische Forschungen. In nearly all points B. accepts Delbrück's results. The two chief points in which he dissents are as follows: D. maintains the old view that the middle voice inflection in its reflexive force may represent the subject as interested indirectly, i. e. in a dative relation, as in περιβάλλομαι χλανίδα, or as interested directly, i. e. in an accusative relation, as in χρίεται. B. denies that any case relation can be shown originally to inhere in the middle formation; there is just as good reason, he thinks, for accepting a possessive relation in ἐγκαλύπτομαι τὴν κεφαλὴν or a locative relation in χαίρομαι.¹ B. dissents further, as might be expected of the author of 'Morphologische Untersuchungen,' from Delbrück's treatment of the future δώσω, πράξω, as identical with the Sanskrit and Lithuanian future with *sio*, *sie* (Sanskrit. dās-jāmi, Lith. sūksiu). (pp. 657-671.)

91. G. Krüger proposes to change in Soph. Elect. 528 ἡ γὰρ Δίκη νιν εἶλεν to ἡ γὰρ Δίκη ξυνείλεν—one of those changes that are possible, just as any number of alterations in the text of Shakespeare are possible for a critic that thinks he could do better than the poet has done. There is some reason in Krüger's emendation of ὁ δ' ἀμὸς for ὁ δ' ἄλλος in v. 601 of the same play. (It appears from a statement in No. XII of the Jahrb. that Wex and Meineke had already proposed the same change of reading.)

92. O. Amdohr contributes a careful though incomplete study of the use of the comparative in Homer. Starting with the distinction between the proper comparative idea as expressed by μάλλον = magis, and the adversative or contrasting idea as expressed by μᾶλλον = potius, the writer discusses all the instances he has found of the use of the comparative in the latter sense. (This use of the comparative might have been traced in post-Homeric Greek with profit to the discussion; light upon this subject might also be expected from the use of μάλλον with the comparative, as in II. 283.) (pp. 673-681.)

93. G. Benseler argues from II. N 669, Ω 400, Ψ 296, that in the Heroic age military service was due from chieftains to their suzerain, and that ἀσπαρτεία was punishable for nobles as well as for common people.

94. Th. Schreiber discusses the form of the Delian myth of Apollo Pythoktonos, particularly as represented in a vase painting formerly interpreted by him and by a medal belonging to the Charvet collection. In the painting

¹ Brugman seems to have forgotten that χαίρομαι is a barbarism (Schol. on Ar. Pax 291). —B. L. G.

Apollo is a child in the arms of Leto, and is aiming an arrow at the serpent; the medal represents him as a young man full of vigor, ready to meet the onset of the monster, while Leto and Artemis are absent. Schreiber believes that from a comparison with the local myth of Delphi it is evident that the medal representation is the original, and in keeping with the Apollo cultus. (pp. 685-688.)

95. J. Golisch proposes *μαστήρ* for *μάτηρ* in Soph. Trach. 526, and R. Löbbach *ὁ στερκτὸς γόνος* for *ὁσπερ ἦν γόνος*, Philoct. 425.

96. H. Guhrauer replies to K. von Jan's review of his dissertation on the history of flute-music, *αὐλωδία*. (The review is noticed in vol. I, p. 373, Amer. Journ. Philol.) G. argues against Jan's theory that the *αὐλωδός* was identical with the *αὐλητής*, (1) from the inherent physical difficulty that one and the same person should perform a prelude on an *αὐλός* (which, acc. to von Jan, was most like to a modern double oboe), and then at once sing a solo; and (2) from the difficulty of interpreting on this theory the statements of the ancient writers. Guhrauer's reply is convincing. He accepts the conclusions in reference to the nature of the Pythian *nomos* to which Jan has come in Philologus XXXVIII, p. 378 ff. (pp. 689-705.)

97. A. Lowinski conjectures that a line has fallen out after v. 26 of Aesch. Sept., and proposes to insert *ἄγων ἑκατὶ Δοξίον κριθήσεται*. By the restoration of this line the *στιχομυθία* of the prologue is made exact; but the reading is purely *aus der luft gegriffen*.

98. In Susemihl's discussion of the date of Plato's Phaedrus we have a good example of what such a discussion should be; courteous towards dissenting views, yet sharp in criticism, full of learning, yet free from pedantry. S. dissents from Usener's conclusion (see Rhein. Museum XXXV; see Am. Jour. of Phil., vol. I, p. 237) that the time of the publication of this dialogue falls, at the latest, in the first half of 402 B. C., maintaining, on the contrary, that the Phaedrus could not have been written before the death of Socrates, and that, as Zeller argues, it was the first composed after the eight special Socratic dialogues, not more than three years after the death of Socrates. How far differences of style may form a criterion for determining the relative order of the dialogues, and what relation different dialogues bear to the travels of Plato, are questions incidentally discussed. (pp. 707-724.)

99. A. Funck has made a painstaking collection of examples of the omission of the pronoun as subj. accus. of the infinitive in the Latin comic poets. His object is to disprove Dräger's statement in his Hist. Syntax II, § 454, that the omission of the subj. accus. in the earlier Latin is very rare, and begins to be common first after Livy. He seems to have made out a clear case. (pp. 725-734.)

100. Four of G. Kaibel's Epigrammata Graeca are emended by R. Arnoldt.

101. F. Hankel contributes a very satisfactory paper on the Roman camp as described by Polybius VI 27-32. While agreeing in many points with Nissen, H. follows Marquardt in the matter of dimensions. The latter part of the paper is devoted to the vexed question of the designation of the gates. (pp. 737-763.)

102. C. Schrader dissents from H. Peter's opinion in the second edition of his *Fasti*, in regard to the date of the dedication of the newly restored temple of Concordia, referred to by Ovid I 637-650.

103. Textual criticism of passages in Lucretius, by C. M. Franken and S. Brandt.

104. A favorable review of G. Landgraf's "de Figuris Etymologicis," by P. Thielmann. The author extends the term etymological figure to all combinations of noun and verb, of two nouns, two verbs, two adjectives, of kindred origin and sense and bearing some grammatical relation to each other. Many interesting questions are raised.

105. Moriz Schmidt proposes in Catullus, Carm. 65, 9: *ergo auscultabo nunquam te suave loquentem*. He argues for the separateness of the first forty lines of the Carm. 68, chiefly against the opinion of Kiessling, and interprets *utriusque*, v. 39, as referring not to *munera Musarum et Veneris*, but to the loan of two *scripta*. Schmidt argues for the change of *ultra* for *ultra* in v. 40. W. H. Roscher follows with a confirmation of Haupt's emendation of *Naiasin* for *Minosim*, 64, 287, drawn from two passages in Theocritus and Callimachus, in which nymphs are represented as the inhabitants of the vale of Tempe. The word *Doris* he takes as an adjective for *Doriis*, an allusion, he thinks, to the fact that Dorians once lived in the valley of the Peneus. Cf. Herod. I 56. Strabo IX 437. (pp. 777-787.)

106. A. Dederich defends *oppida Batavorum* in Tac. Hist. V 19 as against *oppidum B.*, and charges Heräus with confounding the meaning of *moles* and *agger* in his comment on *diruit (Civilis) molem*.

107. G. Uhlig discusses the origin and form of the interjection *εἰέν*, and argues in favor of writing it *εἰέν* and of disconnecting it from *εἰα*. The spiritus asper in the middle is based upon a passage in Theodoretus' treatise *περὶ πνευμάτων*, a treatise found in Codex Havniensis No. 1965, and in Baroccianus No. 68 (new Bodleian Catalogue, p. 102), but now first carefully examined and made serviceable by Uhlig for a correction of Herodian's *Pneumatology*. Prof. W. Studemund, of the University of Strassburg, has been engaged on the same studies, and is preparing an edition of the treatise of Theodoretus, the appearance of which is expected with interest.

XII.

108. A. Höck takes up the discussion begun by Gilbert in his review of Hartel's *Demosthenische Studien* (see Amer. Journ. Philol., vol. II 269), of the *προχειροτομία*, especially in its relation to the introduction of envoys into the ecclesia. Höck agrees in the main with Gilbert, as against Hartel, adding but little, however, to the solution of the question. The chief point of interest in his article is the inference, drawn chiefly from the law quoted by Aeschin. c. Timarch. 23, to the effect that so far as the introduction of envoys into the assembly was concerned, the *προχειροτομία* was required only in case the regular session for hearing *κήρυκες* and *προσβείαι* was so far off as to make it necessary, in the opinion of the *βουλή*, that an embassy be introduced at once or at the first subsequent meeting of the assembly. The evidence for this is hardly sufficient. (pp. 801-811.)

109. K. Dziatzko calculates that the *Θησαυρός* of Menander must have been composed between 310 and 308 B. C.

110. A. Vogel adds to the fragments of Nearchus of Crete a number of passages taken chiefly from Arrian, Strabo, and Philostratus. (pp. 813-820.)

111. E. Hiller defends the traditional reading of Theocritus V 38, and corroborates the interpretation of the scholiast by Stobaeus Flor. XIV 12.

112. A valuable article on the present status of the question concerning the sources of the Lexicon of Hesychius, by H. Flach. Starting with the work of Otto Schneider, who was the first to state sharply the relation of Suidas to Hesychius, Flach gives a rapid sketch of the contributions to this subject by C. Wachsmuth, Volkmann, and Rohde, and then discusses more at length the dissertation of Daub "de Suidae Biographicorum Origine et Fide," and censures his inclination "to lead the question from the domain of final probability to that of endless possibility." He dissents particularly from Daub's view that one of the chief sources of Hesychius must have been Philon's 12 books *περί κτήσεως καὶ ἐκλογῆς βιβλίων*. (pp. 821-833.)

113. Review by H. Zurborg of M. Büdinger's treatise on the position of Cleon in Athens as represented by Thucydides. Zurborg commends especially the author's view, in opposition to Grote's partisan treatment of the character and conduct of the Athenian demos at this period. He does not agree with B. that the tenor of the speech of Diodotus (Bk. III, 42 ff.) is not in harmony with the preference of Thucydides.

114. S. Brandt comments on a passage of Lucilius (Müller's edition) XXVIII 1.

115. From a comparison of the passages in which Lucretius uses *omne*, C. Gneisse concludes that the common interpretation of this word as meaning the universe, *i. e.* the sum of all existence and of all space, is incorrect; that Lucretius does not include in that term *omne quod est spatium*, but that when he intends to include space in his conception of the universe he uses *summa summarum* or *summa tota*.

116. W. H. Roscher modifies his rule for the position of *uterque* and *ubique*, given in a previous article (see Amer. Journ. Philol. II 268), and anticipates a point made by E. Meyer on the position of *uterque* in Cicero. Meyer also shows that *uterque* and *ubique* cannot be brought under the same rule anyway, and so in the end there is but little left of Roscher's original statement.

117. Discussion of three glosses of Placidus, by A. Deuerling.

118. W. H. Kolster contributes another study on Vergil's Eclogues, this time on the fourth. With all the appreciative and incisive criticism of the writer, who can accept his allegorical interpretation and take the *puer nascens* of the poem as the *ordo* of v. 5 personified—the hoped-for fruit of the treaty of Brundisium? His view of *tuus jam regnat Apollo*, v. 10, as being an allusion to Augustus (see No. 80 above), is doubtless correct and makes against his own theory. No wonder that Kolster finds it difficult to interpret the last four lines, and thinks Vergil ought to have stopped with v. 59. (pp. 849-863.)

119. L. Mendelssohn discusses briefly the age and authority of Codex Mediceus 49, 7, 49, 18, Dresdensis 111, which contain some of Cicero's letters. (pp. 863-864.)

M. L. D'OOGHE.

PHILOLOGUS. Göttingen. Vol. XL, Parts I and II.

Latin Language and Literature.

In Cato de Mor. II 17-18, C. Hartung proposes, by change of punctuation, to get a better sense: he puts the colon after *abundet*, so as to make the clause *cum sumptus abundet* concessive to *utere*: this change, as his own translation shows, misses the meaning of *sumptus*. His second suggestion, at II, 14, to change *vincit* into *vicit*, though not necessary, is pleasing.

In Coelius Antipater, Unger, at pp. 183-186, attacks the theories of Gilbert and of Sieglin, and makes an independent effort to distribute the events of the second Punic war, as far as they are given in the fragments, among the seven books of which the *Historiae* consisted. According to Unger's scheme, the eighteen years of that war, from 218 to 201 B. C., were so arranged that the first three books treated of two years each, and the last four books of three years each. To reach this pretty symmetry of construction, a passage in Priscian III, p. 98, has to be changed from *Caelius in primo historiaram* into *C. in II historiaram*.

In Caesar Bell. Gall. IV 29, Hammer, at p. 186, makes an ingenious attempt to get a correct sense from the badly tangled sentence *ita uno tempore*, etc. He proposes to transpose the relative clauses, so as to refer the words *quae ad ancoras erant deligatae* to the antecedent *longas naves*, and the words *quibus—curaverat quasque—subduxerat* to the antecedent *onerarias*. The passage, as it stands, is unquestionably corrupt: the sense brought out by H's emendation is sound. But the origin of so strange an error is hard to imagine.

In Vergil, Aen. III 682-688, Köstlin, at pp. 179-180, tries with some ingenuity, but in vain, to amend the desperate passage into sense. In v. 684 he inserts *ac* after *contra*, and in v. 686 he changes *certum est* into *certent*. There is a sense in this, but not the sense that Vergil meant. We are tempted, in dealing with this passage, to follow the heroic remedy prescribed by Bährens in Bursian's Jahresbericht, 1877, II, 50, to leave out the words from *Scyllam* down to *certum est*, as a foolish interpolation, and to accept as v. 684,

Contra jussa monent Heleni dare lintea retro.

Thus to cut off the offending lines altogether would only be a fair vengeance upon a passage which more perhaps than any even in Vergil has defied scholars' ingenuity.

At p. 180 Köstlin tries, without changing the text, to explain the difficulties in Verg. Aen. XII 513-520. The *fratres Lycia missos* were Clarus and Themon, brothers of Sarpedon, not named here because already named in X 125. The *moestum Onitem* is the doomed son of Hercules and Deianira, born under the curse. The name *Menoeten*, derived from *οἶτος*, denotes the son of that Molorchus who regaled Hercules with wine after his battle with the Hydra. Much here is fanciful and far-fetched: but Köstlin's treatment of the obscure passage is learned and suggestive.

In Livy XXVII 15, 5, Unger, at p. 186, proves by reference to c. 22, 9, of the same book, that *naves quas Livius—habuerat* ought to be *quas Laevinus—habuerat*.

In Vergil, again, von Leutsch, at p. 121, discusses Aen. VI 42-44. He shows that the *aditus* of v. 43 were intended only for sound to pass, and were distinct from the *limen* of v. 45 and the *fores* of v. 47. At p. 138 the same scholar returns to the same passage, and shows that in vv. 40-41, *talibus ad fata*, etc., we have not the beginning of the new passage, but the end of the preceding one. This is seen, and done, both by Ladewig and by Nisard, in their respective texts. At p. 166, in discussing Aen. VI 20 seqq., he shows how the Icarus myth came to be here brought in by Vergil. From the manners of the Sibyl, the German professor, with his mind full of Bismarck and the German *Culturkampf*, goes on gravely to infer "that even in these old times, the spiritual power tried, at every good opportunity, to make its assumed superiority felt by the temporal power."

In Manilius, Astron. II 5, Köstlin, at p. 182, proposes to change *gemmata per aequora Ponto* into *geminataque tempora Ponto*: the ten years of war at Troy are doubled by ten on the sea. At v. 7 he applauds the brilliant conjecture of Bentley, who changed *patria quae jura petentem* into *patria cui Graecia septem*: but he amends the emendation by suggesting *patria cui injuria septem*, as cleaving closer to MS. tradition. This is very clever criticism. In Astron. IV 189 seqq., Köstlin, again stepping in Bentley's steps, changes *ora magisterio nudosque coercita virgo* into

ora magisterio RUGISQUE coercita virgo,

where, as he explains, he takes *rugis* as sign, not of old age, but of serious contemplation. The wrath of Erigone upon this audacious and monstrous piece of criticism! Only the spectacles are needed to make this caricature of the heavenly schoolma'am complete.

In Valerius Flaccus, Köstlin, at p. 387, examines and approves some conjectures of R. Ellis, published in *Journal of Philology* IX, pp. 52-61. But in IV 130 he disapproves his change of *preme* into *treme*, and by comparison with Verg. Aen. X 501 seq., he proposes to change the obscure hemistich *regis preme dare secundos* into

rebus periture secundis.

The thought is ingenious, but the conjecture too wild for serious discussion. In I 420 seqq. he shares with Ellis his objection to *coelataque plumbo*, Carrion's reading for the obviously incorrect *celera plumbo*. He differs, however, from Ellis (*fert alternantia plumbo*) as to the cure of the line, and proposes *portat crepitantia plumbo*. The epithet *crepitantia* is surely improper and impossible in connection with *plumbo*. In I 528 seqq. he examines and rejects Bährens' conjecture, and arrives at a perfectly good reading by simply pointing after *templataque*. It ought to be observed, however, that this punctuation and the resulting sense have been already given by Nisard in his edition of 1875. In III 143 (not II 143, as printed) he confirms, by reference to Hom. II. VI 67, the clever emendation by which Bährens changes *opima cadavera nostro* into *opima cadavere Nestor*. Again, in IV 308, by reference to Verg. Aen. VI 33, he gives brilliant confirmation to Bährens' conjectural change of *cadit malis* into *ceciditque manus*. This method of looking back to Valerius's models to divine his thoughts and phraseology is very wise and fruitful. Finally, in dealing

with the obscure and corrupt passage I 489-97, Köstlin succeeds by a bold and beautiful conjecture in constructing a correct and poetic reading. He changes

*dominoque timentem
urget equum teneras compressus pectore tigres*

into *dominique timentem . . . compressas pectore tigres*. Nothing could be better than this. In I 494 K. adopts the admirable conjecture of Eysenhardt, who changes *ut pariter* into *it pariter*.

In Sextus Aurelius Victor, *de viris illustribus*, Helmreich, at pp. 167-169, gives to cc. 47-77 a long list of variant readings taken from the MS. described in Philologus vol. XXXIX.

In Festus, Unger, at pp. 187-189, shows s. v. Februarius that, by a blunder of Paulus, three distinct passages on the origin of the month-name have been violently compressed into two; and that, by this confusion, there is ascribed to Juno in the Roman ritual a part that really belongs to the god Inuus, cf. Livy II 5, 2.

Roman History and Antiquities.

A. Müller discusses in two long essays, pp. 122-138, and 221-276, many curious points connected with the dress and armature of the Roman legionaries under the Empire. His researches go into the minutest points of military tailoring; but his method, although tedious, is sound, and his results will serve to fill up many gaps in our Lexicon and classical dictionaries. His first essay is called "Studies on the Armature of the Roman Legionaries." He proves, against Genthe's authority, that the cuirass worn by the legionary soldiers, at least during the first four centuries of the empire, was not of leather, but of metal. This metal cuirass he then proves to be, in material and construction, the real *lorica segmentata*, which, according to the old opinion, was a piece of fancy costume never really used by soldiers, but only carved upon their monuments, etc., as an artistic decoration. After proving the actual use of the *l. segmentata* by soldiers in the field, he shows, against Marquardt's authority, that the *l. segmentata* was a form of cuirass taken by the Romans from the Etrurians, but adopted by the Etrurians with some practical modifications from the *σάδιος θώραξ* of the Greek infantry. The second essay is on "The Sepulchral Monuments of Roman Warriors." In it he tries, from personal inspection of twenty monuments of *caligati* which he found in Italy, and of a much larger number of monuments to *equites*, to fix the name and the construction of the chief articles of the soldiers' equipment. With the facts thus gathered from the monuments he collates all the scattered notices that occur in the literature. From all he shows that the dead soldiers are portrayed on their monuments, not in any parade costume, not even in battle array, but in their working-dress of daily life. The *sagum* and the *paenula*, the latter with its invariable *cucullus*, lasted on from republican times into the late empire; and they each existed in four distinct styles. The accurate description of these garments is the newest and most valuable part of the essay. The *toga*, if worn at all by soldiers, was worn only by officers. The monuments to *equites* are much more highly ornamented than those of *caligati*. The one horse on the monument is the symbol of the private soldier, two of the *sesquipedarius*, and three, as Müller shows against

Herzen's authority, of the *decurio*. The *cista*, so often found on such monuments, was not intended as symbol of Bellona-worship, as has been supposed, but to hold the food for the dead man's use. The feast-scene, so often carved on such monuments, is not a representation of the funeral-feast, but a picture of the man himself in the daily scenes of his home-life. In this last point Müller's result is independently confirmed by an eloquent study of Athenian sepulchral monuments published last year in the *Revue des deux Mondes*.

Illhardt, in a short essay on "Titus and the Jewish Temple," pp. 189-196, shows that Titus neither wished, as Josephus thought, to preserve the temple permanently, nor desired to have it sacked and destroyed by his soldiers. He knew that, in order to break the resistance of the Jewish nation, the temple must be destroyed; but he wished to secure the treasures contained in it for the imperial government, and especially to satisfy his own curiosity as to the sanctuary and its contents. Illhardt argues against the authority of Bernays, that the passage on this subject in the chronicle of Sulpicius Severus (II 30, 6) is not derived from Tacitus.

Greek Language and Literature.

In Aeschylus, L. Schmidt proposes, at p. 172, to change the unmeaning line, Septem adv. Thebas 793 (ed. Ahrens=773 ed. Hermann)

into *θαρσείτε, παῖδες μητέρων τεθραμμένοι,*
θαρσείτε παῖδες· μὴ τρέσῃς τεθραγμένη.

In spite of what is said to defend it, this sudden change from the plural to the singular is intolerably harsh. Hermann's old conjecture, *τεθρυνμένοι* for *τεθραμμένοι*, still seems to be the best.

In Sophocles, L. Schmidt, at pp. 169-171, brings forward a series of conjectures to the text of Oedipus Coloneus. In v. 402, instead of *ὁ τύμβος δυστυχῶν*, he conjectures *ὁ τύμβος δίχα τυχῶν*. The local meaning here given to *τυχῶν* does not belong to the language of tragedy; and, even if that meaning be admitted, the tense of the *τυχῶν* is impossible. The text, though not very well expressed, is not without fit meaning; but, if it is to be changed, the old conjecture of Schenkl *δυστυχούσι* gives a clear sense with the least possible change.

In v. 589 he proposes to cure the violent displacement of the *με* by changing *ἀναγκάζουσι* to *ἀναρπάσσουσι*. If that will not do, as it certainly will not, then he proposes to change *κομίζειν* into *ποθ' ἵζειν*! Metre forces poets to displace words even worse than this poor *με* is displaced; but, if there must be change, then Hartung's change of *με* into *σε* is the easiest and best.

In vv. 703-4 he changes *γῆρα σημαίνων* into *γῆρα συνναίων*. This is possible; but the old reading, though less commonplace in grammar, is of higher poetical power.

In v. 1534 he changes *αἱ δὲ μυρίαί πόλεις* into *σφῇ δὲ μυρία πόλεις*. This is mere wantonness of change. Apart from the poetic vigor of the passage thus mutilated, this intrusion of the possessive *σφῇ* into the language of tragic dialogue is incorrect.

In v. 1584 he tries to get sense into the corrupt passage by changing

into *ὥς λελοιπότεα κείνον τὸν ἀεὶ βίον,*
ὥς λελοιπότος κείνου ἀνατεῖ βίοντον.

Even if we concede the unproved meaning given to *ἀνατρί* (without sickness, painlessly), the hiatus after *κείνου* is bad.

In 1632 he changes the poetical, but altogether intelligible, *πίστιν ἀρχαίαν* into the flat *πίστιν ἀρκίαν*. Is *ἀρκίως*, in fact, ever used by the tragedians?

In the Ajax of Sophocles, Müller, at pp. 371-372, brings forward, from an unexpected source, a pleasing and plausible emendation of the doubtful line, v. 923, *οἷος ὦν οἷως ἐχεις*. The verses of Ignatius, called *Στίχοι εἰς τὸν Ἀδάμ*, are, as he observed, made up largely of reminiscences of tragic phraseology. He says, at v. 126, *ποῖος ἀνθ' οἷον πέλεις*. Assuming this to be borrowed from Sophocles, Müller conjectures that the true reading was *οἷος ἀνθ' οἷων πέλεις*, or, with less violence of change,

οἷος ὦν οἷων κυρεῖς. Cf. Electra 849.

It is not unlikely that the stolen phrases of Ignatius may thus serve, by an odd turn of fate, to restore to the tragic poets some of their own lost or corrupted treasures.

In the Electra of Sophocles, von Leutsch proposes, at pp. 220 and 270, a series of changes in the anapaestic system vv. 101-114, and in the chorus 137-139. On metrical grounds, in vv. 100 and 101, he rejects *τούτων* and *οὕτως* respectively. On exegetical grounds he rejects *τόδ' ἤμαρ* in 106 and *τοὺς εἰνὰς ὑποκλεπτομένους* in 113. He reads v. 105 seq.

ἔστ' ἂν λείσω παμφεγγεῖς ἀστρων ῥιπὰς . . .

In vv. 137-139 he rejects *λατῆσιν* (*ἀνταις*, Dindorf) on metrical grounds; he changes *λίμνας*, misprinted *λμνᾶς*, into *κοίτας*; and he changes *οὔτε*—*οὔτε* into *οὔτε*—*οὐ*. Thus he reads, in one long line,

παγκοῖνον κοίτας πατέρ' ἀνστάσεις οὔτε γόοισιν, οὐ θρήνοις.

In Euripides, L. Schmidt proposes, at p. 172, to change the suspected line, Electra 977,

ἐγὼ δὲ μητρὸς (μητρὶ, ed. Fix) τοῦ φόνου δώσω δίκας,
into *μητρὸς φόνου δὲ μὴ τρέπας δώσω δίκας.*

By this change the antithesis to v. 976 is made clear and strong; but the departure from the text is too great, and the displacement of the *δέ*, although not unprecedented, is harsh.

In Plato, Siebeck discusses, at pp. 175-179, the vexed question of priority in time between the Phaedros and the Gorgias. Zeller, as is known, decides that the Phaedros preceded the Gorgias. Against his authority, and in support of Ueberweg, Siebeck shows that the peculiar theory of the art of rhetoric, broached in the Gorgias, is continued and developed in the Phaedros. He shows farther that the Phaedros, being written later than the Gorgias, contains two almost direct citations from it, 260c from 460b, and 261a from 453a. Incidentally he tries to show the priority in time of Hippias Maior over Phaedros by a citation in Phaedros 261b from Hipp. Mai. 281d and 282b.

L. Schmidt, at p. 383, brings forward an admirable emendation to the Symposium, 220c. 7 (misprinted 22c. 7). For the inexplicable *τῶν Ἰώνων* he conjectures *τῶν ἰδόντων*. This fills the sense and restores the meaning and the text.

In Aristotle, L. Schmidt, at p. 384, suggests an emendation in the suspected essay *περὶ Ζήνωνος κτλ.* 978, 2, 23-27 (misprinted 6, 23). He accepts Kern's correction of *ταὐτὸν*, 25, into *τὸ δν*; and he confirms the sense thus gained by changing *ἐπὶ τῷ ἡρεμεῖν αὐτῷ χρῆται* into *τῷ ἡρεμεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῷ χρῆται*. This is acute and convincing.

In Demosthenes, L. Schmidt, at p. 384, makes a futile attempt to change the text of Dem. Mid. § 55 (not 54 as printed). For *ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν* he proposes to read *ὑπὲρ ἀστών*. The sense would require *ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀστών*. There is no absolute need of rejecting *αὐτῶν*; but, if there must be change, Weil's *ἀπάντων* is so far the best.

In Theocritus, L. Schmidt, at p. 384, suggests a pretty and plausible correction of the difficult line IV 39. The text,

ὅσον αἶγες ἐμὴν φίλαι, ὅσον ἀπέσβας,

is undoubtedly corrupt; but the *αἶγες* is so certainly right that no conjecture which leaves it out can be accepted. Schmidt proposes

ὅσον αἶγες ἐμὴν φίλα ὅσσε τ' ἀπέσβας.

In Menandros, the Rhetorician, Hammer gives, at p. 383, from personal inspection of the Paris MS. the succession of chapters in his *περὶ ἐπιδευκτικῶν*, and shows, against Spengel's statement, that the succession differs from that in the Medicean MS.

In Moschus, C. Hartung, at p. 47, discusses several disputed passages. In IV 46 he defends the text *Θήβην κουροτρόφον* against the conjecture *ἱπποτρόφον* by referring to Hom. Il. II 510. Here, as elsewhere, Moschus imitates Homer. Chiefly on exegetical grounds, he rejects altogether the clumsy verse IV 37. In IV 88 he shows, from the context, that *οἶος*, the accepted conjecture for *οἶος*, cannot be right; and he changes *οἶος ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίῃς* into *αἶαν ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίην*. The sense thus gained is clear and good; and the form *αἶα* is used once by Theocritus XVII 91.

In Diodorus Siculus, Unger, at p. 175, gives a series of thoughtful and almost certain changes in the text of the 15th book. In c. 19, for *τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα συσκευασάμενοι* he reads *συσκευαζόμενοι*, that the participle may correspond, as the sense requires, with *προσαγόμενοι* and *χειροῦμενοι*. In the same chapter, *ad fin.*, he adopts Wesseling's suggestion to leave out *μὴ καταδουλοῦσθαι* after *τὰς καινὰς συνθήκας*; but he rejects the *ἄς* inserted by Wesseling after *πόλεις*, and changes *ὡμοσαν* into *ὁμόσαν*. By this, the expression becomes more correct, and the thought sharper and clearer. In c. 33, in the speech of Agesilaos, in dealing with the words *νενηκέναι ἂν πορθουμένη*, he adopts Bekker's suggestion to leave out the *ἂν* as contrary to the sense; but he changes the simple *πορθουμένη* into the compound *διαπορθουμένη*, and thus accounts for the presence of the *ἂν* by the natural confusion between AN and ΔΙΑ. In c. 22 he changes *ἐψηφίσαντο πρὸς Ὀλυμπίους πόλεμον*, as giving a false sense, into *ἐψηφίσαντο π. Ὀ. πολεμεῖν*. Finally, starting from the fact that the standing army of the Arcadians was called by the special name of *ἐπάριτοι*, cf. Xen. Hell. 4, 33, he shows that in two passages, cc. 62 and 67, this correct *ἐπάριτοι* has been changed into the unmeaning *ἐπιλεκτοί*.

In Plutarch, Unger, at pp. 384-385, brings new light upon the difficult passage in his life of Solon, c. xxv 19 (ed. Sintenis). He shows on astronomical grounds that the text τὸ πρὸ συνόδου μόριον is absurd in sense, and that the change into τὸ περὶ σύνδου μόριον would yield a sense scientifically correct.

In Diogenes Laertius, L. Schmidt suggests, at p. 384, that in the list of Antisthenes' writings given at VI 16, the unmeaning ἰσογραφὴ ought to be changed into μισθογράφοι. The context is too scant to give any certainty to such a conjecture.

In Plotinus, H. F. Müller, at p. 179, raises reasonable objection to the words οὐδὲ δυνατόν εἶναι ἵνα τις καὶ θαυμάσαι, and suggests that this monstrous Greek, Ennead. V 8, is the barbarous gloss of some Roman reader, trying to translate literally *ne fieri quidem potest ut quis miretur*. Is this ἵνα- construction ever found elsewhere in later Greek after δυνατόν?

In Julian, Schiller discusses, at pp. 385-6, the title of his book against the Christians. He rejects the title constructed by Neumann, κατὰ Χριστιανῶν λόγοι, on account of the known fact that Julian never used this word himself and forbade the use of it by others. He thinks it probable that the title was κατὰ Γαλιλαίων, on account of the scorn expressed by that word.

In Stephen of Byzantium and in Hesychius, s. vv. Ἐπαρίται and Ἐπαρόητοι respectively, Unger, at p. 175, shows that these two words are blunders of the copyists for Ἐπάρητοι, the special name of the Arcadian soldiery. In the scantiness of our knowledge of Arcadian antiquities and dialect, this changing of the text is dangerous work.

Proksch, in a long essay, pp. 1-47, "On the use of the article, especially with the predicate," starts his discussion from the good definition of Dornseiffen, that "the article serves to define that which is known, or assumed to be known, either by its properties or relations." After clearly presenting the logical law by which the article is excluded from the predicate, he goes on to give many facts and rules that are sufficiently recognized even in our elementary grammars. The clumsiness of the modern languages, and especially of the German, in the use of the article is perhaps his reason for once more calling attention to the cases where the moderns are apt to take the predicate for the subject of the sentence and thus to puzzle themselves about the article. His collection of examples is everywhere full and valuable. His explanation of some difficult passages is acute, and his argument against false views of Madvig and of Kühner is clear and convincing. He enumerates with care the cases where the article, as in ὁ αὐτός, θάτερον, τοῦναντίον, τὸ λοιπὸν τὰ ἄλλα, is used in the predicate because it is essential to the meaning of the word. Ἄνθρως, for example, needs the ὁ to give it the meaning of 'the same.' The best and most novel part of his essay is where, pp. 35-46, he collects and explains the few sentences in Greek where the article is used with the predicate; and he fully establishes the law that all propositions in which the predicate takes the article are identical propositions, i. e. propositions in which the predicate is either logically or really identical in contents with the subject. The careful collection and sorting of examples in this paper make it well worthy of attention by grammarians and writers of grammars.

Herbst contributes to this volume another essay of great length, pp. 271-382, and of splendid merit, on the origin and manner of composition of Thucydides' history. By a detailed criticism of the leading works that have appeared on this subject between 1862 and 1878, he comes back in various ways and under various forms to the restatement of his own conclusion as stated in his first essay, that Thucydides composed his history, from the beginning to the end, as a single work, and continuously, after the end of the whole war, about the year 400 B. C. In admirable temper, but with keen wit and overwhelming logic, this great scholar crushes, one after another, the various champions of Ullrich's theory, and comes back by a new line of demonstration to his own conclusion. The argument of Herbst was so fully stated in the abstract of his former essay¹ that it is not necessary here to repeat it. Apart from that main argument, however, the shrewdness and the marvellous knowledge of the man are exhibited in dealing with many subordinate questions of grammar, style and interpretation. In his knowledge of Thucydides' diction and in his understanding and absolute possession of the text, Herbst has never perhaps been equalled. Even in points of grammatical detail his observations have always a precision of statement and often a brilliant novelty of discovery that make them worthy of being treasured up by grammarians. As a few of many important points, may be cited his discovery of the conditions under which Thucydides uses *Πελοποννήσιοι* as identical with *Λακεδαιμόνιοι*, p. 282 seq.; his explanation of *καθ' ἑκάστους* in II 39, 29, against Poppo, Krüger and Classen; his defence of the text *ἀθρόα τε* against conjecture in II 39, 14; his defence of the text *παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων* in I 10; his discussion of Thucydides' hyperbola in respect of *ἐπὶ πλέον*, VI 2; his explanation of the double use of *εἰθίς* at p. 339, and of the use of *ὥσπερ* at p. 365. Of the highest interest, however, as a contribution to our knowledge of Greek grammar, is his discovery, by an elaborate induction from the entire text of Thucydides, of the laws according to which he uses the article with proper names (including *nomina Gentilia*)—cf. pp. 372-382 (of which pp. 373-4 are left out by miscount). According to this induction, there are six (6) cases in which Thucydides puts the article to the proper noun:

1. The article stands always with a certain class of proper nouns; *e.g.* ἡ *Ἀσία*, ἡ *Χερσόνησος* (if he means the Thracian Chersonese), etc.
2. The article stands wherever, within the framework of one detached narrative, back reference is made to a name already given; cf. story of Plataea, II 2-6, *e.g.* *Πλάταιαν* II 2, 10 (ed. Böhme), and *τὴν Πλάταιαν* II 2, 10.
3. The article stands wherever the name is used in antithesis with another name; *e.g.* *οἱ Κορίνθιοι*—*τῶν Ἀθηναίων*, I 72, 1.
4. The article stands wherever the name is defined by an attribute or subordinate clause; *e.g.* *τῶν Πελοποννησίων καὶ Ἀθηναίων ὡς ἐπολέμησαν*, I 1.
5. The article stands wherever a proper name is used to define another noun; *e.g.* *μίσει τῶν Κερκυραίων*, I 25.
6. The article stands with proper names referred to as known and notorious; *e.g.* *τὸν Μῆδον*, I 69.

On the other hand, Herbst shows that the article is regularly omitted with proper names in (3) three cases:

- a. When a second or third proper name is joined by a connecting particle to a proper name that has the article: *τῆς Ἰταλίας καὶ Σικελίας*, I 36, 11.

¹ American Journal of Philology, Vol. I, p. 240.

b. When a new narrative is beginning; *e. g.* 'Αθηναίους κτλ. I 105.

c. In all general remarks, thrown in by the historian and breaking the chain of narrative; *e. g.* Κορίνθιοι, I 25, 11.

It is to be hoped that this careful work of the great scholar will be carried on by others, and the habits of other prose-writers observed and mended, so that our grammars may be freed at last from their vague and absurd and false statements in respect of the article with proper names. In testing the MSS. of Thucydides as to their accuracy in this point, Herbst avows that his confidence in the overrated Laurentianus C. has been more and more shaken. He urges upon scholars the acceptance of his own conjecture, the change of τὰ γὰρ πρὸ αὐτῶν into τὰ γὰρ Τρωικά, I 1, 10, as the only change needed to make the text perfect in sense and connection. This conjecture may be accepted, we think, as almost absolutely sure.

H. Haupt, in a long essay, pp. 139-166, attacks the problem of the authorities followed by Dio Cassius in his history of the second Punic war and of the second and third Macedonian wars. His method of investigation is not very clear, nor are his results stated with much firmness. His classified list of the chief modern works on this subject, from 1835 to 1879, is valuable. He shows first how unfounded and false is the notion that Dion drew by preference rather from Greek than Roman sources. The claims of Silenos, Sosilos and Chaereas to be the sources of Dion are dismissed as unproved and incapable of proof. Polybios, if used by Dion at all, was used not directly but indirectly. It is shown, against the authority of Keller, that the writings of Juba were not known to Dion, but that facts recorded by Juba came to Dion through writers that had followed him. The most valuable part of Haupt's essay is his proof that the question of Dion's authorities is so confused with the general question of Dion's relationship to Arrian, that it awaits its solution from a more careful study than has yet been given to Arrian's text. Until this has been done, the conclusion seems to be that the narrative of Dion is founded, not on any single authority, but on a fusion of several, at least three; and that of these three, the author that Dion followed most closely was Livy.

Unger, in a paper of great length, pp. 48-106, discusses the question of the authorities used by Diodoros in his 11th Book. He starts from the general conclusions reached by Volquardsen; but he follows a new method of investigation, and one of such potency as to modify Volquardsen's results in some points, and to give to them in all points greater scientific precision. The authority followed by Diodoros in each portion of his narrative may be traced and determined by close observation of the year-reckoning that he uses. The Greek historians, in the absence of any universally recognized system of chronology, followed various rules as to the beginning of the year. Some, for example, like Ephoros, followed Spartan usage, as that which had remained unchanged for the longest unbroken period, and began the year with the autumnal equinox, or with the next full moon thereafter. Others, as Timaeos, began the year with the opening of spring. Others again, as the Attic chronographs, began with the summer-solstice. Others, finally, running close on Ephoros' manner, began with the beginning of November. Diodoros now, in combining his various authorities with his own narrative, was so incredibly careless, according to Unger's view, as never to translate their different sys-

tems into any one self-consistent system of his own. Hence the endless confusion and perplexity of Diodoros' narrative in all points of minute chronology. In maintaining this doctrine, Unger refutes the opinion of Droysen and Schmidt that Diodoros follows a uniform system of reckoning by including in his year the last half of one Attic archonship and the first half of the following one. As evidence of Diodoros' carelessness, he points out the existence of *doublets*, when the same event is narrated twice under different years, and the three dates, assigned in three different places to the Sacred War. By following out in detail the variations in the reckoning of time according to the authority followed in each passage, Unger is able to point out the passages that belong to Ephoros, to Timaeos, and to the unknown chronograph respectively. According to his view, Diodoros used Xenophon not at all, Thucydides very seldom, and Ephoros far more than any other authority. But in Sicilian history he followed Timaeos; and in points of literary history he followed an unknown writer, probably Kastor. There is, indeed, an inherent improbability that Diodoros, a man of vigorous common-sense, trained all his life in the accurate details of official work, should have undertaken his gigantic task of history-writing without adopting for his own convenience some uniform system of time-reckoning. But, apart from this improbability, the argument of Unger is clear and convincing.

H. Haupt, in a masterly essay on "Dares, Malalas and Sisypchos," pp. 107-121, deals in a most satisfactory manner with the vexed question as to the origin and propagation of the absurd stories that arose, during Roman and Byzantine times, about the events and the characters of the Trojan war. He aims to fix, in a final and definite manner, the relationship in time and in literary interdependence among the group of writers represented chiefly by Malalas, Isaakos Porphyrogennitos, Manasses and Tzetzes in Greek literature, and by Dares and Dictys in Roman. On this subject, many theories have been formed. According to Dederich, Malalas, Isaakos and Manasses, each independent of the others, all derive from an assumed Greek poet, Dictys, but Dares was independent of Dictys and original. According to Joly, Malalas formed his story by compilation from Dares and a Greek Dictys, and Isaakos formed his from Malalas. According to Dunger and Wagener, Malalas is entirely independent of Dictys. As to any assumed independence of these writers, one from another, Haupt says rightly that it is grossly improbable, nay impossible, that a number of men at different times should have come independently to the fantastic notion of giving elaborate descriptions of the persons, manners and peculiarities of the Homeric heroes. He rejects with merited ridicule Wagener's theory that they happen to agree in these details because they all drew their descriptions from statues of the heroes that were accepted in those times as portraits. The agreement extends to points of character, and even to details of coloring and to eccentricities of manner, such as no statue could have indicated. The substantial agreement in design among all these writers proves derivation of some kind of one from another, and their variations in detail prove only, what can be easily granted, the existence of separate whims and vagaries in each. Between Dares and Malalas, on the one hand, between Dares and Isaakos on the other, the relationship is so close, that they not only describe the same heroes in almost identical order, but they leave the same heroes undescribed.

Between Dares, however, and the Latin Dictys, there is an essential difference : Dictys cleaves close to the outline of the Homeric story, but Dares, dealing with that story as a sensational romance-writer, follows and even outdoes Ptolemaios Chennos in working in absurd variations of his own. It can be proved, however, that Dares did not derive from Malalas, nor Malalas from Dares, but that both used some common source or sources. This common source for both Dares and Malalas was not the fabulous Greek poet Dictys, but some Greek prose-writer upon the Homeric myth. By analysis of Malalas' text, it is found to consist of two kinds of material entirely different and badly fused. One part follows closely the classical story as given in Homer; the other part introduces variations and adulteration of that story. Now, according to Haupt, the former, or Homeric, element in Malalas comes from the Latin Dictys; the latter, or Unhomeric, element comes from the lost work of Sisypchos of Kos, a writer often mentioned by Malalas himself with great reverence. Thus, in the line of descent, Malalas comes from the fusion of the Latin Dictys, with the Greek Sisypchos, and Isaakos, Manasses, Kedrenos and Tzetzes come from Malalas. Dares, on the other hand, draws directly from Sisypchos, but he draws on a plan of his own, with greater independence. Finally, as between the Latin Dictys and the Greek Sisypchos, although the one is undoubtedly the source of the other, we do not know enough to decide which was the inventor, which the plagiarist. The article closes with a temperate defence of Malalas' character against Bentley and Nicolai. Well deserved is the sharp criticism on Bernhardt's estimate of Dares, *Rom. Lit.* p. 770, an estimate more false and misleading than is common even with Bernhardt.

Greek Antiquities and History.

The exquisite statue of Hermes with the child Bacchus, found at Olympia on the 8th of May 1877, is discussed by Rumpf, at pp. 197-220, in an essay of much interest and charm of treatment. The essay is illustrated by a rather rough drawing. It is to be regretted that the essay is based, not upon inspection of the statue itself, but upon the cast at Frankfort A.-M. The statue is well described, and the artistic motives acutely analyzed. Rumpf adopts Treu's theory that the missing left hand held the herald's staff; but he rightly rejects the inartistic notion of the thyrsus in the right hand, and he explains the listening pose of the beautiful head by Adler's theory, that with his right hand, to amuse the baby-god, Hermes was sounding the castanets. There was probably a wreath or band of metal around the hair, and the feet, as proved by a fragment more recently discovered, wore sandals without wings. These sandals show traces of bronze color, and the hair and lips show traces of a brownish red. The ascription of this work to Praxiteles, although directly asserted by Pausanias, has been, as is known, disputed and denied by the German archaeologists, Hirschfeld, Treu, Berndorf, etc. They consider it of later date than Praxiteles, and ascribe it either to Lysippos himself or to a pupil of Lysippos, possibly, in order to save Pausanias' credit, to a younger Praxiteles, grandson of the famous sculptor. Against their theories, and in defence of Pausanias' statement, Rumpf makes an argument of great, if not decisive power. He defends the knowledge and the credibility of Pausanias in artistic matters; and then shows in detail how well the style and workmanship of this statue agree with all that we know, either by copies or by mention in literature, of Praxi-

teles' art. Especially, the proportion in length between the head and the figure, 1 to $7\frac{1}{2}$, agrees with Praxiteles' earlier time and manner, but is too short for Lysippus' style; and finally the whole figure and the face belong rather to the idealistic manner of Praxiteles than to the growingly realistic portrait-manner of Lysippus. One that has seen even in cast or copy the glorious beauty of the Hermes will feel abiding interest in all that throws light upon its origin; and Rumpf will have the sympathy and good wishes of all in arguing us into the belief that we have in this statue the genuine work of Praxiteles' own hands.

THOS. R. PRICE.

ENGLISCHE STUDIEN. Herausgegeben von DR. EUGEN KÖLBING. III Band. Heilbronn, 1880.

I.—Felix Liebrecht. The Folk-Lore Society in London. Liebrecht describes the formation of this society, which counts among its members such distinguished antiquaries as Gladstone, Lubbock, Tylor, and Thoms, and proceeds to review the first volume of the Folk-Lore Record. In so doing he takes occasion to intersperse parallels from the folk-lore of other nations, and thus rescues many superstitions from any suspicion of provincialism by affording evidence of their wide dispersion. A note on Chaucer's Night Spell will attract students who have puzzled over this charm in the Miller's Tale. Perhaps a comparison of the "seynte Petres soster" with the "St. Peter's brother" of the version contained in a foot-note to the passage in Gilman's Chaucer, may throw some light on that particular obscurity. The review ends with some curious excerpts from Blount's Tenures of Land and Customs of Manors.

F. H. Stratmann, in Notes on Old English Grammar, affirms, as against Holtzmann, the existence of A. S. *aw*; points out the baselessness of Koch's assertion that *f* had, in the 14th century, the sound of *ei* (*ai*); derives *orchard* from a proximate *orcard*, of which the older forms were probably *ortcard*, *ortgard*; supplies examples of *k* substituted for *ð*, and of nom. and acc. plur. masc. in *O. E.* ending in *e* instead of the regular *s*.

Ed. Tiessen's Contributions to the Determination and Exegesis of the Text of Shakespeare are continued from the second volume (see A. J. P., vol. II p. 112). They touch upon passages in the following plays, viz. Coriolanus, Troilus and Cressida, Tempest, Winter's Tale, Cymbeline, Henry VIII, and Pericles.

Felix Bobertag continues his studies of Pope, in a readable but somewhat too discursive examination of the Essay on Criticism. The nature and extent of Pope's indebtedness to his predecessors in this mode of writing is well illustrated by extensive parallel quotations from the Essay and from Horace, Hieronymus Vida, and Boileau. Passing, however, from external resemblances to the structure of the poem and to its author's conceptions of the poetical art, Bobertag finds, along with unmistakable correspondences between Pope and Boileau, an essential independence on the part of the

former, which becomes still more marked when he is compared with Vida. Horace was his real master, and Pope's style owes much more to Horace than to Boileau. The Essay on Criticism is an exposition of the principle which Pope, and through him the generation of which he was the exponent, professed, namely, that the theory and practice of poetry are absolutely inseparable. Finally, his peculiar use of the word "nature" indicates that he was on the verge of a deeper insight into the essence of poetry, although the actual discovery was reserved for his successors.

E. Kölbing supplies a number of minor contributions to the Exegesis and Textual Criticism of English Poets. The first is on the difficult passage Beowulf v. 168. There are fifteen on obscurities in the Assumpcioun de nostre dame (ed. Lumby), three on Floriz and Blancheflur, three on Sir Degrevant, one on the Gregorius legend after the Vernon MS. (Herrig's Archiv, 1876), one each on the Political Songs, Maximion, and Spiritual Songs of Bøddeker's Altenglischen Dichtungen, and two on Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, Prologue, vv. 52 and 169. From the note on Prol. 52 we learn that *bord* cannot be the equivalent of the M. H. G. *buhurt*, but must signify *table*, a meaning which is clearly borne out by the passages quoted.

W. Victor has an article on Die wissenschaftliche Grammatik und der englische Unterricht, in which he makes some practical suggestions to teachers of English in Realschulen concerning the utilization of recent researches into English phonology and inflection.

The Book Notices begin with a review of Horstmann's Sammlung altenglischer Legenden (Heilbronn, 1878), by Kölbing, who offers a number of critical emendations and suggestive notes. J. Caro criticises Baumstark's Thomas Morus (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1879). O. S. Seemann, while recognizing what is meritorious and useful in Vincenz Knauer's William Shakespeare, der Philosoph der sittlichen Weltordnung (Innsbruck, 1879), is an unsparing critic of its defective arrangement and immature conclusions. Bobertag's review of Karl Knortz's Longfellow, Literar-historische Studie (Hamburg, 1879), contains an estimate of the poet which most Americans will be slow to accept, inasmuch as it would make his Golden Legend an imitation of Faust, his Building of the Ship an attempt to rival Schiller's Lay of the Bell, and his Masque of Pandora, a fancied improvement on the Legend of Prometheus. Kluge's Beiträge zur Geschichte der germanischen Conjugation (Strassburg, 1879) is fully and approvingly noticed by Hermann Möller. Kölbing, in passing judgment on Konrath's Beiträge zur Erklärung und Textkritik des William von Schorham (Berlin, 1878), recommends to the author the publication of a new edition of Schorham's poems, and ends this department with a notice of Liebrecht's Zur Volkskunde (Heilbronn, 1879).

The volumes criticised under the head of Lehr- und Uebungsbücher für die englische Sprache are of only secondary interest outside of Germany. With this number a Programmschau is begun, the most noteworthy programme being one by Horstmann on a prose version of Barlaam und Josaphat, from MS. Egerton 876, fol. 301.

The Miscellanea contain the Neapolitan Fragment of Sir Isumbras, an apograph by Kölbing; the schedule of Lectures on English Philology at the German universities; a Zeitschriftenschau, which students will find serviceable; together with corrections, a list of books received for review, etc.

II.—A. Rambeau. Chaucer's 'House of Fame' in its relation to Dante's 'Divina Commedia.' This dissertation, which occupies pp. 209–268, is the ablest paper of the number, if not of the volume. The author begins by adverting to the contradictory opinions which have been held regarding Chaucer's acquaintance with the Italian language and literature. Tyrwhitt and Warton agreed in affirming his knowledge of Italian, while Sir Harris Nicolas and Craik were as firmly convinced that he had never read Dante and Petrarch, the latter even going so far as to question whether more than the fame of Italian song had reached his ears. Among the German scholars who have championed the former view are enumerated Fiedler, Pauli, Ebert, Hertzberg, Kissner, and Ten Brink. Following Sandras, in his *Étude sur Chaucer*, and Ten Brink, in his *Studien*, Rambeau undertakes a detailed comparison of the *Divina Commedia* and Chaucer's *House of Fame*, for the purpose of exhibiting the dependence of Chaucer upon Dante, as well in the structure of his poem as in the form of particular passages. It may seem fanciful to extend the analogy to the inscription upon the wall of the temple of Venus, regarded as a parallel to the terrific legend over the gate of hell, or to insist upon the accuracy of both Dante and Chaucer in assigning a date to their respective visions as a substantiation of the author's view; yet it must be remembered that it was only by a multiplication of parallels, individually too weak to bear the burden of proof, yet convincing in their totality, that a demonstration of the proposed thesis could be successfully carried through. Rambeau brings to light a number of verbal correspondences which are, in many instances, too exact and striking to be the work of chance, and supports them by unfolding the more recondite analogies between the two poems in point of machinery, discourses, and pictorial furniture. It is worthy of notice that the essay is preceded by a bibliography of works cited, and that the proofs are clearly conceived and aptly stated, without any darkening of counsel by a superabundance of words.

F. H. Stratmann offers several Emendations of Old English Authors, the works emended being the first series of O. E. Homilies, Layamon, Hali Meidenhad, King Horn (ed. Lumby), and Floriz and Blancheffur. The proposed corrections recommend themselves in almost every case, the author's learning and judgment being equally conspicuous. Stratmann also contributes a few quotations under the heading On the Definite Form of the Adjective in Old English, to prove that the O. E. generally observes the same laws with respect to its use as the Anglo-Saxon, and follows with a note on O. E. *-ere* (*-are*, *-are*), which, in order to have the question settled, he assumes to have been long in Layamon.

Kölbing continues his Minor Contributions to the Exegesis and Textual Criticisms of English Poets, with a long series of notes on the Middle English Story of Genesis and Exodus. Where he agrees with Wülcker (Alteng-

lisches Lesebuch), Zupitza (Altenglisches Uebungsbuch), and Mätzner (Altenglisches Sprachproben), as against Morris, the editor of the poem, he refrains from all comments upon their views, and observes the same rule with respect to Morris's own corrections in his second edition.

Felix Liebrecht shows, in a short article on English Ballad Poetry, that the Collection of seventy-nine Black-Letter Ballads and Broad-sides, printed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, between the years 1559 and 1597, and reprinted London, 1870, contains two ballads which are translations or adaptations of as many epigrams in the Greek Anthology, the first either by Posidippus or the comic poet Plato, and the second by Metrodorus. A "Song of an English Merchant, borne at Chichester," one of the Roxburghe Ballads, is discovered to rest upon the ancient custom of absolving a criminal from the death penalty on condition that a maiden should resolve to take him in marriage. Still another song of the same collection is compared with the "Zigeunerin," No. 368 of Simrock's Volkslieder, and a ballad, entitled "The Little Barly-Corne," with a German Volksbuch of the 17th century, bearing the partial title, "Martyrologia Hordei, wie das edle Gersten-Korn so viel Marter ausstehen muss."

H. Ottmann treats of the choice of English reading matter in the German realschule of the first order. Presupposing an elementary knowledge of grammar, to be acquired in *tertia*, he would begin in lower *secunda* with Robinson Crusoe, and follow with extracts from the English historians in upper *secunda*. In *prima* the scholar will then study the first two chapters of Macaulay's History of England, Milton's Paradise Lost, and devote two winter semesters to Shakespeare. Private reading of easier pieces will give him fluency, and strengthen his confidence in his own independent ability.

In the Book Notices, Stratmann commends Skeat's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language (Oxford, 1879), though he is able to catalogue a tolerably large number of errors. D. Asher passes a favorable judgment upon Karl Warncke's essay On the Formation of English Words by Means of Ablaut. C. Blasius reviews Snider's System of Shakespeare's Dramas, and pronounces the ideas to be new and important, and the style lucid, straightforward and dignified. Besides, there are reviews by Seemann of the Works of William Shakespeare, Part I, edited by W. Wagner; of Karl Elze's Eine Aufführung im Globus-Theater; and of two works by E. Hermann, Die Bedeutung des Sommernachtstraums für die Shakespeare-biographie und die Geschichte des englischen Dramas, and Shakespeare der Kämpfer; by Körner of O. Brenner's Angelsächsische Sprachproben mit Glossar, and Botkine's La chanson des runes, texte, traduction et notes; and by W. Victor of A. M. de Sainte Claire's Dictionary of English, French and German idioms, figurative expressions and proverbial sayings.

Of Lehr- und Uebungsbücher für die englische Sprache there seems to be no lack, since seven are criticised at length in this number. The reports upon the publications of English Societies contain a description by O. S. Seemann of the recent issues by the new Shakspeare Society, and the

Miscellanea an obituary notice of Hertzberg, the German translator of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.

III.—C. Horstmann prints, with a short introduction, the epic legend of Thomas Beket, contained in the unique MS. Corp. Chr. Coll. Camb. 298. The author was Laurentius Wade, a Canterbury monk of the fifteenth century, who composed, from materials furnished by Herbert Bosham and Bishop John of Exeter, and in direct imitation of Lydgate's legends, this rhymed biography of more than 2300 lines. The diction is not only prosaic, but still further marred by the introduction of the most alien and least manageable Latin idioms.

Kölbing, under the heading *Zur altenglischen Glossen-Literatur*, takes occasion to correct, from a fresh collation of the MSS in the British Museum, a number of errors in Wülcker's contributions to *Anglia* II pp. 354-374.

F. H. Stratmann, in a page of Notes on Anglo-Saxon Grammar, explains *funde* and *wurde*, when used as preterite indicatives of the first and third persons, as analogical formations on the model of the second person, and contends that the radical *o* of *dohtor* should not be written long, as is done by Grein, Kluge and others, since Orm doubles the following *h*, and the umlaut of short *o* in Anglo-Saxon is proved by the Rushworth and Lindisfarne Gospels.

The last paper is a Report of the Tests Committee of the St. Petersburg Shakspeare Circle. The authors, J. Harrison, J. Goodlet, and R. Boyle, undertake to lay down definite criteria by which to discriminate run-on lines and light or weak endings from their opposites. In so doing they consider themselves obliged to take issue with Mr. Furnivall and Mr. Ingram, both of whom, they complain, attempt to set up a euphonical instead of a grammatical standard, thus introducing a subjective element into their determinations which leads to frequent self-contradictions, and vitiates the results for scientific purposes. In conclusion, they define their position with regard to the province of metrical tests in terms which will bear quotation: "The Committee consider that metrical tests alone cannot be held to settle a question of authorship or chronology, when unsupported by other proofs. They can never be relied upon against external evidence, nor, with certain restrictions, against clear allusions in the text. They become doubtful whenever there is a general aesthetic argument, such as the development of character, against them. If they are found to agree with ascertained external evidence in certain cases, they become, in the absence of that in other cases, of great importance, and the aesthetic argument must be very strong which upsets them."

It remains to be said that the punctuation of this article is often so bad as to destroy the sense, and that Prof. Hertzberg's name is spelled "Herzberg." It might also be suggested that such a sentence as the following hardly carries its meaning on its face: "The general characteristic (*i. e.* of light and weak endings) is that of monosyllabic grammatical forms, separated, at the end of a line, from the words with which they are connected."

In the Book Notices, Stratmann points out a number of errors in Prof. Skeat's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, Part II, and Elze's Notes on Elizabethan Dramatists (Halle, 1880) is favorably noticed by O. S. Seemann. The criticisms of Lehr- und Übungsbuch für die englische Sprache occupy some twenty pages.

The Miscellanea include Notes on the Dublin MS. of the Alliterative Romance of Alexander, by J. H. Hessels; on Havelok the Dane and the Norse King Olaf Kuaran, by Prof. Storm; and on An Unknown MS. of the Ancren Riwe, by Kölbing, besides the usual schedule of Lectures on English Philology and the Zeitschriftenschau.

ALBERT S. COOK.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE PHILOLOGICAL SOCIETY'S ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

A recent visit to the Scriptorium at Mill Hill, where the Philological Society's English Dictionary is gradually assuming form and consistency under the hands of its indefatigable editor, Dr. J. A. H. Murray, enables me to lay before the readers of the JOURNAL a few facts regarding its recent progress, by way of supplement to the information which, through various channels, has already found its way to the American public.

The Scriptorium itself is a modest building enough, consisting of a single long, low room adjoining the editor's residence; but the walls of this room are literally lined with the bundles of written slips already sent in by readers; these are arranged in alphabetical order by trained helpers, as soon as practicable after their reception, and are then consigned to the pigeon-holes, which cover the whole available wall-space from the floor as high as the hand can reach. The number of quotations already returned is, according to the report of Dr. Murray before the Philological Society, not far from 657,000, while blank slips have been issued to the number of 817,625. These slips, if laid end to end, would, it is calculated, extend over a distance of 87 miles, and, allowing only half a minute of the editor's time to each one, the preliminary inspection and disposition of them would require nearly three working years.

The authors represented in the Reference Index already number 2700, and the titles of separate works amount, in the aggregate, to 4500.

The number of readers at present enrolled is over 800, of whom 510 are still engaged in their work, while the remainder have either finished the books they accepted or have temporarily ceased to read.

It is gratifying to learn that America has responded with marked promptitude and enthusiasm to the appeals which have been circulated by the Society throughout the English-speaking world, and that the coöperation of American readers has been of essential service in carrying the work thus far

onward toward completion. The laborious task of receiving the applications from American volunteers, and of conducting the necessary correspondence with them, was assumed, at the request of the English Philological Society, by Prof. March, of Lafayette College; and they have since, in recognition as well of his other conspicuous service to English philology as of his satisfactory discharge of this particular trust, conferred upon him the highest honor in their gift.

Among the three gentlemen, two of them Englishmen, who up to this time have done one-ninth of all the reading, the foremost is Rev. J. Pierson, of Ionia, Michigan, who has sent in slips to the number of 25,830, including a complete vocabulary of American lumber terms, and a large number of extremely important quotations from rare books. Glancing down the list of books and readers, which will occupy something like 400 pages of the dictionary, one can easily convince himself that the above-mentioned names by no means stand alone. The contributions of Prof. G. M. Philips, of Lewisburg, Pennsylvania, and of Henry Phillips, Jr., Ph.D., of Philadelphia, though less numerous than those of Mr. Pierson (6500 and 7650 respectively), will compare favorably in quality with any that have yet been received. The list of deserving American workers is by no means exhausted, but as full justice will be done in the columns of the dictionary to each individual reader, there is no occasion for entering into further particulars within the compass of a short notice.

At a meeting of the Philological Society in June last, which the writer had the privilege of attending, a specimen sheet of the dictionary was presented for criticism and suggestion. In the preparation of this sheet the editor had availed himself of the material at his command to work out, with some thoroughness, the history of the word *alms*. As this article, if due allowances be made for unavoidable though comparatively trifling differences in the size and character of type, will serve, better than the most labored explanation, to show the nature and amount of the information which the dictionary will furnish, it is here reprinted as far as section 2. The columns of the reprint are about one-fifth narrower than the original:

ALMS (ahmz), *n.* Forms 1, *aelmyssse*; 1-3, *aelmesse*; (2-3, *aelmisse*, *elmesse*; 2-4, *elmesse*); 2-6, *almesse*; (2-4, *almisse*; 4, *almesse*, *allmesse*); 2-7, *almes*; (2, *elmes*; 3, *almys*; 4, *almis*; 5, *elmys*; 6, *almes*); 7-9, *alms*. Pl. wanting; since 7 the sing. *alms* has also been used as pl.; formerly 2, *aelmessen*; 2-3, *almessen*; 4-6, *almessis*, *almesses*. [O. E. *aelmyssse*, obl. cases and pl. *aelmyssan*, cogn. w. Norse *almusa* (Dan. *almisse*, Swed. *almosa*), O. Fr. *ielmisse*, O. Sax. *alamósna*, O. H. G. *alamuosan* (M. H. G. *almuosen*, Mod. G. *almosen*), pointing to a com. O. Teut. **alemosin* or **alimosin*, ad. pop. Lat. **alimósina* (whence Prov. and O. Sp. *almosna*, O. Fr. *almosne*, It. *limosina*), a per-

version (due perhaps to mental association with *dimōnia*) of *elimosina*, *elemosina*, orig. *elēmōsina* (3rd c. Tertull.) ad. Gr. *ἐλεημοσύνη*, 'compassionateness' (n. of qual. f. *ἐλεήμων*, 'compassionate,' f. *ἐλεος*, 'compassion, mercy.'). For the *y* in O. E. *aelmyssan* from **alimosina*, cf. *mynete*, *mylen*, repres. Lat. *moneta*, *molina*.]

1. Charitable relief of the poor; charity; originally and especially as a religious duty, or good work; const. with *do*, *make*, *work*. Afterwards applied especially to the material substance of the relief, and const. with *give*, *bestow*, etc.

a. As an abst. or collect. without plural.

c. 1000. O. E. Gosp. Matt. vi. 3, *Ponne þu*

Pine almessean dō. *Ruskw.* 1b. Ponne
Pu wirce almesse. c. 1175. *Lamb. Hom.*
Pine elmesse Pe Pu dest . . . Hu miht Pu don
Pine elmesse? 1b. 137, Al ðe almesse fē
mcn deð. c. 1200. *Trin. Coll. Hom.* 29,
Penne Pu almesse makest. 1b. 131, Ure
gode dedes, on elmes, and on oðre finge.
1b. 157, On oðer wise man stilleð his almes.
1250. Bp. GROSTESTE, *R. for Ord. Fam.* in
Dom. Arch. III. 82, that youre almys be
keypyd & . . . departyd to poure men. 1297.
R. GLO. 330, Of hys almesse large & fre.
1340. *Aynb.* 11, prede makep of elmesse
senne, and of virtues vices. 1366. MAUN-
DER, 149, To gader hem precyouse stones and
perles, be weye of almesse. 138. WYCLIF,
Apol. iii, Wil Pu not do almis of oker and
usur: þat is, do not swilk defaultis to do almis
Perof. 1386. CHAUCER, *Man of Law's T.*,
Hir hond, mynistr of freedom and almesse.
c. 1406. Sir J. FORTESCUE, *Abt. & Lit. Mon.*
142, He schal do thereby dayly more Almes
than schal be done in all the Foundations.
1581. Jn. MARBECK, *Notes & Com. Pl.* 27, This
word Almes importeth as much as mercie.
1587. A. FLEMING, *Cont. Holinsh. Chr.* III.
1312, The distributors of the almesse to the
poore. 166. *PRYVS, Diary*, IV. 189, To
be buried at the almes of the parish. 1764.
R. BURN, *Hist. Poor Laws*, 189, He puts his
alms with his own hand into a long purse or
bag. 1816. J. WILSON, *City of the Plague*,
I. i. 202, Do you pity me? Then give me
alms.

b. As *sing.* (with plural, *Obs.* since
6). A charitable donation, a gift of
charity, a benefaction.

c. 1160. *Statt. Gosp.* vi. 2, Ponne Pu Pine
almessen syle. c. 1375. WYCLIF, *Anticrist*
M. 131, Crist's almes . . . was encreased to
twelve lepful. 1377. LANGL., *P. Pl.* B. xv.

306, þat Freres wolde forsake hir almesses.
c. 1450. PSCOCK, *Repressor*, 550 (bis),
Receyve Myche and grette Almesses. 1535.
M. COVERDAL, *Bible*, Actis iii. 3, He desyred
to receaue an almesse. 1541. Rt. BARNES,
Workes (1573), 2741, Our eatyng, our dryn-
kyng, our almes-es, our prayers. 1563.
Myrroure for Mag. (Jane Shore) st. 52 (2nd
ed.), Starve I must, or learne to beg an almes.
1611. Actis iii. 3, Who seeing Peter & Iohn
about to go into the Temple, asked an a'mes.
1848. KINGSLEY, *Saint's Tragedy* (1878), II.
viii. 59, Every alms is a fresh badge of slavery.
1855. MACAULAY, *Hist. Eng.* IV. 265, Merely
an alms to be distributed among poor British
Catholics.

c. As *plural*. (From the collective
sense, assisted by treating the final
-s as a plural inflection, as in *riches*.)
Things given in charity.

1647. Bp. CORBET, *Poems* (1807), 122, His
alms were such as Paul defines. 1686.
DRYDEN, *Hind & P.* iii. 106, For alms are
but the vehicles of prayer. 1845. *Pall*
Mall G. May 2, The Alms are thus given by
himself to himself.

2. *fig.* A meritorious action, a
good deed, a service to God, a chari-
ty. Often ironically. *Obs.*

c. 1430. Jn. LIDGATE, *Bochas's Falles of*
Princes (1544), Port. v. 30, It is almes to cor-
recten and amend The vicious folke. 1523.
LD. BERNERS, *Proissart*, I. ccxv 437, It is
a great almesse to confort maydens in their
distresse. 1528. Sir T. MORE, *Heresyes*,
I. Wks. (1557) 1371, It had ben great almes
the prour, and thee had ben burned togyther.
1577. A. G'OLDING, *Test. XII Patr.* 143, It
were more alms to let him go, & to beat you.
1623. Bp. SANDERSON, *XXXV Ser. m.* (1681).
I. 87, If he be hungry, it is alms to feed him;
but if he be idle and untoward, it is alms to
whip him.

The quotations, after being arranged under the initial letters of the words
they illustrate, must next be taken in hand by careful and competent sub-
editors, who proceed to combine them into word-groups, and to arrange the
quotations for each word in chronological order, in some cases even going
so far as to undertake all the preliminary classifications and the task of
writing provisional definitions, thus leaving to the chief editor nothing but
the labor of final revision and of determining the etymologies. But few
volunteer sub-editors have, however, proved themselves both able and
willing to discharge this duty in its fullest sense, so that this burden, added
to that of general supervision and the unending correspondence it involves,
rests most heavily upon the shoulders of the editor-in-chief.

As the 800,000 and odd slips thus far issued represent only a third or a
fourth of the whole number which, in all probability, will be employed in
the fabrication of this stupendous Dictionary, and as the oversight of the
vast body of raw materials, the coordination of the results obtained by sub-
editors and assistants, the chief responsibility for the etymologies pro-
pounded, and the origination or approval of every definition, must all, from
the nature of the case, be devolved upon one man, it would seem only fair
and reasonable that he should be enabled, by means of some public provi-

sion, to devote to the work in question the whole of his time, instead of the mere fragment which he can succeed in rescuing from the demands of an importunate profession. That such provision has not yet been made in the case of the editor is probably due to the unexampled rapidity with which the reading has gone forward; the general public have neither had time to acquaint themselves fully with the scope and magnitude of the enterprise, nor to realize its broad significance and far-reaching potencies, so that the omission, which would otherwise appear singular, is the result not so much of indifference as of surprise.

As at first projected, the Dictionary was to consist of four quarto volumes, each somewhat larger than Webster's Unabridged. A few months ago the suspicion began to be entertained that the work could not be brought within so small a compass, and it was thought advisable to make a calculation, on the basis of the materials already collected, and the specimen articles which had been put in type, with the view of ascertaining whether this suspicion was well founded. After providing for the exclusion of everything which could be rejected without impairing the usefulness of the work, and bestowing much thought upon the typographical arrangement, in order that the page should neither appear overcrowded on the one hand, nor any unnecessary sacrifice of space be permitted on the other, the Society discovered that the allowance made at the outset was by no means sufficient, and that the number of pages must be increased by at least one-half. If, on the contrary, the whole were to be compressed within the limit of four volumes, it would be necessary to reject many of the most apposite quotations, and to curtail the vast majority of the remainder to such an extent that their value for purposes of exact definition and for illustrating the history of the language would be seriously diminished.

The matter having been laid before the Delegates of the Clarendon Press, who had undertaken the publication of the Dictionary, they resolved, with characteristic wisdom and liberality, to accede to the wishes of the Society, and to permit the number of volumes to be increased by two. This action of the Delegates can hardly fail to meet with approval among English scholars and the English public on both sides of the ocean, as it would be manifestly unwise, after incurring such enormous labor and expense in behalf of the proposed Dictionary, to produce a sort of compromise between the existing lexicons and the ideal which has perhaps found its most tangible exponent in the French dictionary of Littré.

As the three years allowed for the reading have nearly expired, the Society is anxious that all help promised should be furnished without delay. Through their editor they call attention to certain special wants, and especially emphasize the lack of literary words from eighteenth century books, and of technical and scientific terms from all centuries. Since the first volume of the Dictionary may reasonably be expected within a year or two at farthest, it is self-evident that offers of assistance can not be made too speedily, and that work already in hand can not be pushed forward too energetically. If the Dictionary is to be, what is confidently expected of it, an unfailing storehouse of information for students of all grades and disciplines, it must be enriched in advance by lavish contributions from every

source. Every ascertained fact communicated within the next few months will be represented in the final product, while, on the other hand, the result of postponement to a more convenient season can only be to defraud the world, including the procrastinator himself, of the fruit which his discovery might otherwise have borne. Under these circumstances, the forcible words with which the editor closes his report will bear repetition:

"Let us make a united effort to exhaust these and every other available source of information, in order that the Dictionary may in its completeness realize the dreams of its projectors, the hopes of its workers, the expectations which have gathered round it, not only wherever the English tongue is spoken, but even in those foreign lands where our language and literature are the subject of ever-widening study and ever-deepening investigation."

ALBERT S. COOK.

EDITORIAL NOTES.

The delay in the issue of the present number is not due to any negligence on the part of the Editor, who has made every effort to have it brought out earlier. It is hoped that there will be no recurrence of the trouble.

Ample material has been secured for the first number of the new volume. The Editor hopes that the third year will be still more successful than either of its predecessors, and that the liberality of the Trustees of the Johns Hopkins University will find a still more generous response in the philological public. The price of the back volumes has been reduced, as will be seen by the advertisement.

Plaster casts of Hildebrand's bust of Friedrich Ritschl may be obtained by application to Professor O. Ribbeck, Leipzig. The price is 10 marks. The profits are devoted to the library of the Leipzig Philological Seminary.

The first part of Professor Deffner's *Zakonische Grammatik* arrived after the making up of this number of the Journal. Professor Deffner desires to state that corrections and additions will appear in a forthcoming volume of the *Archiv*.

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

Thanks are due to Messrs. B. Westermann & Co., New York, for material furnished.

AMERICAN.

McCurdy (Ja. F.) Aryo-Semitic speech: a study in linguistic archaeology. 188 pp. O. cl. *Warren Draper*. Andover, 1881. \$2.

Tacitus (P. Cornelius). Life of Agricola and Germany. Ed. by W. Francis Allen. Boston, 1881. Cloth, \$1.50.

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